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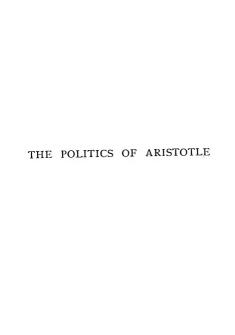


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THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

A REVISED TEXT

WITH INTRODUCTION ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

BY

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AND

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*

BOOKS I .-- V.

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PREFACE.

In the work, of which this volume is an instalment, I have undertaken to reproduce in an English dress Professor Susemihl's edition of the Politics in Greek and German as issued by him, with notes explanatory of the subject-matter, in 1879. It is not, however, a simple reproduction, but a minute and scrupulous revision, the translation having been dropped and the plan of the work sensibly modified to adapt it to the wants of English students. Some changes have been made in the Introduction, to which a section has been added, though naturally the materials of this section are by no means new. The text (for which Professor Susemihl is solely responsible) has been corrected in some hundreds of places, mostly to bring it into agreement with his later edition in the Teubner series, of which a nova impressio correctior was issued in 1894, only a few months ago. The great majority of the changes which distinguish the impressio of 1804 from that of 1883 have, however, to be sought in the Corrigenda. By the simple device of a change of type it has been found possible to exhibit to the eye the effect of the numerous transpositions here recommended, and yet to retain the received order of the text for facility of reference. In the notes explanatory of the subject-matter bearing his signature Professor Susemihl has introduced comprehensive changes. No one therefore should be surprised if these notes fail to correspond in substance (as they correspond in appended number) to those of the German edition.

Where it seemed expedient, they have been supplemented from my own collections. It can be said with truth that difficulties have never been shirked, numerous as they undoubtedly are. Wherever a note grew to an inordinate length or threatened to digress from the context, it has been relegated to an excursus.

In compiling additional notes I have received the greatest stimulus and advantage from the writings and correspondence of my collaborator, whose patience and forbearance have not been exhausted in the long interval preceding publication. He has always been willing to lavish upon me every assistance from the stores of his erudition, and to aid me with the latest results of his experience and ripened judgment. Indeed, it is not too much to say that not only primarily, but in the additions of date subsequent to 1879 indirectly, this volume, and the Politics as a whole, owes far more to him than to all other sources put together. Next to him I am most indebted to Dr Henry Jackson, who has never failed to give me encouragement and assistance, and in 1880 most kindly placed at my disposal a selection of valuable notes, critical and exegetical, which are published in the course of the volume with his signature. Moreover, as in private duty bound, I acknowledge that it is to the stimulus of his inspiring lectures that I, like Dr Postgate and Mr Welldon, owe my first interest in Aristotelian studies. I have naturally endeavoured to profit by the publications of recent years, so far as they bore upon my author, and I may especially mention the contributions to the Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society and Journal of Philology by Dr Jackson, Professor Ridgeway, Dr Postgate and Professor J. Cook Wilson. I have taken the liberty of consulting any materials to which I had access, such as the marginalia of the late Richard Shilleto in the Cambridge University Library, and of the late Edward Meredith Cope in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. In common with the publishers I deplore and apologise for the long delay between the announcement and the publication of this work. although this delay has enabled me to secure a collation of the oldest extant source of the text, the fragments of the Vatican palimpsest, and to incorporate in the Addenda the most important of the references to the recently discovered Constitution of Athens. Thus supplemented the commentary will, it is hoped, be found more adequate than any of its predecessors to our existing materials and means of information.

Some will be surprised that more attention has not been bestowed upon the superb Introduction or the full and lucid commentary upon Books I and II published by Mr W. L. Newman in 1887. The truth is that, at the time of its appearance the earlier part of this volume had been printed off, and the publishers did not see their way either to issue this part (pp. I—460) separately, as I personally should have preferred, or to incur the heavy expense of cancelling the printed sheets. Some valuable annotations of Mr Newman's, however, which I should have been glad to incorporate in the proper place, receive a brief recognition in the Addenda.

I have further to add that I began to print before Professor Susemith had collected into a permanent form his first set of Quaestiones Aristoteleus I—VII, and that for greater cleamess I refer to the invaluable pamphlet issued by him in 1886, in which the main results of the seven Quaestiones are combined, as Quaestiones criticae collectue, although the last word collectue forms no part of the title proper.

My best thanks are here duly tendered to my friends Mr William Wyse, late Professor of Greek in University College, Candon, for valuable suggestions and criticisms, and numerous additional references, particularly in all that bears upon Greek Antiquities; Miss Alice Zimmern, author of Home Life of the Greeks, Mr. Hartmann W. Just, sometime scholar of C. C. C., Oxford, and Mr H. J. Wolstenholme, for timely assistance in the laborious task of translating from the German; further, to my brother-in-law, Mr T. L. Heath, formerly Fellow of Trinty College, Cambridge, who read most of the earlier procf-sheets. Occasional notes of his and one by Mr H. W. Just bear the authors initials. To guard against all misapprehension I should add that the excursus on Greek Music was already printed off before the Provost of Oriel's recent work on that subject reached me.

viii PREFACE.

The want of an index, which renders this instalment of the work much less useful than it might otherwise have been, will be remedied when the remaining three books are published.

R. D. HICKS.

Trinity College, Cameridge, Oct. 15, 1894.

ON REFERENCES TO THE *POLITICS* BY BOOKS, CHAPTERS, SECTIONS, PAGES.

The text of this edition with its double numbering of certain books, its double system of chapters and sections, and of marginal pages, may well perplex an unfamiliar reader unless a word or two be added as to the origin of this aggravated confusion and the various methods by which any given passage may be cited. 1 1.7 $\pm 1.5 \pm 1.5 \pm$

The manuscripts exhibit the eight books in the old order, vis. A B Γ A E R B according to the the hading of each page (not in the order of this elition which is A B Γ H Θ A Z E). There is no subdivision of the books in the Aldines and other early printed editions, any more than in the sists. The Latin translations had been subdivided before this into chapters and sections, a division almost inevitable when the continuity of the text is disturbed by paraphrase and commentary. Thus the second edition of Victorius (Florence 1376) presents the text in a series of short sections, although these are never numbered or otherwise utilized for purposes of reference.

The system of chapters here adopted, as cited in the head lines and on the left hand of the pages of this volume, is that most widely known through its adoption by Immanuel Bekker in the great edition of the Berlin Academy (quarto 1834), and by Hermann Bonitz in the Index Aristoticisus to the same edition (1870). It may be traced back to the editions of Zwinger (185h), Sphurg (185h), Cassabon (1850). It seems that Zwinger merely modified another arrangement into chapters, derived from the Latin Aristotel (e.g. the edition of Bagolinus), and found in the third Basel edition (1950) of Chrard Gesner, also in Giphanius (1669). Sylburg (185h) and Corning (1659) give both schemes, calling Gesner's "values." In this now obsolete arrangement Book 1: made eight chapters, not thirteen, Book II., ten, not twelve, Book III., twelve, not ciribteen.

The sections into which Bekker's chapters are divided are taken from the Oxford reprint of Bekker in ten octave volumes (1837), in which unfortunately Bekker's pages and lines are wholly ignored. These sections have been retained in this volume because Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, and some other authorities, cite the Philitie by them. They are numbered on the left side of the page with 8 merized.

The chapters (in Roman figures) and sectious on the right side of the page are these introduced by J. Gottlob Schneider in his valuable edition of 1809. Schneider broke with all his predecessors by adopting longer chapters and fewer of them, e.g. 5 in Book II. . In 800k III. He was followed amongst subsequent editors by Göttling (1824), Adolf Stahr (1839), Susemihl (1879): Grote in his history always cites the Politics by Schneider's edition.

But the tendency in modern times has been not to employ for citation either the sections of Bekker or the chapters and sections of Schwieder, but rather the chapter, page, column, and line of the quarto of the Berlin Academy above mentioned. In this cittion of all Aristotle the Philitis occupies pages 1295—1244. The quarto volume is printed in double columns, cited as column », column b. For example, 1292 at 18, 1796 de (er in the Induce Aristoticiaus 1292/8, 1796/9) are used to denote, the one, line 18 of the left column of page 1295, the other, line 4 of the right column of page 1296. The closer definition which this method of citation by lines secure is a great recommendation, but it is balanced by one drawback, viz. that to be quite use great recommendation, but it is balanced by one drawback, with the to be quite use uppressing of even this cliftien on lorger remain unquestioned. In the presentvolume the pages and lines of Bekker's quarto are cited on the lath hand side of the page, while in the heading over the right hand page the whole extent of the text on both left and right pages is recorded: (e.g. 1263 b 32—1264 a 4 for the text upon pp. 238 and 239 of this volume).

Lastly, there are a few writers, Bernays and Oncken among them, who prefer to quote passages by the page and line, not of the Berlin quarto, but of the octavo reprint of it issued a little later, of which a third edition came out in 1855 and a fourth edition in 1878. For comparison, this system of pages has been recorded on the 1828 hand marrie, the reference being enclosed in a bracket, thus: (n. 31).

To ran example, the research cong extended in a matter, this : (0, 5) is (0, 5). For an example of their rival nethods of clation lade the sentence $\delta \theta \theta$ upolf where $\delta \theta r$, (0, 1) in the δr interinstitution would be ΠB_0 , (0, 6) as (0, 1). So of this edition. The reference (0, 1) in the δr interinstitution would be ΠB_0 , (0, 6) as (0, 1); we prefer to clet it as (0, 1) Book Π , (0, 1) is (0, 1) by Bekker's chapters and sections: or dropping the book and chapter (which are really uperfunous) as (0, 1) in (0, 6, 1, 1) by Bekker's pages, columns and lines. No references in this English edition are given by Schneider's chapters and sections, which were followed in Susembli's German edition of (0, 1) but on that method the passage could be cited as (0, 1) Book Π . ii § 10. Lastly, Bernarys or Oncken would refer to its (0, 1) or (0, 1) in (0, 1)

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 8, line 2: for M. read Isaac

P. 18, note 7, line 5: for moderakov read moderakov.

P. 56, line 14: for Stageira read Stagira (cp. Meisterhans2 p. 43, n. 373)

P. 69, note 2, line 3: for vouce read vouce

Ib. line 4: for moluteum read moluteum

P. 82, line 2: for amoplar read edmoplar (cp. below p. 312)

P. 144, text, 1252 b 16, 17: for μάλιστα δ' δοικε κατά φόσυ read μάλιστα δέ κατά φόσυ δοικε

Tb. commentary, right column, last line: for coediche read coediche

P. 146, critical notes, line 3: after 28 insert ήδη]
P. 147, text, 1253 a 3: omit έστί

Ib. critical notes, line 6: transfore

omitted by H²Bk

to precede || 3 don't Ma

That is, the δ omitted by H*Bk is in 1253 a u before άνθρωπος. Stöhr reads άνθρωπος: cp. Addenda p. 663

P. 150, crit. notes, line 5: for Quaest. Cr. III. 3 ff., IV. 3 ff. read Quaest. crit. coll. (Lips. 1886) p. 334 ff
Ib. line 8: dele Ar.

P. 151, crit. notes, line 8: after Quaest. Cr. II. 5 f., IV. 5 f. insert Quaest. crit. coll. p. 336 ff
P. 153, crit. notes, line 4: after Quaest. Cr. II. 7 ff. insert Quaest. crit. coll. p. 330 f

P. 156, text, 1254 a 8, right margin: for (p. read (p. 6)

P. 157, text, 1254 a 27: for ἀπὸ read ὑπὸ
Ib. crit. notes, line 3: for Dittographia read Dittography crit. notes, line 0: after ἀπὸ read ΓΗ Bk.¹ Susem. 1.2

P. 160, text, 1254 b 14: omit kal

P. 161, crit, notes, line 1: after 18 insert écriv

P. 176, crit. notes, line 9: after Quaest. Cr. 111. 5 ff. insert Quaest. crit. coll. p. 352 f
P. 178, comm. left column. line 0: for sekryobar read sekryoba

P. 180, crit. notes, line 3: for no read no

P. 182, text, 1257 a 38: for sal el read såv el

P. 183, comm. left col. line 8: for 5, read see

Ib. line 9: for peranteulous read peraleulous

P. 190, comm. left col. line 7 from below: after selling insert and

```
P. 195, comm. right col. line 17: after citizens insert a comma
P. 197, text, 1250 b 32: for [kal] read kal
P. 200, text, 1260 a 30, right margin: remove o from line 30 to line 31
  Ib. comm. left col. line s from below: for utoos read utoos
```

P. 201, text, 1260 a 35, right margin: remove 10 from line 35 to line 36 P. 200. To Excursus II. also belong remarks on B. I. c. 6 in Addenda p. 672

P. 213, text, 1260 b 31: for sal el read sav el P. 216, comm. right col. line 14: for III. 8 § 4, 16 § 2, read III. 16 § 2,

IV (VII). 8 § 4, P. 231, crit. notes, line 3: for Bk. read Bk.1

P. 232, text, 1263 a 2: for έχει, πάσι read έχει πάσι,

P. 233, comm. right col. line 26: for I. 126 read I. 141 § 3

P. 234, comm. left col. line 10: for I. 9. 9 read I. 7. 2, 1255 b 24 f P. 235, text, 1263 a 29: for προσεδρεύοντες read προσεδρεύοντος

P. 265, text, 1267 a 11: for δίναυντο read βούλουντο P. 273, comm. left col. line 6: for II. § 9 read C. II § 9

P. 270, crit. notes, last line: after Ephesus insert op. c. fol. 186a p. 610, 16 ft. ed. Hayduck

P. 281, comm. left col. line 4: for evidences read evidence

P. 282, text, 1269 b 18: for bei voulter elvar read elvar bei voulter

P. 284, comm. right col. line 12: read διασώζεται

P. 287, comm. left col. line 21: for 8 \$ 6 read 7 \$ 6 P. 207, comm. left col. line 13: for p. 9 read p. 20

P. 300, comm. left col. last line: for Ottfried read Otfried

P. 301, comm. left col. line 4: for moleulus read mbleus

P. 30s, text, 1272 b q: for δυναστών read δυνατών Ib. crit. notes, line τ: after Schneider | add δυναστών Π¹ Susem, 1.2 |

P. 306, text, 1272 b 13: for 11 read 11 Ib. text, 1272 b 23: for τοσαῦθ' ἡμῶν εἰρήσθω read εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῶν

P. 312, text, 1273 b 6 (bis, line 4 and line 18); for dwoolay read ebmoolay Ib. crit. notes, line 3: for 6 εὐπορίαν P1Π2Aτ. read

6 ἀπορίαν ΓM*Ald. Bk. Susem. 1-2 P. 314, text, 1273 b 24, left margin: dele (12)

P. 317, comm. left col. line 16: dele Aristeides P. 326, line q: for IV. 130 read IV. 180

P. 331, heading, line 13: for 11. 7. 1 read 11. 8. 1

P. 356, comm. left col. line 11: for βολαΐαι read βόλαιαι

P. 350, text, 1275 b 17, left margin: dele (2) P. 362, text, 1276 a 5: for caute read Ecamer

Ib. text, 1276 a 10: read δημοκρατία (τότε γάρ P. 363, text, 1276 a 13: dele * *

and read συμφέρου): είπερ οὖν

The parenthesis extends from 1276 a 10 (τότε γάρ to 1276 a 13 συμφέρου): Ib. text, 1276 a 14: for και read [και]

Ib. text, 1276 a 15: omit <00>

Ib: text, 1276 a 16: for repaysides. read recaysides:

Ib. crit. notes, line 3: after 14 read [kal] Niemeyer (untranslated by William)

Ib. crit. notes, line 4: dele incorrect

Ib, crit, notes, line 5; after Hayduck add Susem, 14

P. 364, text, 1276 a 26: for the read [the]

Ib. crit. notes, line 3: before 27 add [74p] Schneider Niemeyer Jahrb. f. Phil. CXLIII. 1891, p. 414 ||

P. 367, text, 1276 b 30: for bibmes read bib

P. 370, comm. left col. last line: for δωανται read δίνανται

P. 380, text, 1278 b 8: for sal el read sar el

P. 382, crit, notes, line 2: after (corrector) add a semicolon

P. 382, crit. notes, line 2: after (corrector) add a semicolor P. 380, comm. right col. line 18: for VII(V) read VIII(V)

P. 396, text, 1281 a 16: with change of punctuation read ἐστυ (ἔδοξε γὰρ...δικαίως).

P. 397, text, 1281 a 35, 36: transpose φαύλου to precede έχουτα and read φαύλου έχουτά γε τὰ συμβαίνουτα πάθη περί τὴν ψυχὴν άλλὰ μὴ νόμον.

P. 430. comm. left col. line 21: for appear read appear

Ib. line 23: for ἐπιθυμία read ἐπιθυμία

Ib. line 26: for å read å

P. 431, text, 1287 a 39: for πιστευθένται read πεισθένται Ib. crit. notes, line to: after right insert a comma and read πιστευθένται II fr. Bk. - Susem. 1-3

P. 434. comm. right col. line 7: for ev read e0

P. 438, comm. left col. line 1: after turn out insert anyhow," i.e. "

P. 441, text, 1287 a 20: for πειστευθέντας read πεισθέντας

P. 444, crit. notes, line 11: for dittographia read dittography

P. 464. line 44: for 24 read 23

P. 467, line 5 ff.: dele the sentence Again, one might have imagined...πολιτοία. Not so,

P. 475, text, 1323 b 18: for sal read [sal]

P. 407, text, 1327 a 23: for mods read [mpds]

Ib. crit. notes, line 2: for υπάργοντα read ὑπάργοντα

P. 503, text, 1328 a 16: for of 8ê read of8e

P. 521, text, 1330 b 30 : for πόλω μὴ ποιεῦν read μὴ ποιεῦν πόλω

P. 529, text, 1332 a 13: omit кай before dvayкайш

P. 534, comm. left col. line 14: for 1284 read 1254

P. 535, text, 1332 b 31: for τούτων πάντων read πάντων τούτων
P. 537, text, 1333 a 26: transpose διαρήσθαι to precede καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος

Ib. comm. right col. line 17: for correlation read correlative

P. 540, comm. right col. line 18 f. : for VIII(V). § 10, 7 § 2 read VIII(V). 1 § 10, 7 § 4

P. 541, text, 1334 a 8 : for aviaow read adiaow

P. 545, head line: for 1333 a 40 read 1334 a 40
 P. 546, text, 1334 b 24: for πέφωκεν έγγωνεσθαι πεαδ έγγωνεσθαι πέφωκεν

P. 540, text, 1334 b 24. for reports departered read departered re-

P. 550, text, 1335 x 27: for \(\chi\)power uponeres read uponeres

P. 550, text, 1336 b 34: for \(\chi\)a abrûv read abrûv \(\chi\)a



INTRODUCTION.

I. Manuscripts and Editions of THE POLITICS.

Aristotle's Politics has come down to us in manuscripts for the most part of the fifteenth century; there are indeed two, Pa and Pa (Bekker's Ib), which date from the fourteenth century, but none earlier. There is the Latin version by Lionardo Bruni of Arezzo (Leonardus Aretinus). made from the first manuscript brought into Italy from Greece in the fifteenth century, a manuscript now lost, which was probably older than the fifteenth century'. There is further an older translation, word for word into barbarous Latin, made in the thirteenth century, before A.D. 1274 8, by the Dominican monk William of Moerbeke. Its lost original was a Greek codex8 which we will call IT; written, at the latest, in the early part of the thirteenth or latter part of the twelfth century, and probably of not much older date*. This translation primarily, together with four of the existing Greek manuscripts, three at Paris P1.2.8, one at Milan M5, is now the critical basis for the text. All that the remaining manuscripts or the translation of Arctinus can claim is to supply confirmatory evidence in isolated passages: Aretinus, in particular, is much too free and arbitrary in his rendering, so that it is often impossible to infer, at least with any certainty, the reading of his Greek codex: hence many peculiarities of his translation must be passed over or regarded as merely his own conjectures.

1 Very likely Francesco Filelfo brought

Thomas Aquinas twice quotes it in the Summa contra Gentiles, writing probably A.D. 1261—1265. Tr.]

The best manuscript of this 'Old Translation' expressly states it. See Susemihl op. cit. XXXIV. See also below

p. 49 n. 2, p. 71 ff.

4 On the date see Susemihl op. c. XII.

it from Constantinople iu 1429 at the request of Palla Strozzi: see the evidence for this in Oucken Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles (Leipzig 1870. 8vo) vol. 1. p. 78. Compare my large critical edi-tion, Aristotelis Politicorum libri octo cum vetusta translatione Gulielmi de Moerbeka (Leipzig 1872. 8vo) p. XV. ² See Susemihl op. cit. p. VI. with note 4. [Von Hertling places it about

^{1260,} Rhein. Mus. XXXIX. 1884. p. 457-

[&]quot; With the text restored from manuscripts and old printed editions in my edition above mentioned.

All these sources of the text fall into two families or recensions. One of them, on the whole the better, but often the worse in particular points, seems to be derived from a codex of the sixth or seventh century', although in the quotations of single passages in Julian and even a scale as Alexander of Aphredisias the readings peculiar to this recension are partially, but only partially, found. Besides Γ the only manuscripts which belong, in the main, to this family are the following two

Ms = Mediolanensis Ambrosianus B. 105 (in the Ambrosian Library at Milan), of the second half of the fifteenth century, much corrected by the copyist himself and in a few passages by a later hand; collated by R. Schöll and Studemund:

P1=Parisinus 2023 (in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris), written by Demetrios Chalkondylas at the end of the fifteenth century, and then much corrected with a paler ink from a manuscript of the other family. Corrections of this sort are hereafter denoted by p7, those made in the same black ink as the original text by (corr.), corrections which do not belong to either of these classes, or at all events are not with certainty to be reckoned with one or the other, are quoted simply as (corr.). In regard to this and all the other manuscripts, it is distinctly stated when any correction stands in the margin. P4 was last collated by Dahms and Patzis.

Just as in P¹ the two families are blended¹, so conversely traces of the better recension are met with even in some manuscripts which belong, in the main, to the other family. This is true of many corrections and most of the glosses which are found in P², the principal manuscript of this second family²; still more frequently of the readings, corrections, and variants in P²; so also of Aretinus' translation and especially of P²; to a less extent of the corrections by a later hand in some other manuscripts, and hardly ever of their original readings. The few excepts from

On the one hand the commentage of the New-Pitatone philosopher Prochas (died 48) upon Piato's Rejublic's queed in a please or Wijethild's in queed in a please or Wijethild's in queed in a please or Wijethild's in the archetype or the other, creation convived from this family point to the conclusion that the archetype was written in unclud (particularly HII - 14 §8 12, 13 Gentlem of the disease of the dise

² Ordinis superioris.

^a Or in its archetype, if Demetrios found the corrections which betray the second recension—in the few cases where they are written with the same ink as his original text—already made.

^{*} For the same glosses which in P can
* For the same glosses which in P can
the first
recension to be derived from the first
recension of the control of the recension of the control
in P in another way. On the other hand
P has few glosses in common with P3
and the number in P3 is but scanty, so
that the second recension appears to have
had only a few glosses altogether. See
Susemille 9-c. VIII f., XVIII f.

Aristotle's Politics in Codex Paris. 963, of the sixteenth century, are also derived from the better recension.

Subject to these exceptions, all other manuscripts but those abovementioned are to be reckoned with the second family, the text of which may be called the vulgate. They may be further subdivided into two classes, a better and a worse, and the latter again into three different groups: an intermediate position between the two is taken up by the translation of Aretinus and in a different way by C*. A more precise statement is afforded by the following summary.

Better class: II².

P* = Coislin. 161 (brought originally from Athos: now with the rest of the Coislinian collection in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris), of the 14th century; Bekker's P*; but collated by Susemihl. The corrections and variants are written partly (1) in the same ink as the original text, partly (2) in darker ink, partly (3) in palet, yellower, partly (4) in red ink: these are indicated hereafter by (corr.*), (corr.*), (corr.*) and p* respectively: where the ink appears to be wholly different, or cannot be brought with certainty under any of these classes, the sign will be (corr.*). But all without exception, and the glosses as well, are in the same hand-writing as the codex.

Pⁿ-Paris. 2026 of the beginning of the 14th century, for the greater part written by the same scribe, but finished by another hand; the oldest manuscript that we have, but not so good as Pⁿ, especially in its original form before it had been corrected by a third and later hand and thereby made still more like P^s than it was at first. It is true that most of these later corrections were subsequently scratched out again or wiped off, yet even then they remain legible enough. Pⁿ, like P^s, was last collated by Sussemihl.

Worse class : Π⁸.

1. First group.

P4-Paris. 2025 of the 15th century, much corrected but, with the exception of a single passage, only by the scribe himself, with various readings in the margin: last collated by Susemihl.

P⁸—Paris. 1857, written in the year 1492 in Rome by Johannes Rhosos, a priest from Crete; last collated by Patzig for the first four chapters of Book I. Statements as to the readings of this manuscript in other single passages come from Bekker, from Barthélemy St Hilaire, and in particular from Patzie. Q=Marcianus Venetus 200 (in the library of St Mark at Venice), also written by Johannes Rhosos, but as early as 1457: collated by Bekker for Book I, and since then afresh for the first four chapters of that book, as above, by R. Schöll and E. Rohde.

Mb=Marcianus Venetus 213, of the beginning of the 15th century, collated by Bekker for I. c. 1—c. 6 § 8 and again by Rohde for I. cc. 1—4.

 $U^b = Marcianus$ Venetus, append. Iv. 3, written in Rome in the year 1494, collated by Bekker for II. cc. 1—7; III. 2 § 3 (1275 b 32—34), 14 §§ 2—10; VI (IV). 3 § 8—4 § 3, 7 § 2—8 § 4; VIII (V). 3 § 5—4 § 10, and by Rohde for I. cc. 1—4.

L*= Lipsiensis (bibliothecae Paulinae) 1335, in the University library at Leipzig, of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, most closely related to U*, collated by Patrig for ι ι —4 and other single passages. We have information about readings in other parts of Books 1. II. and V (vull.) from Stahr and Schneider.

Ce denotes the codex used by Camerarius.

Ar. = Arctinus, who must have used for his translation a codex of a very peculiar kind in which the two recensions were blended. For the translation is often in remarkable agreement with the manuscripts of this group; though often, too, with the better class. Not seldom again it agrees with the first family: lastly, it here and there shows peculiarities belonging exclusively to itself which can hardly be all set down to mere conjecture or arbitrariness on the nart of the translation.

2. Second group.

C*= Florentinus Castiglionensis (in the Laurentian library at Florence) vv. (Acquisti nuovo), of the fifteenth century, collated by R. Schöll for L. t-4; II. t-2§ 3; vv. (vv). It in the opening chapters it is more in agreement with the better class.

Qb=Laurentianus 81, 5 (in the Laurentian library at Florence), of the fifteenth century, collated by R. Schöll for I. 1—4 and single passages elsewhere, by Bekker for Books 11. III. VI (IV).

 R^{b} —Laurentianus 81, 6, written by Johannes Thettalos in the year R^{b} —Laurentianus 81, 6, written by Johannes Thettalos in the year radio for isolated passages elsewhere, by Bekker for Beoks vu (w), 1u (w). It bears a great resemblance to Q^{b} , particularly to the corrections of Q^{b} in a later hand: but it has some peculiarities of its own.

 $S^b = Laurentianus \ 81$, z_1 , of the fifteenth century, written more probably before than after Q^b , to which it bears an extraordinary resem-

blance; collated by Bekker for Books I. IV (VII), V (VIII), and again by Schöll for the first four chapters of Bk. I, and for single passages elsewhere.

T^b= Urbinas 46 (transferred from Urbino to the Vatican library at Rome), of the fifteenth century, collated by Bekker for the first three books and for IR. v (vm), then again by Hinck for IR. t. 1—4 and for detached passages by Schöll. It seems to be more nearly related to Vb than to Q^b, R^b, S^b.

Vb=Vaticano-Palatinus 160 (transferred from the Palatine library to the Vatican), also written by Johannes Thetalos in the fifteenth century, collated by Bekker for Bks. Iv (ru). V ((v). vu (v)), Hinck for Bk. I. I—4, and by Schöll for several single passages. The corrections by a later hand in the opening paragraph (Bk. I. I—4) are in striking agreement with C*.

 Third group, more nearly related to the first group, in particular to U^b L^z, than to the second.

W^b= Reginensis 125 (Christinae reginae—in the Vatican library), collated by Bekker for Bk. v11 (v1), by Hinck for Bk. 1. 1.—4, by Schöll for several single passages. This manuscript will have to be wholly neglected for the future, because, as I learn from communications made to me by You Wilamowitz-Mollendorff, it is no earlier than the sixteenth or perhaps the seventeenth century, and was undoubtedly copied from the Addine edition.

Ald. = Aldina, the first edition of Aristotle published by Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1498, last collated for Bk. 1. 1—4 and for numerous single passages by Susemihl.

Lastly an unique position amongst the manuscripts is taken by Ps-Paris. 1858 or Colbert. 2407, dating from the sixteenth century. On the one hand this codex must be one of the worse manuscripts of the second family, although it cannot be exclusively assigned to any one of the three groups into which they fail. On the other hand it frequently agrees with the first family, and not seldom alone of all the manuscripts that have come down to us it agrees with the old translation of William of Moerbeke: here and there it presents single readings, good or at least deserving of attention, which are to be found nowhere else, although it may very well be that they are not derived from earlier sources, but are, wholly or in part, mere conjectures of the scribe himself or of other scholars of that time. The

Nor is P⁶ now quoted under H¹ H² or H³ in the critical notes of this edition.

manuscript now contains only $Ek \times v(m)$, from c. 6 § 9 onwards, $Ek \times v(vn)$, the preceding part having been torn away; the corrections are all by the scribe himself, except a few which are divided between two later hands. It was last collated by Susemihl. 1

From all this it may be seen that, leaving out detached passages, the manuscripts collated, besides Γ M* $P^{1.2.3.4}$ Ar., are:

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for I. 1-4: P*C*Q MbQbRbSbTbUbWbWbL*Ald.
     1. 4-6 88: Q Mb Sb Tb
                                  for vI (IV), I:
                                     VI (IV). 2-3 § 7: Qb Vb.
     i. 6 § 9—13 § 16 (end):
                                     vi (iv). 3 § 8-4 § 4: QbUbVb
              OSb Tb.
     II. 1, 2: C4 Ob Tb Ub.
                                     VI (IV). 4 § 4-7 § I: Qb Vb.
     II. 3-7 § 21: Qb Tb Ub.
                                     VI (IV). 7 § 2-8 § 6: QbUbVb.
                                     vi (iv). 8 § 6-16 § 8 (end):
     и. 8-и. 2 § 3: Qb Tb.
                                                 Ob Vb.
     III. 2 8 3: Ob Tb Ub.
                                                  P5 R5 W5.
                                     VII (VI):
     III. 2 § 3-14 § 1: Qb Tb.
     III. 14 $ 2-10: Qb Tb Ub.
                                     VIII (v). 1-3 & 5: Rb Vb
                                     VIII (V). 3 § 5-4 § 10: RbUbVb.
     III. 14 & 10-18 & 2 (end):
              Ob Tb.
                                     VIII (v). 4 8 11-6 8 8: Rb Vb.
     iv (vii):
                 P6 Sb Vb.
                                     VIII (v). 6 & q-12 & 18 (end):
                 P6 Sb Tb.
                                                 P5 R5 V5.
     v (vIII):
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In addition some readings of three late and bad Paris manuscripts, 2041, 2042, 2043, containing only fragments of the work, have been made known by Barthélemy St Hilaire.

II denotes the agreement of all the manuscripts we have.

 Π^1 that of all the manuscripts of the first family (or at least their first hand), including Γ_1

Π^s that of all the manuscripts of the second family (and the Aldine edition), excluding P^s,

 Π° that of all the worse manuscripts of this second family (i.e. all the MSS. known except Γ MS P^{1} P^{2} P^{3} P^{3}), so far as they have been collated, and the Aldine edition.

Bas.^{1, 1, 2} denotes the three Basel editions of the years 1531, 1539, 1550, the first complete editions of Aristotle published after the Aldine. Only the third is important, since in it the first use was made of the old Latin translation, and a great number of mistakes of preceding printed editions thereby corrected. The text so formed remainde essentially,

¹ For more precise information on all these manuscripts see Susemihl I. c. pp. V—XXVIII.

though of course with numerous alterations, the basis for succeeding editors (who consulted new manuscripts but sparingly and, if at all, for single passages only), until Göttling's time. He first used collations, but very insufficient ones, of P1.2.3.4.6 and of a few leaves of M8, which had been made by Hase; and Bekker, while completely ignoring P1.8 Ms and almost completely Pt., founded his edition with undue arbitrary eclecticism either upon Pe (Bekker's Ib) or upon that text which preceding editions had made the textus receptus. There was no collection of critical apparatus at once sufficiently complete and trustworthy before my critical edition, which rests so far as possible upon II1, the consensus of the MSS. of the first family, viz. F, Ms, P1: failing that, upon Pa.3. There is less need then in a work, where the basis is the same, to give more than a mere selection of the most important and valuable readings. I shall, however, quote in full those which are found in Stobaeus' extract (Ed. eth. II. p. 322 foll.), and in the few citations of single passages in ancient writers, as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Julian, Pseudo-Plutarch περί εὐγενείας, etc.1

But however methodically we turn to account all these authorities we only obtain a text abounding in errors and defects of every kind. Accordingly a long series of editors, translators, and commentators from Sepulveda onwards have not failed to suggest numerous emendations and attempts at emendation, of which all the more important will be found recorded in the present edition. The following is a list in chronological order of the scholars to whose conjectures an improved text is due.

Sepulveda. Latin translation; first published at Paris, 1548. 4to.

Camot. The fourth complete edition of Aristotle, Aldina minor or Camotiana; Venice, 1552. 8vo.

Vettori (Victorius). First edition of the Politics; Florence, 1552. 4: a second edition with commentary; Florence, 1576 fo. 1. In the copy of the first edition now belonging to the Munich Library, there are maginal notes in Vettori's own handwriting, which have been used by me. Where necessary the two editions are distinguished as Vettori', Vettori'.

Morel. Edition, Paris, 1556. 4; closely following the first edition of Vettori.

Lambin. Latin translation; first edition, Paris, 1567. 4.

Camerarius. Politicorum et Oeconomicorum Aristotelis interpretationes et explicationes; Frankfurt, 1581. 4.

Zwinger. Edition of the *Politics*; Basel 1582 fol.; closely following Vettori's 2nd ed.

1 Further particulars in Susemihl's References to these citations will be found larger edition as quoted above, p. XLV ff. in Clarendon type in the critical notes.

INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICS. 8

Sylburg. Edition of the whole of Aristotle; Frankfurt, 1587. 4.

M. Casaubon. Edition of the whole of Aristotle; Lyon, 1590. fol. Montecatino. Latin translation and commentary on the first three books of the Politics; Ferrara, 1587 (Bk. I), 1594 (Bk. II), 1598 (Bk. III), fol. (3 vols.). See Schneider's edition, II. p. v.

Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée). Edition and Latin translation of the Poli-

tics: Frankfurt, 1601. 8.

Giphanius (Van Giffen). Commentarii in politicum opus Aristotelis; Frankfurt, 1608. 8. A posthumous work: wanting the whole of Bk. v (VIII).

and Bk. Iv (vII). from c. 7 § 5 to the end. Scaliger. See Scaligerana published by Oncken in Eos I. 1864. 410 ff.

Piccart. In Politicos Aristotelis libros commentarius; Leipzig. 1615. 8.

D. Heinsius. Edition of the Politics; Leyden, 1621. 8.

Conring. Edition, Helmstädt, 1656. 4.

Reiske and Gurlitt. In the addenda to Schneider's edition, II. 471 ff.

Reiz. Edition of IV (VII). 17 and the whole of V(VIII), περί της πόλεως μακαρίας κτλ, Leipzig, 1776. 8.

J. G. Schlosser. German translation of the Politics and Occonomics; Lübeck and Leinzig, 1708, 8 (3 vols.). The notes appended are in every respect of great interest for the reader even now, and have proved especially valuable. The memory of this excellent man should ever be cherished in Germany.

Garve. A German translation of the Politics edited by Fülleborn; Leipzig, 1700, 1802, 8 (2 vols.),

J. G. Schneider. Edition of the Politics; Frankfurt on the Oder, 1809. 8 (2 vols.).

Koraes. Edition, Paris, 1821. 8.

F. Thurot. French translation of the Ethics and Politics; Paris, 1823. 8. Göttling. Edition of the Politics; Jena, 1824. 8. To this must be added the short dissertations: Commentariolum de Arist. Politicorum loco (II. 6. 20); Jena, 1855. 4. De machaera Delphica quae est ap. Arist. (I. 2. 3); Jena. 1858. 4. De loco quodam Arist. (I. 2. 0); Jena. 1858. 4. (In his collected writings Obusc, acad, ed. Cuno Fischer, Jena, 1860, 8. 274 ff.)

Barthélemy St Hilaire. Edition of the Politics with French translation: Paris, 1837. 8. A second edition of the translation appeared, Paris, 1848. 8.

A. Stahr. Edition with German translation; Leipzig, 1830. 4. To this should be added the German trans. by C. Stahr and A. Stahr; Stuttgart, 1860, 16,

Lindau. German translation (Oels, 1843. 8), unfortunately not accessible to me for my critical edition.

Spengel. Ueber die Politik des Aristoteles, in the thil, Abhandl, der Münchner Akad. v. 1 ff. Aristotelische Studien III. (ib. XI, 55 ff.); Munich, 1868. 4. Compare Arist. Stud. II. (ib. x. 626 ff.); Munich. 1865, 4, 44 ff.

- Bojesen. Bidrag til Fortolkningen om Aristoteles's Böger om Staten; Copenhagen, 1844. 1845. 8 (Two Sorder Programmes). Nickes. De Aristotelis Politicorum libris; Bonn, 1851. 8 (Degree disser-
- Nickes. De Aristotelis Politicorum libris; Bonn, 1851. 8 (Degree dissertation).
- Eaton. Edition of the Politics; Oxford, 1855. 8.
- Congreve. Ed. of *Politics*; London, 1855. 8. A second edition (unaltered), London, 1874. 8.
- Engelhardt. Loci Platonici, quorum Aristoteles in conscribendis Politicis videtur memor fuisse; Danzig, 1838. 4. 24 p. (In a collection of essays celebrating the jubilee of the Danzig Gymnasium).
- Rassow. Short Gymnasium-Programmes: Observationes criticae in Aristotelem, Berlin, 1858. 4. Benerkungen über einige Stellen der Politik; Weimar, 1864. 4. Comp. also his Emendationes Aristotelaea, Weimar, 1861. 4 (p. 10): and Beiträge sur Nibom. Ethik. Weimar. 1862. 4.
- O. Thurot. Observationes criticae in Arist. politicos libros, an article in Jahrbücher für Philologie, LXXXI. 1860. 749—759; and especially Etudes sur Aristote, Paris, 1860. 8.
- Schütz. Gymn. Programmes: De fundamentis reipublicae, quae primo Politicorum libro ab Aristotele posita sunt, 1. 11.; Potsdam, 1860. 4. 18 p.,
- III. Potsdam, 1860. 4. 12 p.
 Oncken. Degree dissertation: Emendationum in Arist. Eth. Nic. et Polit. specimen; Heidelberg, 1861. 8: and the large work in two volumes.
- Staatslehre des Aristoteles; Leipzig, 1870, 1875, 8.

 Bonitz. Aristotelische Studien II. III.; Vienna, 1863, 8. Zur Aristot. Pol.
 II. 3, 1262 a 7, an article in Hermes, VII. 1872, 102—108.
- Bernays. Die Dialoge des Aristoteles; Berlin, 1863. 8. A German translation of the first three books, Berlin, 1872. 8. Zu Aristoteles und Simonides, an article in Hermes, v. 1870. 301, 302; Aristoteles über den Mittelstand in Hermes, vl. 1871. 118—124.
- Hampke. Gymn.-Programme: Bemerkungen über das erste Buch der Polit, Lyck, 1863, 4; and four articles in Philologus, on Arist. Pol. IV (VII). cc. 2, 3 in vol. XII. 1865. 614—623, on II. 5, XXI. 1864. 541—543, on Book I. XXIV. 1866. 170—175, Zur Politik XXV. 1867. 162—166.
- Schnitzer. Zu Arist. Pol., an article in Eos; I. 1864. 499—515. His German translation was published in the series of Osiander and Schwab at Stutteart. 1856. 16.
- Böcker. Degree dissertation, De quibusdam Pol. Arist. locis; Greifswald, 1867. 8, 45 p.
- Susemihl. Three editions, see Preface: articles in Rheinisches Museum, XX. 1865, 504—517, XXI. 1866. 551—571; in Jahrb./ Philol. XCIII. 1866. 337—333, CIII. 1871. 190—792; in Philologus, XXX. 1869, 385—415, XXIX. 1870. 97—119; in Hermes XIX. 1884. 576—595; and Indices Scholarum, De Pelit. Arist. quaestienum criticarum part. 1—VII.; Greifswald 1869—9. 1871–2-3-5. 4.
- Büchsenschütz. An article on I. cc. 8—11 in Jahrb. f. Philol. xcv. 1867. 477—482, 713—716.

Chandler. Miscellaneous emendations and suggestions; London, 1866.

Madvig. Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos; Copenhagen, 1871. 8, 461 ff.

H. Sauppe. Hayduck. M. Vermehren. In communications made to me for my first critical edition of 1872, together with one or two conjectures of Godfrey Hermann sent me by Sauppe. Cp. also Sauppe's Epist. crit. ad G. Hermannum.

Bücheler. In my first critical edition and in Part I. of my Quaestiones criticae; Greifswald, 1867. 4.

Mor. Schmidt. In communications for my first critical edition: also an

edition of Book I. Arist. Pol. Liber I.; Jena, 1882, 4 (2 parts); and an article in Fahrb. f. Philol. CXXV. 1882. 801-824. Vahlen. Aristotelische Aufsätze II.; Vienna, 1872. 8; reviewed by me in

Philol. Anzeiger V. 1872. 673-676; and an article on II. 5, 1264 a 1, in the Zeitschrift f. d. östr. Gymn. XXI., 1870. 828-830. Polenaar. Degree dissertation; Tirocinia critica in Arist. Politica; Leyden.

1873. 8. Trieber. In communications with me by letter.

Henkel. Studien zur Geschichte der Griechischen Lehre vom Staat; Leipzig, 1872. 8.

Riese. An article in Fahrb. f. Philol. CIX. 1874. 171-173.

Diebitsch. Degree diss., De rerum conexu in Arist, libro de re pub.; Breslau.

1875. 8. Heitland. Notes critical and explanatory on certain passages in Pol. I.;

Cambridge, 1876, 8, Broughton. Edition of Books I. III. IV (VII) with short notes, Oxford and

London, 1876, 16, Bender. Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen; Hersfeld, 1876, 4; further

in communications with me by letter. Freudenthal. In communications with me by letter.

H. Jackson. Articles in the Journal of Philology on 1. 3. VII. 1877, 236-243; on IV (VII). 13. 5-7, X. 1882. 311, 312: also in communications by letter published in the Addenda of my third edition, Leipzig, 1882.

Postgate. Notes on the text and matter of the Politics; Cambridge, 1877. 8. Von Kirchmann. German translation with notes; Leipzig, 1880. 8 (2 vols.). Tegge. In oral communications to me.

J. Cook Wilson. Article in the Journal of Phil. x. 1881, 80-86.

Busse. Degree diss., De praesidiis Arist. Pol. emendandi; Berlin, 1881. 8.

52 p. Ridgeway. Notes on Arist. Pol. in the Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, II. 1882. 124-153.

Welldon. English translation with notes; London, 1883. 8.

H. Flach. An article on Book v (VIII) in Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXVII. 1884. 832-830.

II. THE COMPILATION AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE TREATISE.

In recent times critics seem more and more disposed to agree that the systematic writings of Aristotle, that is to say, most of the works that have come down to us together with others that have perished, were never actually published by their author himself1. At the end of the fifteenth chapter of the Poetics he contrasts the exposition there given with that contained in his published works, to which upon certain points the student is referred, είρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις λόνοις έκανῶς, the reference being undoubtedly to one of his own dialogues, that namely On Poets*. Of the works which had thus been given to the world some information may be gathered, as that they chiefly comprised popular writings like the dialogues, adapted to the intelligence of a wider public; perhaps also descriptive works on natural science, 'histories' of plants and animals. But not the Poetics, nor indeed any of the similar treatises strictly philosophical and systematic which make up "our Aristotle," to use Grote's phrase; we may safely conclude that they were none of them in circulation at the time. It has indeed been doubted whether they were primarily written with a view to publication. They had their origin in the oral lectures of the Stagirite, and stood in the closest connexion with his activity as a teacher; this much is clear, but the precise nature of the connexion has been sorely disputed. The materials of these works may have been on the one hand Aristotle's own notes; either sketches drawn up beforehand for his lectures; or, which is more likely, reproductions of them freely revised and enlarged for subsequent study in the school. Or, again, they may have been merely lecture-notes taken down by pupils at the time. The former supposition is favoured by the analogy of Aristotle's master. Plato, who takes this view of his strictly philosophical writings in the famous passage in the Phaedrus3. Nor is there any reason to distrust the evidence that shortly after his master's

Bursian's Jahresbericht XVII. 1879. 251

—254; and Zeller On the connexion of
the works of Plato and Aristolle with their
personal teaching in Hermes XI. 1876. 84

¹ [What follows has been freely concincid from a paper On the comploition of Aristotle's Politics in Verbrandlunger of Aristotle's Politics in Verbrandlunger of Aristotle's Politics in Verbrandlunger of Aristotle's Politics of Aristotle's Politics (Greek and German) edited by Suesmill (Lépsig, 1874 ed. e) 1–6. It is thus mostly earlier than the discussion in the 3rd edition of Zeller, Phil. d. Orizoben II ii dap. p. 162–163.
Phil. d. Orizoben II ii dap. p. 162–164.
Fabrildon P. Phil. (III, 1871, 182–184.

Susemihl's edition of the Podics.

3 276 D: ἐαυτῷ τε ὑτομνηματα θησαυρι
δριενος, εἰν τὸ λήθης γήρας ἐὰν Ἐκηται, καὶ
παντὶ τῷ ταὐτὸν Γχυος μετιώντι, 278 Δ: ἀλλὰ
τῷ ὅντι ἀὐτῶν τοὺς βελτίστοις εἰδότων
ὑπόμνησεν γεγουέναι.

death Theophrastos had Aristotle's autograph of the Physics in his possession.' Something similar may be inferred for other works if it be true that Eudemos edited the Madaphysics', and that Theophrastos (probably also Eudemos) supplemented modified and commented upon the Prior and Pesterior Analytics in writings of his own bearing the same titles': this is at any rate precisely the relation in which the Physics and Ethics of Eudemos stood to those of his master. The writings of Aristotle then were designed to serve as aids to the further study of his pupils: they were the text-books of the Aristotlian school.

In support of the other hypothesis has been adduced a number of passages which contrast decidedly with the immediate context by unusual vivacity or sustained style, or by especially prominent allusions to an audience as if present. Here the readiest explanation is that the editors have actually made use of notes taken down by pupils. Such passages have been collected by Oncken from the Nieumachean Ethici', the latter part of Politics in (vin). c. r, and the conclusion, if genuine, of De Soph. Elmoh. are further instances. It should be remembered also that in one catalogue of the Aristotelian writings the Politics appears awarvare) apokanosis, while deward apokanosis will the title borne by the Physics in our manuscripts. All these circumstances however can be satisfactorily explained in other ways, partly upon the former hypothesis, partly by assuming a merely occasional use to have been made of pupils! lecture-notes as subsidiary sources:—an assumption which it is hardly nossible to disurove.

In the Aristotelian writings we find a great diversity of treatment and language; at one time the briefest and most compressed style carried to the extreme of harshness, at another numerous needless redundancies, and often literal repetitions. The carcless familiar expressions natural in oral discourse alternate with long artistic periods absolutely free from anacoluthia; at times the composition of one and the same book appears strangely unequal, as if the material which at

¹ See Heitz, Die seeleroom Schriften. Edelmon werte in Drophensten to enquire concerning the reading of a passage in the Physics, Geopherow polytore on Eddings with view airvive in Sequence of the Company of the C

mentary on the Metaphysics 483. 19 ed. Bonitz: καὶ οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἔδει συστάττεσθαι, καὶ ἴσως ὑπὸ μὲν ᾿Αριστοτέλους συστέτακται...ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Εὐδήμου κεγέριασται.

³ Alexander, Schol. in Arist. 158 b 8, 161 b 9, 184 b 36, and Simplicius ib. 509 a 6: see Zeller II ii 71.

Staatslehre des Arist. 1. 60 (1).

Diog. Lacrt. v. 24.
 See the arguments advanced against Oncken by Susemihl Yahrb. für Phil. CIII. 1871. 122—124.

first flowed abundantly had suddenly become scanty. Such peculiarities however generally admit of more than one explanation; even where the same question is treated independently two or three times over (unless indeed one of the versions is to be regarded as the paraphrase of a Peripatetic) the inference may be either that different drafts of Aristotle's own have been incorporated side by side1, or that a pupil has supplemented the notes which he had actually taken by a statement in his own words of their substance. Yet at other times the contrast is unmistakeable, as when we compare the Posterior with the Prior Analytics, or the third book of the Psychology with the two preceding books: we seem to have before us nothing but disjointed notes or rough drafts badly pieced together. Such imperfection in whole works can hardly be referred to any one but Aristotle*. If some treatises, again, or at least considerable portions of them, prove upon examination so far advanced that the author's last touches hardly seem wanting, the inference is irresistible that, granted they arose at first out of Aristotle's oral lectures, with such fulness of details and elaboration they must have been intended for ultimate publication, whether in the author's lifetime or subsequently. Thence it is easy to pass on to the provisional assumption that Aristotle intended to bring his entire Encyclopaedia to the same degree of completeness, but was prevented by death from executing his design. As it is, we seem justified in concluding that the unfinished works were brought out by his immediate pupils from a combination of the materials above mentioned, pieced together and supplemented by not inconsiderable additions: much in the same way (to use Bernays' instructive analogy) as most of Hegel's works for the first time saw the light in the complete edition made by his pupils after his death.

There is a further circumstance which must be taken into account. From this edition, of which comparatively few copies were ever made or in circulation", the works as they have come down to us must be allowed to deviate considerably. Our present text can be traced back in the main to the revised edition of Andronikos of Rhodes, a contemporary of Cicero 4. This edition is known to have differed as to order and

¹ As in the Metaphysics, K cc. 1-7= B.P.E; A cc. 1—5; M cc. 4, 5=A c. 9.

² In the Physics, Bk. VII, Metaphysics, Nicomachean Ethics, are other instances only less striking than those named.

So far we may accept Strabo's in-ferences (XIII. 608, 609), although his story of the fate of Theophrastos' library contains a gross exaggeration: see now . Bursian's Fahresber. IX. 338; XVI. 253 f.

n. 5, Diels Doxographi Graeci 187 f.,

n. 5. Diess Dexographi Crates 107 in, 2215 ff., Zeller opt. ci ii ii 38—154.

4 Strabo L. c., Plutarch Sulla ob, Porphyry Vita Plotini 26, Gellus XX. 5. 10; Ptolemacus as cited by Ibn el-Kiffi and Ibn Ahi Oseibia, Rose (in vol. v of the Berlin ed.) p. 1473. Casti Bibliothead Arab. Hispana p. 308 b, Wentich De Contactus (Crate, survisionist 1). 157: 380. auctorum Graec. versionibus p. 157; also by David and Simplicius Scholia in Arist.

arrangement from the former one; besides, in the intervening 250 years the text had received considerable damage. Thus may be explained the appearance of numerous Peripatetic interpolations; also cases where a series of fragments represents the original work, as in Bk. vt of the Niemacham Ethics, and in some measure in the Poticis; or where excerpts from another work are inserted, e.g. from the Physics in the latter part of Bk. xx (K) of the Metaphysics and in part of what is now Bk. v (A) of the same work.

Only by such a combination of assumptions is it possible satisfactorily to interpret the present condition of the Palities, where traces of its mode of compilation may clearly be discerned in interpolations, glosses incorporated in the text, abrupt transitions, inequalities of execution, frequent lacunae, transpositions and double recensions. Yet the whole is pervaded by an organic plan well considered even to the finest details ', and beyond all doubt the actual execution is mainly based unon written materials from Aristotle's own hand'. There is only one

(vol. IV of the Berlin ed.) 25 b 42 f., 81 a 27 f., 404 b 38 f.; Zeller op. c. II ii 50 ff. 139 nn. (1), (2), III i 620 ff.; Heitz Die verlorenen Schriften I—53.

¹ See Susemihl's ed. of the Peetics,

See Susemihl's ed. of the Poetics,
 pp. 3.-6.
 The hypotheses above noticed may thus be recapitulated. Aristotle did not

himself publish his scientific works. They may have been edited primarily (1) from Aristotle's own drafts as revised after his lectures for the use of his

revised after his lectures for the use of his pupils: supplemented by the use, as (II) subsidiary sources, of (a) Aristotle's own sketches, prepared for

 (a) Aristotic s own sketches, prepared for use at his lectures:
 (β) lecture-notes taken by pupils (with or without supplements of their own):

without supplements of their own):
(y) passages from works by his pupils:
(8) additions by editors: very rarely
(c) excerns from his own works

(c) excepts from his own works.

*Sober criticism will not be deterred from attributing the plan to Aristode simply because it the beginning of Els. correspond to a preceding ab^2 els, or correspond to a preceding ab^2 els, or correspond to a preceding ab^2 els, or the because a connecting ab is sought in vain in IP at the opening of Els. 11, and should at least the altered to $\gamma \phi_{b}$, if this opening of the connection of the conn

transition from Metaph. vI (E) to VII (Z)

see Bonitz II 294-]

4 That the work in its present shape is as late as Cicero's time is the opinion of Krohn Zur Kritik aristotelischen Schriften I 20 ff. (Brandenburg 1872, 4), and Polenaar Tirocinia critica in Aristotelis Politica (Leyden 1873. 8), and in one sense they are not far wrong; cp. the introduc-tion to my edition of the Poetics, 4 n. (1). They suppose the compiler or compilers to have had mere fragments of Aristotle's own composition before them, which they arranged and pieced together for them-selves into a whole full of contradictions by borrowing from the writings of Theophrastos and other Peripatetics, or, as Polenaar thinks, by additions of their own. Polenaar's arguments, however, rest almost entirely on misapprehensions, and this is partly true of Krohn's, while others do not in the remotest degree suffice to establish such sweeping assertions, Krohn does indeed allow that the first book is by Aristotle; but from 13 § 15 he infers that it was originally an independent work, not reflecting that, when taken in connexion with 3 § 1, this passage proves just the opposite; that further the first chapter has no sense except as an introduction to the whole of the Politics. of which we have also an express anticipation at the commencement of c. 3. where there is no trace of a change by another editor. The greater part of Bk. II, in which only "isolated pillars"

of Aristotle's structure have been left

passage of any length, Iv (vii). 1, where we seem to catch the tones of the more animated oral lecture in such marked contrast to all the rest of the work as forcibly to suggest the idea that here we have the lecture-notes of a pupil. But the parts executed are often unequal; they never grew to the dimensions of a book actually fit for publication; and when such a work made its appearance after the master's death the editors did not refrain from adding a good deal of foreign matter contradictory of the spirit and interdependence of the work.* Here and there, again, we find a twofold discussion of the

standing, he assigns to Theophrastos: c. 6, he says, is wholly spurious and of very late origin, c. 5 defective and largely interpolated: and that there is much to offend us in both these chapters is undeniable: see below p. 33 n. (4). The third book he seems to regard as a medley taken from Theophrastos, and various writers of his school, and from other Peripateties: c. 14 in particular as an ex-cerpt from Theophrastos, Hegl Bon-Meir. p. p. 18m. (7) and n. on III. 14-9 (524). In the principal part of Ek, IV (v1) he finds fragmentary sketches: ; he agrees with Niebuhr (Röm. Alterth. 578 Isler) in de-ciding that the second and larger part, if not the whole, of Bk. v (viii) was not if not the whole, of BK. v (viii) was moweritten by Aristotle, any more than a considerable part of Bk. vi (iv), of which c. 15 together with vii (vi). 8 is an except from a work by Theophrastos on magistracies; while the greater part of Bk. viii (v) probably consists of excerpts and pieces retouched from Theophrastos, Hepl καιρών: comp. nn. on III. 14. 9 (624) and VIII (v). 11. 9 (1720*). There are some resemblances to the Arcopagitikos of Isocrates: see on III. 3 § 2, § 9, 6 § 10, 7 § 1, 11 § 20, IV (VII). 4 § 5, VI (1V). 9 § 7, VII (VI). 5 § 10, VIII (VI. 1 § 2. Yet Spengel's assertion "totum Is 2. ret Spengers assertion "totum Isocratis Areopagiticum in usum suum Aristoteles vertit, tam multi sunt loci, qui eadem tradunt" (Aristotelische Studien III. 59) is a gross exaggeration, as unproved as it is impossible to prove. But why Aristotle should not be credited with them, why we must follow Krohn in rejecting as spurious all the passages where they occur, is simply inexplicable. Compare further my review of Krohn in Philol. Anseiger v. 1873. 676—680. The most material objection which he raises to the genuineness of Bk, v (VIII) is that ένθουσιάζειν, ένθουσιάν are elsewhere only found in spurious or semi-spurious Aristotelian writings.—ἐνθουσιαστικός only

in the *Problems, & θουσιασμό*s only in the dialogue *On Philosophy*,—whereas Theophrastos paid great attention to this morbid state of ecstasy or delirium.

state of existay or delirium.

** But a pupil of Aristotle, not necessarily of Theophenston, as Krohn thinks:

** State of the publishment of the

cit. p. 679.

2 To start from the internal connexion of a work as a whole is the only safe mode of procedure in all so-called higher criticism. By discarding this principle Krohn and Polenaar lose all solid footing, preferring, as they do, to regard mere unconnected fragments as the genuine kernel of the work: Susemihl loc. cit. 679. Not every contradiction is sufficient proof of diversity of authorship; however small the dimensions within which this genuine Aristotelian kernel is re-duced, we shall never succeed in eliminating from it all discrepancies of doc-trine. Nay, Krohn justly reminds us that "even this original kernel can only be understood on the assumption of a gradual advance in the great thinker's development." After we have detected interpolations, and restored by their excision the connexion which they restored, only an accumulation of difficulties, or such contradictions as strike at the very heart of the system, need be taken into account. Further it must be admitted that no hard and fast line can be drawn here, so that and fast line can be drawn here, so that at times the decision is doubtful. Upon such considerations a list of spurious or suspected passages (without reckoning glosses of later introduction and other smaller matters) might be drawn up, in partial agreement with Krohn, as follows: same topic.'s either both were found amongst Aristotle's materials and then included that nothing might be lost, or else only one was written by Aristotle and the other was derived from a pupil's notes. The work is disfigured by numerous laumae of greater or less extent: entire sections of some length are wanting altogether. The right order has often been disturbed.³. The two grossest instances are that Books vin and vin should come before Bk. vi, and Bk. vi before Bk. v (counting the books in the order in which they have come down to us).⁵ No scruple has been felt about restoring the proper sequence in this edition, though the dislocation was unquestionably very ancient.⁵. For to all appearance

Π. 8 § Ι (δε...βουλόμενος), 10 §§ 3, 4, 12 §§ 6—14:

III. 17 §§ 3, 4: IV (VII). 2 § 3—4 § 1, 10 §§ 1—9: V (VIII). 7 §§ 13, 14:

VI (IV). cc. 3, 4 § I—19. VII (VI). 2 § 7 (\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\tint{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\tinx{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\tex{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\texi\exi\\$\$\exitititt{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\tex{

and m. on Iv (VII), 13 8 8 (81.)

Besides the end of 881. III and the beginning of Iv (VII) see II. 7 8 10-13

-7 8 18-21, III. 15 8 7-10 = 16 8 10-13

-13; IV (VII). 1 8 11, 12=2 8 1, 2; VIII (V). 1 8 1, 7 1; 10 8 24-10 8 25.

2 See particularly I. 8 8 3, 10 8 1, 12

§ 1; II. 2 § 6, 5 § 2, 11 § 5; III. 3 § 2, 12 § 6, 13 § 3, § 6, 16 § 2; IV (VII). 11 § 2, 13 § 11. 14 § 2:

IV (VII). 11 § 2, 13 § 11, 14 § 7; V (VIII). 7 § 15; V1 (IV). 8 § 7, § 8, 10 § 2, 11 § 1, 12 § 5; VII (VI). 4 § 1, 8 § 24;

VI (1V). 8 \$ 7, \$ 8, 10 \$ 2, 11 \$ 1, 12 \$ 5; VII (VI). 4 \$ 1, 8 \$ 24; VIII (V). 1 \$ 7, 7 \$ 9, 10 \$ 25, 12 \$ 11, § 18. Conring saw this, but carried it too far: "noctem aristoteliam quasi stellis

too iar: "noctem aristoteliam quasi stellis illustrare sategit". Göttling sneeringly writes, taking credit for having put all these "stars" out. But when the asterisks are removed the lacunae are still plain enough if the critic has the eye to see them. Cp. my critical edition p. III.

3 [On these transpositions see pp. 78

The one transposition was first made by Nicolas Oresme (died 1382) in his French translation, not published until long afterwards (Paris 1489): and again by Segni in his Italian translation (Florence 1549). A more detailed proof of its correctness was undertaken by Scaino da Salo Quinque Quaestiones ad octo libros de republica (Rome 1577), Conring, Bar-thélemy St Hilaire, Spengel Ucher die Politik Transactions of the Munich Acad. V. 1 ff. Arist. Studien II. 44 ff. (Munich 1865), Nickes De Arist. Politicorum libris (Bonn 1851), Brandis in his history Griech-Rom. Philos. II ii 1666 ff., 1679 ff. and by others. It has been disputed without success, amongst others by Woltmann in the Rheinisches Museum (New Series) L 1842. 321-354, Forchhammer in Philolegus XVI. 1861. 50—68, Bendixen in Phi-lelegus XIII. 1858. 264 ff., XIV. 332 ff., XVI. 408 ff. and in Der alte Staat des Aristoteles (Hamburg 1868, 4to), by Krohn op. c. 30, and Diebitsch De rerum conexu in Arist. libris de re publica (Bres-

lau 1872.

The other transposition was very nearly assumed by Conting; the first who actually made it and tried to demonstrate trailing made it and tried to demonstrate the continuous state of the continuous special and the law of the continuous special and the law of the continuous special and the law of the continuous special and the continuous special s

under certain conditions and Zeller unreservedly. See below p. 58 n. 2.

See Yakrbischer für Philologie XCIX.
1869. 593—610, Ct. 1870. 343 f., 349 f.
and the following paragraphs in the text. even the epitome in Stobaeus' presents the traditional arrangement's: and this epitome was taken from a more comprehensive work by Areios Didymos of Alexandria, the friend of Augustus and of Maecenas8. Didymos naturally followed the new recension, the work, beyond all doubt, of his contemporary Andronikos of Rhodes, in which, as has been said4, the text of the Politics has come down to us. Yet, as we shall see 5, in the incomplete sentence with which the third book breaks off sufficiently clear and certain evidence remains that in the older edition Bk, IV (VII) still stood in its right place after Bk, III.

But there is another circumstance which makes it very questionable to start with, whether the work ever existed in a more complete form. There was a Politics in the Alexandrian library attributed by some to Aristotle, by others to Theophrastos"; consisting, it would seem, of exactly eight books; a numerical correspondence not easy to ascribe to mere accident. This fact we learn from the catalogue of Aristotle's writings in Diogenes of Laerte7 and in the Anonymus of Ménage 8. The catalogue goes back to the biographies of Hermippos of Smyrna, a pupil of Callimachus, as its ultimate authority; and no doubt that author followed closely what he found in the Alexandrian library'. Before this the Peripatetic philosopher Hieronymos of Rhodes appears to have used the Aristotelian Politics10; even Eudemos may possibly betray an earlier acquaintance with the treatise 11. And it is

Berlin Aristotle v. 1467. No. 70). Mé-

nage incorrectly gave K, which Zeller op. c. II ii 75 ed. 2 had conjectured to be a

Ecl. eth. 326 ff.
 See Henkel's careful investigation Zur Politik des Aristoteles (a Gymnasium

Programme of Seehausen) Stendal 1875- pp. 10—17. Büchsenschütz in his Studien zu Aristoteles Politik 1—26 (Festschrift zu der 2ten Säcularfeier des Friedrichs - Werderschen Gymnasiums, Berlin 1881) judges differently: but see the review by Cook Wilson in the Philol.

Rundschau 1882. pp. 1219-1224. 3 See Meineke Zu Stobacos in the Zeitschrift f. Gymnasialw. XIII. 1859-563 ff., Zeller op. c. 111 i 614 f., Diels Doxographi Graeci 69 ff.

⁴ See p. 13 n. 4-⁵ See p. 47 f.

⁶ Zeller suggests that this confusion may be explained if Theophrastos edited the work: op. c. II ii 678 (1).

⁷ V. 24: πολιτικής ακροάσεως [ώς] ή [for the MS. ή] Θεοφράστου α—ή. Cp. Usener Analecta Theophrastea 16 (Leipzig 1858): Anatecta 1 neoporastes 10 (Leipzig 1858): Zeller op. c. 11 ii δη (1): Suseminl'scriti-cal edition of the Politics XLIII m. (73). 8 πολιτικήν ἀκροάσεων ή (so the Am-brosian MS. discovered by Rose: see

mistake for H. Rose suggests that the Anonymus was Hesychios of Miletus, fl. 500 A.D. In Ptolemy's catalogue the work occurs as No. 32, liber de regimine cinitatum et nominatur bulitikun tractatus VIII (Berlin Aris. vol. V. p. 1471).

⁹ See the Introduction to my edition of the Poetics (ed. 2) 19 f.

10 He is quoted in Diog. Laert. 1 26,

cp. Pol. I. 11. 9 with the critical notes. 12 See my third edn. of the Politics XIX note +: End. Eth. VII. 2 1238 b s ff. should be compared with Pol. IV (VII). 13 § 5—7: Eud. Eth. VIII. 3 1248 b 26 ff., 1249 a 12, with Pol. IV (VII). 13 § 7. Compare further Eud. Eth. III. 2 § 7. Compare further Eud. Eth. III. 9 § 2 1331 b 38—1232 a 5 with Pol. 1. 9 § 2 1357 a 6—10; Eud. Eth. II. 11 1227 b 19—23 with Pol. IV (VII). 13 § 2 1331 b 26—38; Eud. Eth. VII. 10 142 a 8 f. with Pol. III. 6 § 3—5 1278 b 21—30, csp. 21 f., 25f. See also Zeller in Hormes XV. 1880. 553—556, who compares Eud. Eth. II. 1. 1218 b 32 ff. with Pol. IV

highly improbable, to say the least, that in the century (200 R.C.—107. R.C.) which elapsed between Hermippos and Apellikon of Teos, the precursor of Tyramion and Andronikos', this older edition should have been so completely lost that the new editors had not a single copy of it at their disposal', while it is equally incredible that they should intentionally have declined to use it. The exact agreement in the number of the books would undoubtedly render it a far more reasonable conclusion that—except for the transposition, to which we have now no clue—the new edition of this work differed much less from the old than was the case with some other Aristotelian writings.

The first distinct traces of actual use of the treatise are next to be found in Cierco.* It is true he did not use it directly* and the new recension of Andronikos was not at the time in existence. Vet we are not obliged to assume that he drew from an earlier writer who availed himself of the former edition*: it is quite as conceivable that Tyramion, with whom he was in frequent intercourse, may have provided him with extracts from the work suitable for his purpose, and these may have been his sources*. Even when the new edition appeared, it found but few readers; the traces of its use are extremely scanty, 4 and it is in

(VII). I. 1323 a 23, b 18, b 27; and Eud. Eth. II. I. 1219 a 33 with Pbl. IV (VII). 8. 5, 1328 a 35. ¹ See Strabo L. c., Plutarch L. c.

Polenaar op. cit. p. 78 finds no diffi-

4 See Zeller op. c. 11 ii 151 n. (6).
5 So Zeller Le. Whether the author of the Magna Moralia in 1. 4, 1184 b. 33 f. shows any acquaintance with Peditics IV (v1). 13. 5 Zeller rightly regards as uncertain.
6 Cp. ad Att. IV. 4 b § 1, 8 a § 2, ad Qu.

Quint. fr.

fr. II. 4 § 5, 5 § 6.

7 Alexander of Aphrodisias On the
Metaphysics 15, 6 (ed. Benitz): Eubulos,
a contemporary of Longinus, Fursalist
rūr vir 'Aparorelvos to bereigs rūr vir
rūr vir 'Aparorelvos to bereigs rūr
rurus rapor rip Indramos modrelas dorupungham ed. Mai Script. vet. nov. coll.
Vet. II. 671 ff.: Julian Letter to The-

mittier #00 D, #05 D1: Schelles Allifans
upon Aristoph. Actions. pp. 400: Schelle
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keeping with their infrequency that we do not possess a single Ms. of the Politics of earlier date than the fourteenth century. Amongst the Arabs it remained quite neglected. To the reading public of the west in the Christian middle age it was introduced by the Latin translation of the Dominican monk William of Moerbeke': on the basis of his version Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas wrote commentaries to the work."

III. GENERAL ESTIMATE.

At the time when the Politics was first made known to mediæval students, and for some centuries afterwards, the ground was not prepared for a due appreciation of it. It was only by degrees, as the development of the modern state went on, that the treatise began to be rightly understood , until at last even in its present incomplete and fragmentary condition we have learnt to recognise in it 'the richest and greatest contribution of antiquity, or, allowing for the difference of the times, perhaps the greatest of all the works we have upon political science". There is certainly no second work to be named in this field of enquiry which in a like degree displays the rare combination of statesmanlike intellect, a scholar's acquaintance with history, and the observation of a man of science, with the philosopher's systematic arrangement of phenomena and keen penetration into their inmost nature 6. Marvellous student of human nature that he was, Aristotle, although never actually engaged in public affairs, has observed with all a statesman's shrewd sense the complicated political and social relations

increases the improbability of Krohn's assertion mentioned p. 15 n. above, for which these two passages are his sole authority,—that Pol. III. 14 is an excerpt from that very work of Theophrastos. Compare the note on III. 14. 0 (24.24).

1 See above p. 1. That of the two That we were the season of the two That we were the season of t

died 1280.]

³ On this subject generally see Oncken I. t., I. 64—80. The first beginnings of such an appreciation are to be found in Oresme: cp. Roscher in the Zeitschrift f. d. Staatswissensch. XIX. 1863. 305 ff.

"Zaller ed. c. 11 il 15,15 Computer the control of the Bradley's admirable exposition in Hel-laniae (Oxford, 1880) 181-183. Lang is certainly not far wormy when he remarks certainly not far wormy when he remarks translation of Blas. 1, III. V (VII) pp. 15 (London 1872, 18, 1 Indeed, when the control of the decay of the control of the decay of the control of the co

⁶ Zeller ορ. ε. 11 ii 707, 708.

of his nation, and in part of other nations. He has analysed them with the cool indifference of the biologist, with the same unwearied calm and caution which characterize his treatises on natural science. The astonishing store of information which he had amassed upon history in general and the special history of nearly all the Greek communities is here turned to the best account. At the same time there is diffused throughout the work a warm genial breath of philosophic and moral idealism, which, however closely allied to some of its defects, nevertheless reconciles us to certain harsh traits in it. From the writer's peculiar point of view however this very tendency to idealism, so far from softening such traits, serves only to bring them into stronger relief: so that every now and then we see the shrewd thinker, elsewhere os strictly logical, entangle himself in a network of contradictions.

The peculiarity of his point of view and therewith the distinctive importance of the work, historically and for all time to come, consists in this, that Aristotle alone with full and complete success has given expression in theory to the whole import of the Greek state and of Greek political life in all its bearings. The only limitation to this is the decided repugnance he manifests to certain political and social ideas, the outcome of that development of democracy, whereby we may fairly admit the Greek state to have been, so to speak, carried beyond itself. This success deserves to be all the more highly estimated in proportion as his position is in this respect unique. Certainly even before he wrote, not to mention Plato's trenchant dialogues, there was a literature -it may be a tolerably large literature-upon political, legal and social questions, as may be learnt from his own' and Plato's' cursory notices, although we know next to nothing else about these writers 8. The passages quoted show how many ideas deserving of consideration they had disclosed, but at the same time how far they fell short of the goal which Aristotle attained. Here again his dependence on Plato is.

(911). In many of the passages cited above it is doubtful whether he means statements in writing. See L. Stein's paper Greek theories of political science before Aristotle and Plato in the Zeitschriff f. d. gesammte Staatswissensch. IX.

1853. 115—182.

Laws 1. 630 E, XII. 972 E. Cp. on the latter passage n. on II. 6. 17 (219), on the former Hildenbrand op. cil. 395 n. (2).

³ See Henkel's exhaustive collection of facts Studien zur Geschichte der griech. Lehre vom Staat (Leipzig 1872, 8) p. 2 ff.

evident: a dependence far greater than was once imagined or than might be expected from the severity of his polemical criticism, which is frequently, nay in most cases, successful. For firstly, Aristotle's criticism touches what are merely external excrescences of the two pattern states sketched by Plato in the Republic and the Laws: enough of common ground still remains on which to raise his own design of an absolutely best constitution side by side with them1. Further, the Laws proves Plato by no means deficient in exact knowledge of Athenian public life; while above all, his descriptions in the Republic of other constitutions besides the 'only perfect state', i.e. of the actually existing forms of government, suffice to show 'that he did not lack experience or penetration for judging of political conditions 8'. In short Aristotle is indebted to his master for numerous ideas in every department of political speculation*. But it should not be forgotten how often these ideas in Plato are mere germs which only received a fruitful development at the hands of his disciple; or random statements which require to be demonstrated and expanded by Aristotle, and to be fitted into their place in the whole framework of his system. before their full scope is attained. When all has been deducted that can in any way be regarded as an inheritance from Plato, quite enough remains which Aristotle can claim for his very own. One great difference in the works of these two men is most characteristically presented. When Plato comes to deal with existing forms of government he depicts them in a rough and ready way; whereas Aristotle bestows

1 I may refer to the notes on I. 13. 16 (127) IV (VII). 6. 5 (774), I. 13. 16 (127) IV (VII). 0. 5 (774).
II. 5- 2 (153) IV (VII). 10. 13 (838).
II. 5. 7 (158) IV (VII). 12. 2 (859).
II. 5. 15 (166) IV (VII). 15. 10 (326).
II. 6. 5 (192) IV (VII). 16. 1 (327).
II. 6. 10 (208) IV (VII). 16. 12 (944).
II. 7. 6 (236) IV (VIII). 16. 15 (944).
II. 7. 6 (236) IV (VIII). 16. 15 (945). II. 9. 5 (285) V (VIII). 5. 4 (1024), II. 9. 23 (325) V (VIII). 5. 5 (1025): also to Thurot Études sur Aristote 109 ff. (Paris 1866. 8), Van der Rest Platon et Aristote 452 ff. (Bruxelles 1876. 8).

² Zeller op. c. 11 i 783 (Eng. tr. Plato p. 492). More precise details are given in Steinhart Introductions to Plato's Works V. 238 ff., Susemihl Plat. Phil. 11. 226 ff. 3 Reference may be permitted to the notes on the following passages:

Bk. I. 2 § 2 n. (5); 5 § 9 (46); 6 § 8 (54); 9 § 18 (93); 10 §§ 4, 5 (98); 11 § 6 (103); 13 § 12 (121), 13 § 16 (127):

Bk. II. 5 §§ 1, 2 (153), 5 § 16 (167), 5 § 17 (168), 5 §§ 19—24 (172); 6 § 5

(192), 6 § 6 (201), 6 § 9 (206 b) (207), (192), 0 \$ 0 (201), 0 \$ 9 (200) (207), 6 \$ 15 (215); 8 \$ 2 (723) (274), 8 \$ (273) (274), 9 \$ (273), 9 \$ 5 (273), 9 \$ 5 (273), 9 \$ 5 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (273), 9 \$ 7 (27

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(1139) (1140):

(1139) (1140):
Bk. VII (VI). 2 § 3 (1391):
Bk. VIII (V). 9 § 13 (1644); 11 § 10 (1724) (1725), 11 § 11 (1727), 11 § 12 (1729); 12 § 8 (1763), 12 § 9 (1764).

the most affectionate care on explaining and reproducing their minutest details; it is evident that he lingers over them involuntarily, as if they were his own peculiar province, with far greater pleasure and patience, in soite of his theories, than when he is treating of his own ideal state.

From the point of view which has just been characterized the horizon is to Aristotle necessarily limited. Here, too, it is to the limitation that he owes most of what he has in common with Plato upon this subject. In both, the close connexion of Politics with Ethics has a beneficial effect; in both, it is a weakness that this connexion becomes, in genuine Greek fashion, too much like entire unity. Each of them recognises in the state itself the school of morality in the Greek sense of the word, as the harmonious development of all the powers with which individuals in different kind and degree have been endowed; the preparation, therefore, for true human happiness. Only from this point can we explain the peculiar assumption, common to these two thinkers, of a pattern state to be specially constructed in contrast to all actually existing constitutions; a state only possible amongst Hellenes as the most highly gifted race; in which the perfect citizen is also the perfect man'. Further, these two philosophers have no higher or more comprehensive conception of the state than as merely a Greek city-community, a canton with hamlets and villages: hence their ideal of a perfect state never really emerges from this narrow setting?. Nay more, it is saddled with all the conditions of a small Greek city-state: slavery in the first place; depreciation of labour; contempt for commerce, industry, and trade; and the peculiarly Greek conception that leisure, to be devoted to the exclusive pursuit of the affairs of the state, and to the intellectual and moral culture of himself and his fellow-citizens, free from all compulsion to trouble about a living. is the only thing worthy of a true freeman; a conception that to our present view savours strongly of idleness. Lastly this makes it necessary that the minority, consisting of an exclusive body of full citizens, should have a secure capital guaranteed to them ".

But there is this vast difference between Aristotle and Plato. By the latter this very limitation of the Greek city-community is carried to the

subject to this limitation.

¹ I may refer the reader to the somewhat daring but ingenious attempt of my excellent colleague Von Wilamowitz-Moilendorff Aus Kydathes 47—54. (Berlin 1886. 8) to trace the growth of this idea in Plato and his predecessors, and the rise of political speculation generally, to the internal history of the Athenian people and state.

² Comp. on I. 2. 4 note (11), I. 4. 6

n. (19 b), II. z. 3 (132), III. 3. 4 (460).
Wilamowitz on the other hand endeavours to show, op. c. 110—113, that the
Athenian state of Cleistheres and Pericles, as it actually existed, was not really

³ See the notes on 1. 9 § 18, 10 § 4, 11 § 6, 13 § 13; 11. 9 § 2, 11 § 10; 111. 13 § 12 (599).

extreme, and the state as it were forced back into the family, becoming under the ideal constitution nothing but an expanded family. former on the other hand gives all prominence to the conception of the state, so far as the above limitation allows; he is careful to draw the sharpest distinction between the state and the family at the very time when he is demonstrating the true significance of the latter in relation to the former. This is made the starting-point not simply of his whole exposition, wherein at the outset he assumes a hostile attitude to Plato'. but in II. 2 § 2, § 7, of his attack upon Plato's ideal state in particular 2. By exploring, in all directions farther than did his master, the nature of the Hellenic state, he has penetrated to the inmost essence of the state in general, of which this Hellenic state was at any rate an important embodiment. He has thus succeeded in discovering for all succeeding times a series of the most important laws of political and social life. Here first, for example, not in Plato, do we find the outlines of Political Economy. At the same time in this limitation of his point of view must be sought the reason why from the soundest premisses, from observations of fact most striking and profound, he not unfrequently deduces the most mistaken conclusions.

IV. ECONOMIC (O'IKONOMIKH)-SLAVERY AND THE THEORY OF WEALTH®.

The opening chapters, Bk. I. cc. I, 2, form the introduction to the work, and here we follow our author with undivided assent. In opposition to Plato he traces the origin of the family to a process of organic natural growth, and next shows how the state arises out of the family through the intermediate step of the clan-village. At the same time he states what is the specific difference between the state and the family, and characterizes the former as the product of no arbitrary convention, but rather of a necessity arising from man's inner nature. He proclaims a truth as novel as it was important that man, and

See the notes on I. I & z, 3 & 4. 7 \$\$ 1, 2. See further II. 3 § 4-4 § 10, 5 §§ 14

⁻ See nutter II. 38 4—4 8 10, 5 85 14

- 26 and note on II. 2. 2 (134).

^a On this and the following sections comp. Susemill op. cit. On the composition of the Politics 17—49.

⁴ Mommsen's account in the History of Roms, 1 c. 3, p. 3, 7ff. of the Eng. trans. (London 1877. 8), may be compared.

pared.

⁵ Van der Rest op. c. 372. That from this proposition there follows for Aristotle the natural right of slavery, as Onchen (ep. c. II. 29 f.) maintains, is un-deniable: yet he deduces it only by the aid of his other assumptions. Onchen (p. 23) thinks no one would now subscribe the further proposition that he who is by nature outside the state, anoles, is either exalted above humanity or a degraded savage. I am of the contrary opinion;

properly speaking he alone of all creatures upon the earth, is a being destined by nature for political society. Nevertheless the actual combination to form the state appears (see 2 § 15) to be man's own spontaneous act', quite as much as the actual formation of poetry out of its germs in man's inner nature and the first rude attempts to develope them?.

The expositions which form the first main division of the work, the theory of the household or family as the basis of the state (οἰκονομική 1. cc. 3-13), make a mixed impression upon the reader: especially is this true of the account of slavery c. 4. ff.

Besides (1) the view of those in favour of simple adherence to custom, who would maintain the existing slavery due to birth, purchase, or war, as perfectly justified, and (2) the more moderate view accepted by Plato, which pronounced against the extension of slavery to Hellenes*, Aristotle found a third theory already in the field which rejected all slavery as contrary to nature. However true in itself, this last-named theory was many centuries in advance of the age*; and beyond all doubt its defenders had lightly passed over what was the main point, the possibility namely of making their principle a living reality at the time. Either Plato was unacquainted with this view or he considered that it did not require to be refuted; in any case it was an axiom with him, that within the limits assigned slavery was justified. Thus Aristotle deserves unqualified approval for having been the first to appreciate the

the proposition is just as true now as when Aristotle wrote it.

Hildenbrand op. cit. 393 f., Oncken op. cit. 11. 18 f. Comp. n. on 1. 2, 15

(28 b). ² Poet. c. 4 §§ 1—6. ⁸ See on 1. 5 § 9 n. (46), 6 § 8 (54).
⁴ Even in the time of the Roman empire voices like Seneca's remained un-supported. The whole order of ancient society was once for all established on the basis of slavery, and even Christianity, although it contained in itself the principle which must lead to its extinction. could make no alteration for the time being. The primitive Christian Church may have indirectly prepared for the abolition of slavery (see Lecky History of Rationalism 11. 258 ff.), but it was directly hostile to such a change. See for proof and elucidation of this statement L. Schiller Die Lehre des Aristoteles von der Sklaverei 3 ff. (Erlangen 1847. 4) and Oncken op. cit. 11. 60-74. It should be remembered that even now all the traces of slavery have not as yet disappeared

amongst Christian nations, one of the most important having only been destroyed by the recent civil war in North America; that serfdom was but lately abolished in Russia, and the last remnants of it in Germany were not removed until the present century. [If the status of slavery is not tolerated openly in Christendom, there is much analogy to it in the position of uncivilized tribes in relation to European peoples in colonial settlements, e.g. that of the South-African natives to the Boers, under the guise of indenture. But the system of labour recruiting in the Western Pacific for Queensland and Fiji, even assuming that no irregularities occur, and the coolie traffic generally (whether in English, French, or Spanish possessions) have equally the effect of placing ignorant and unprotected natives entirely at the mercy of their employers, and that, too, in a

strange country. H. W. J.]

So Hildenbrand rightly thinks op. ..

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difficulties of the question in their full extent. But a successful solution of it was for him impossible. With a clear and true insight he saw that the theory referred to could not practically be carried out in the Greek state; a higher conception of the state, as we have said, he neither did nor could possess. It was inevitable that this insight should mislead him into the belief that the view itself was theoretically incorrect: that he should honestly endeavour to find scientific grounds for this belief of his, is entirely to his credit. It was just as inevitable that the attempt merely involved him in self-contradictions, and indeed resulted in the proof of the exact opposite. In substance he decides in favour of a view similar to Plato's, which he more exactly determines and modifies by saying that there are certain slaves by nature who are to be sought for amongst non-Hellenes, and that none but these ought actually to be enslaved. 'The thought that slavery is incompatible with 'the dignity of man' has occurred to him as well as to the unconditional opponents of the institution, but not as yet 'the thought of the univers-'ality of man's dignity's. In contradiction to his own psychological principles he makes the difference between the most perfect and the least perfect of men as great as that between man and beast, and thinks that thereby he has theoretically discovered his slaves by nature. But he has himself to admit that there is no certain practical criterion by which to distinguish these men from others. It is quite possible that a slave's soul may dwell in a nobly formed body, and the soul of one of nature's freemen in an isnoble frame; furthermore men of truly free and noble mind may be born amongst the non-Hellenes, or men of servile nature amongst the Hellenes. The consequence is that the criterion of Hellenic birth to which on the whole Aristotle adheres. ought not to serve as an unconditional protection against well deserved slavery4. These, he thinks, are only exceptions to the rule; but he cannot deny that these exceptions are numerous; and yet he does not observe, that therefore of necessity there must be many cases where slavery as it actually exists is in perpetual conflict with the law of nature, even as laid down by himself. His remarks on the need of domestic servants for the house, and on the natural antithesis of ruler and subject pervading all relations of existence are clear and striking: but they by no means warrant the conclusion that these servants must at the same time be slaves or serfs. Yet in all fairness it ought to

¹ See on I. 4 § 2, 5 § 8, § 9 n. (45), 6 3 Hildenbrand op. cii. 40, 4. 6 (50, § 9 n. (50), § 10 n. (57). 1 Comp. the notes on I. 6 § 9 (50), Compare also the notes on I. 4 § 5, n. 2 and 6 § 3 (50).

^{§ 12. 5} See the notes on I. 5 § 8 (43) and 2 Comp. the notes on I. 5 § 10 (47), 5 § 9 (45). 6 § 8 (54).

be borne in mind not merely that the Fathers of the early Church used arguments in favour of slavery which are no better', but that in all ages attempts have been made to justify serfdom or slavery by similar fallacies2. Nav more, Aristotle's arguments, when properly qualified, are well suited to become the subject of grave consideration even in our own day; to make us aware of contradictions in our present views; and thus to suggest some modest restraint upon a too vehement criticism of the great thinker of antiquity. Or does the conviction, which is forced upon us by experience, that whole races of men lack the capacity for civilization, so readily accord with our belief, no less well founded, in the dignity of human nature everywhere? And does the interval between the lowest individual of such a race and the greatest spirits of humanity really fall far short of that which separates man from the animals? If lastly it is not to be denied, that even within the pale of civilized nations Providence ensures the necessary distinction between some men adapted to physical toil and others who are suited to intellectual exertion, should we not be as perplexed as Aristotle if we were required to set up a valid criterion between the two sorts of natures? As a matter of fact he who has to live by the labour of his hands will always be debarred from that complete participation in political life which constitutes the citizen proper. Even the educated man of our own day is so fully occupied with the discharge of his professional duties that frequently he has no time to take that share in politics which the modern state, if it is to prosper, is obliged to demand from him*.

The more general discussions on production and property4 which follow the investigation into slavery, I. 8-II, cannot be said to be attached to it 'in a fairly systematic manner's, but on the contrary quite loosely and lightly. It is open to question, however, whether the passage which we must in all probability assume to be lost a little further on (I. 12. 1) did not originally supplement and complete the requisite organic connexion of these discussions with the theory of the family as a whole7.

1 Oncken op. cit. 11. 73 f.

² Oncken op. cit. 11. 38.

S On this subject see some remarks of Lang, op. c. 60, and Bradley op. c. 215 f., 217 f., which are quoted in the notes on

^{1. 5, 10 (47)} and 111. 5. 7 (511).

4 [Both are included under χρηματιστική. The Greek Krings and the German 'Erwerb' more properly mean 'Acquisition'.
Plato indeed, Soph. 219 C, D, opposes
κτητική to ποιητική, classing all the 'arts'

under one or the other of these two divisions. But it is convenient to retain the established technical term in English treatises on Political Economy, viz. 'Production', that is, production of wealth.

TR.] ⁶ As Teichmüller asserts Die Einheit der aristotelischen Eudämonie 148 (St Petersburg 1850. 8).

⁶ Zeller op. c. II ii 693. ⁷ See on I. 12. I n. (107).

However that may be, certain it is that the principle of exclusive slave labour, which Aristotle has adopted, has robbed his economic theory of precisely that which must be taken to be the soul of the modern science, the conception of economic labour. It has already been remarked that he cannot help sharing to the full the national prejudice of Greece against all industrial labour as something degrading and servile. As Oncken in particular has excellently pointed out, his sort of distinction between direct or natural production and indirect acquisition by means of exchange, and further between the subdivisions of the two species, derives its peculiar colouring from this defect. 'The axiom 'that man must consider himself the born proprietor of all the treasures ' of the earth, we also hold to be true'; and the proposition, which Aristotle is fond of repeating and which we meet with once more here, that nature makes nothing in vain, should continue to be respected in spite of the thorough-going or half-and-half materialism of our times. But one essential side of man's relation to his planet and to the rest of its productions and inhabitants has escaped Aristotle altogether: of the important part borne by labour in determining this relation he knows nothing: in common with all the ancients he lacked the idea of the gradual acquisition of command over nature and of the gradual unfolding of human culture which accompanies it step by step. Hence it is that he has no presentiment of the epoch-making importance of agriculture as the transition to a settled life; he sets this occupation completely on a level with that of the nomad, the hunter, or the fisherman. does not separate settled cattle-breeding from the pastoral life of the herdsman who wanders without a home; nor does he bring it into inseparable connexion, as he should do, with agriculture*. Agriculture moreover, he thinks, can be carried on by slaves just like other trades8, and 'the owner of a piece of ground tilled in this way stands to the 'fruits of the earth in much the same relation as the herdsman, the 'hunter and fisherman. He gets them ready made into his hands, and with even less trouble than they do: thus the notion of individual. 'labour, of personal acquisition in agriculture, falls into the background 'in Aristotle's view. And this explains the gross inexactitude in his 'notion of property, which is disclosed when he treats plunder as a 'further natural species of production standing on the same footing with 'the former species.' Besides, in so doing he overlooks the fact that

op. cit. II. 75—114: whence the passages with quotation marks are taken.

² Cp. also on VII (VI). 4. II π. (1422).
3 See IV (VII). 9 §§ 3, 4 ούτε βάναυσον
βίον ούτ' άγοραίον δεί ξήν τούς πολίτας...

οδδέ δεί γεωργούς είναι, § 8 άναγκαῖον είναι τοὺς γεωργούς δοίλους ή βαρβάρους [ή] περοίκους: 10 §§ 9—13: further Exc. III. on Bk. I and n. (282) on II. 9. 4-

plunder by its very nature cannot possibly be included, as it is by him, with direct appropriation of the gifts of nature as distinct from sale and barter, that is, from every kind of voluntary exchange: for it is nothing else than the transfer of property in the rudest form by violence and without compensation. Whoever then regards the most violent form of this transfer as natural would be bound in all fairness to hold the same of its milder forms, fraud and theft. Nothing but personal labour creates a valid and incontestable right to property, and such a right over the soil can only be won by the plough. Thus Aristotle can make an excellent defence of the utility of property against Plato and can set it in its true light; but missing the conception of economic labour he misses therewith the full and logically clear notion of property. His notion too of what is natural must under such circumstances lose all definiteness when it comes to be applied to civilized nations in advanced stages of development. He certainly never intended to concede to plunder a place in his model state; but he is exposed to the charge of inconsistency, when he nevertheless declares it to be something natural on the ground that it undoubtedly is so to men in a state of nature, without seeing that what is natural for men in a state of nature is not natural for civilized men'. Indeed he has in general no sort of insight into the nature of historical development; for in history he discerns, not the reign of general laws, but merely the action of individual men, free or even capricious, although often wrecked on circumstances.

When he comes to treat of exchange, not merely do we find Adam Smith's distinction between value in use and value in exchange already anticipated*, but the whole discussion is evidence 'how acutely Aristotle 'has thought out a subject which Hellenic philosophy before him 'seems at the best to have barely touched. The successive steps in 'the rise of commerce and the origin of money could not be exhibited with more of truth to fact or of historical accuracy than has been here 'accomplished in a style of unerring precision, piercing to the heart of 'the subject to reproduce it with classic brevity and definiteness, yet so 'exhaustively that modern science has found nothing to alter or to 'add.' Besides admitting that exchange of commodities is not contrary to nature he goes on to show how from it buying and selling necessarily arose, and from that again a new mode of acquisition, trade in merchandise. Apparently he would further allow exchange to be carried on through a coined medium, so long as it is merely to relieve indispensable barter and not as a business of its own. But here comes in again his want of clearness and that inconsistency which leads

See on I. 8. 7 n. (71) and I. q. 8 n. (82).

² Van der Rest op. c. p. 382.

him to see an ever increasing degeneracy and departure from the paths of nature1 in what he himself recognises as a necessary development: 'starting with the most accurate views on the nature and necessity of monetary exchange he is led in the end actually to reject all com-'merce and all practical trading with capital.' He rightly sees how essential it is that the article chosen as the medium of exchange should be useful in itself*, but at the same time as the determinate value of each coin is regulated by law and convention he is misled into the belief that nothing but pure caprice has a hand in this convention: that it was by mere chance that metals have been selected out of all useful articles, and in particular that amongst all the more highly civilized nations gold and silver are exclusively employed for coining into money, at all events for foreign trade. Once for all he states the case in such a way that it might easily be believed he has come, a few lines further on, in contradiction to himself, to hold that coined money no longer current loses even its value as a metal8.

Further, while correctly explaining the origin of money, 'he never-'theless fails to recognise to the full extent the way in which its introduction must naturally react upon the value of natural products : how 'they are all without exception thereby turned into wares, whose value 'is regulated by their market-price, so that anything which finds no 'market, or no sale in the market, possesses no more value than heaps of gold on a desert island; the richest harvest of the productions 'of nature, if its abundance does not attract a purchaser, being just as 'useless rubbish as the wealth called into existence by Midas'. After 'the later stage of a monetary system has been attained Aristotle makes 'the vain attempt to preserve in his conceptions the primitive economy of nature, which has come to an end simply because it has become 'impossible. In the business of the merchant he sees no more than 'what lies on the surface, speculation, money-making, the accumulation 'of capital: accordingly he condemns it as a purely artificial and 'unnatural pursuit. There too he overlooks the mental labour, the economic service which trade renders, not by any means ex-'clusively to benefit the purses of those engaged in it.' The insatiate nature of unscrupulous avarice he opposes in most forcible language. but it is in vain that 'he endeavours to restrict productive labour in 'domestic economy within any other limits than those which are set 'by the powers and conscience of the individual'. Of industry as

⁴ Cp. on I. q. II n. (88). See on I. 9. 8 n. (82).
 See on I. 9. 8 n. (84).

⁵ Comp. the notes on 1. 9 § 13 (90), But see on the other hand the note \$ 18 (93). on I. q. 11 (87).

'understood in Political Economy he has no more conception than 'of labour.' Having failed to recognise the importance of agriculture in human development he now mistakes still more the benefits introduced by property, which money first made really capable of transfer, 'that 'second great victory in the struggle between human labour and the 'forces of nature'. To this great democratic revolution it is impossible 'to accommodate' his thoroughly aristocratic economic theory, which, at the expense of toiling slaves and resident aliens, guarantees in true Hellenic fashion to the handful of privileged citizens their leisure and the secure provision of their subsistence from their family estates, so that in fact they need take no trouble to increase their possessions. 'Aris-'totle's freeholder,' in Oncken's words, 'is not a producer at all, but 'consumes what is given by nature. Aristotle has no insight into the 'true natural law of economic development, the aim of which is to 'overcome nature by freeing industrial life from the vicissitudes of her 'smile and frown.' Of the importance herein attaching to capital antiquity generally and the middle age never had an inkling; as little did they perceive that to receive interest on capital is not really different from selling the produce of labour. On the perverse view which Aristotle took of moneys it is intelligible, that in accord with all ancient philosophy and the whole of the middle age8, he declares lending money upon interest to be the most shameful of all modes of gain; yet it is certainly true on the other hand that 'the free community of antiquity 'was in reality nothing but an association of capitalists who lived on 'the interest of the capital they had invested in their slaves.'

Lastly, it is interesting to see how inconsistent this whole economic theory becomes when it passes over to the 'practical part'. What is here (i. 11 §8', 2) described as the most natural mode of life is nothing but cattle-raising and tillage pure and simple on a large scale, which is impossible without considerable capital, an industrial spirit and a knowledge of the market. Consequently 'the separation which Aristotle has 'made between artificial and natural modes of life cannot be strictly 'maintained even in the case of those who rear cattle and till the soil, 'for whom nature herself, in the strictest sense of the word, provides a 'field of labour. He proves in his own case the truth of his profound 'remark made in this same connexion: that in all such matters, while 'speculation is free, practice has its necessary restrictions.' It is no less noteworthy that in his economic theory he combletely loses shelf of their noteworthy that in his economic theory he combletely loses shelf of their noteworthy that in his economic theory he combletely loses shelf of that

¹ Cp. n. on 1. q. 18 (q₃).

² Cp. nn. on I. 10 §§ 4, 5. ha ³ Comp. Lecky op. c. II. 277—289, 26

Lang op. c. 59. [See however Cunningham Christian Opinion on Usury pp. 26—33, 36 (Edinburgh 1884).]

essential distinction between the family and the state upon which he insists so much elsewhere. Several times in these discussions he mentions the πολιτικός who controls the finances of a state as well as the οἰκονόμος who manages the property of a household, and that too in a way which forces the reader 'to assume that the task and the proce-'dure in both cases are completely similar': 1. 8 \$\ 13-15, 10 \$\ 1-3, 11 § 11. With this agrees the decided irony with which he speaks of those statesmen whose whole political wisdom lies in their financial devices, while these devices amount to nothing but keeping the state coffers constantly filled by all kinds of monopolies. And yet 'the great 'revolution caused by the necessity of exchange he has deduced with perfect correctness from the fact that entirely new conditions of life 'and of production arise as soon as ever a single family developes into a 'circle of several families (1. 9. 5). What changes then are to be antici-'pated when small communities coalesce into a political unity; when 'intercourse springs up between different political bodies and reacts in 'a modifying and transforming manner upon the internal condition of 'each of them! Had Aristotle gone into this question the untenable-'ness of his economic theory would have been made even more glaringly 'manifest than is at present the case.'

In the last chapter of the first book, when Aristotle comes to enquire into the treatment of the slave and his capacity for virtue, his peculiar view of natural slavery involves him in an awkward dilemma. from which he cannot be said to have escaped very happily. The slave by nature to a certain extent remains a human being, and yet again to a certain extent he has, properly speaking, ceased to be one. On the one hand Aristotle demands that there should be a specific difference, and not merely one of degree, between the virtue (αρετή) of the man, the woman, the child, and the slave (e.g. 13 \$ 4, 5). On the other, his own subsequent elaborate enquiry into ethical virtue", as soon as the question is started, wherein consists the distinction between the virtue which commands and the virtue which obeys, tends far more to a mere quantitative variation than to really distinct species8-to say nothing of the further question, wherein the obedience of the wife differs from that of the child, and both from that of the slave. And this is not the only defect which this enquiry displays4.

¹ Strangely misunderstood by Oncken L.c. II. 113, who in consequence unjustly accuses Aristotle of a fresh contradiction here. While admitting that many states need such devices, Aristotle does not thereby imply that he thinks this a proof of the excellence of such states.

² On the way in which Aristotle distinguishes intellectual from moral excel-

lence see on I. 13. 6 n. (112).

Sa Van der Rest op. c. 378. Comp. also
nn. on I. 13 § 7 (114 b) and on §§ 11—13

^{(120—122).} 4 See the nn. on I. 13. 12.

V. The Review of Preceding Theories and Approved Constitutions.

With the second book we come at once to the theory of the state properly so called; divided, according to Aristotle's own statement, into two parts which treat (1) of the constitution, and (2) of legislation. From two passages in the later books, III. $15 \ \hat{5} \ x$, v(v). $18 \ \hat{5} \ y$, it is unquestionable' that the philosopher intended to treat of both in his work; but in the form in which it has come down to us it has not advanced beyond the former, and even of this considerable sections are wanting.

The second book more especially constitutes the critical part, the remainder of the work the positive or dogmatic part, of the theory of the constitution. In the former is contained an examination of the model constitutions proposed by other theorists, Plato, Phaleas, and Hippodamos, as well as of the best amongst the forms of government actually established, Sparta, Crete, Carthage, and the Solonian constitution; a criticism which of course gives us glimpses2 of many of the positive features of Aristotle's own ideal of a constitution. His attack upon the polity of pure reason, as it claims to be, in Plato's Republic ranks among the most successful parts of the whole work. In a higher degree perhaps than anywhere else is here displayed 'the 'philosopher's practical sense, his clear eve open to the conditions and laws of the actual, his profound comprehension of human 'nature and of political and domestic life".' Against every form of socialism and communism it remains unrivalled in cogency up to the present day. All the well-meaning attempts that have been made to defend Plato against this criticism4 have disclosed very little that will

latter passage, the former at all events exclude all objection. Cp. the notes on these passages, (fig0) and (113g); also this passages, (fig0) and (113g); also this passages, (fig0) and (113g); also the first passages, (fig0) and (fig0) and

1 If this sense could be disputed for the

⁴ The oldest attempt of this kind known to us is that of the Nec-Platonist Euchalos, mentioned above p. 18 m. r. It has been submitted to an examination in the state of the property of

stand proof; nor have the charges of sophistry brought against it been to any extent successfully made out1. Only this much is true, that however forcible this criticism is in general it nevertheless contains misapprehensions in particulars, some of which are very serious2; and its author had not the power, if indeed he ever had the will, to transfer himself to the innermost groove of Plato's thoughta,

These defects stand out far more forcibly when in the following chapter he treats of the state described in Plato's Laws. Upon this criticism we cannot pronounce a judgment by any means so favourable: indeed it contains some things which are all but incomprehensible. Even the refutation of community of goods has not altogether that full cogency, derived from the essential nature of the case, which is apparent in the refutation of community of wives and children. As we see from this criticism, and yet more clearly from that upon Phaleas, 7 § 6 f, Aristotle is himself in favour of considerable restrictions upon the rights of property6. Every difference of principle in this respect between his own ideal state and Plato's in the Laws disappears: when all things are taken into account Aristotle is no further removed from Plato's first ideal state in the one than Plato himself in the other 7. Here, therefore, Aristotle's criticism can only affect what are relatively subordinate points, and under these circumstances it frequently assumes a petty and generally unfair character*. The refutation of

1 See on II. 2 § 4 (133), 3 § 9 (142): 4 § 1 (145), § 2 (146) (147), § 9 (151) (152): 5 § 3 (154), § 10 (162), § 16 (167), §§ 20—23 (172), § 25 (181) (182), § 27

(184).

² See on II. 5§ 17 (168), § 19 (170), § 24 (179), § 27 (184): 6 § 3 (187) (189); also on 5 § 22 (177), 6 § 5 (195).

See Zeller Plat. Studien 203 ff. (Tü-

bingen 1839. 8).

4 Even Zeller and Oncken do not seem as yet to have observed this difference. It was fully recognised by Van der Rest op. c. 108 ff., 121 f., 221 ff., 348 ff.: but he did not investigate its causes, and in one particular he should be corrected by the notes on II. 5. 25. It would be quite possible to suspect with Krohn (see p. 14 n. 4) that, wholly or in part, c. 6 is not genuine. But it is hard to see who but Aristotle could have written §§ 10-15, and scarcely anywhere are the difficulties greater. See the notes on these sections.

⁵ See on II. 5. 5. ⁶ See on II. 5 § 7 n. (158), § 15 n. (166), 7 § 6 n. (236 b). How Van der Rest op. c. 349 can blame Aristotle for requiring the public education to aim at creating such a spirit of fraternity that we willingly grant our fellow-citizens a share in the enjoyment of our own possessions, is in-

comprehensible.

7 It is much to be regretted that all comparisons between the ideal states of Plato and Aristotle-such as Bröcker Politicorum, quae docuerunt Plato et Aristoteles, disquisitio et comparatio (Leipzig 1824. 8), Orges Comparatio Platonis et Aristotelis librorum de republica (Berlin 1843. 8), Pierson Vergleichende Charakteristik der Platonischen und der Aristotelischen Ansicht vom Staale in the Rhein. Mus. XIII. 1858. 1—48, 209—247, Rassow Die Republik des Plato und der beste Staat des Aristoteles (Weimar 1866. 4)-have either been expressly confined to the ideal state of the Republic, or, being left incomplete, contain no sort of collection of the similarities and differences between the political ideal of the Laws and that of Aristotle. See further the notes on 1.

13 § 16: 11. 6 § 5 (192), § 6 (201), § 14

(212); 7 § 5 (234), § 6 (236 b); 9 § 5

(285): IV (VII). 16 § 15. 8 See the notes on II. 6 § 3 (188) (189),

§ 4 (190), § 5 (192) (193), § 6 (201), § 7

Phaleas, again, is enriched with the fruits of extensive observation of mankind; but, like the review of Plato's Laus, it leaves untouched the kernel of the matter, the inalienability and indivisibility of the equal portions of land allotted to the citizens. Furthermore Anistotle sees with keen perception that if this measure is to be carried out, a normal number of births and deaths must be calculated and the surplus population, on the basis of this calculation, removed by a resort to abortion, in order that the number of citizens may always remain the same. Nor has he any scruples about recommending this horrible measure and thus invading far more than Phaleas, or Plato in the Laus, the sanctities of marriage and family life¹. What he further insists upon in reply to Phaleas is the same thing which he had already insisted upon when criticizing Plato (c. 5 § 15), namely that uniformity of education of the right kind is the main point, while all the other institutions have only a subsidizy importance?

We may admit then with Oncken * that Aristotle belonged to the few privileged spirits of antiquity who were the pioneers of progress towards that richer and riper humanity which remained foreign to the heathen world at large. In defending the natural law of marriage and private property he first discovered the fundamental laws of the independent life of the community: the position which he assigns to women goes far beyond the Hellenic point of view: and he was the first who, by adjustment of the unity of the state to the freedom of its citizens, at least attempted to determine the limits of the state's activity. But we must also bring out more forcibly than Oncken has done how far, even in Aristotle, all these great conceptions fall short of attaining their clear full logical development to important results. And the review of Hippodamos shows us how little, after all, he was disposed, or even qualified, to follow ideas even then not unknown to Greek antiquity, the tendency of which was by a sharper limitation of the field of law and justice so to break the omnipotence of the state that its legislation should be confined to the maintenance of justice within these limits; this, rather than education, being made its function4. Here, as in the defence of slavery, we see that along with the excesses of democracy Aristotle rejected many just conceptions which had grown out of it5. However much to the purpose the

(238).

^{(204), § 9 (206} b), § 10 (208), § 13 (210), § 14 (212), § 15 (213—215), § 18 (220), § 19 (225—227). 1 See nn. on II. 6 § 5 (192), § 10 (208),

<sup>§ 19 (225—227).

1</sup> See nn. on II. 6 § 5 (192), § 10 (208), state end

\$\$12, 13 (209) (210), 7 § 5 (234).

2 See nn. II. 5 § 15 (165 b), 7 § 8

Excursus of

³ ob. c. I. 191 f.

⁴ See the Excursus II on Hippodamos at the end of Bk. II.

⁵ See above p. 20; and further the Excursus on Hippodamos just cited.

objections which he brings against Hippodamos with regard to his division of the civic body', they are defective from the jurist's point of view's, while he makes not a single attempt to refute what is the real foundation of the whole scheme, the need for the restriction upon legislation described above. Evidently he thinks it not worth while to do so, just as in a later passage (III. 9. 8) he treats every opinion on the function of the state which implies such a mode of regarding legislation as the state disproved.

The review of the political institutions of Sparta, Crete, and Carthage is primarily of great historical value for our knowledge of their constitutions*: indeed apart from it we should know next to

Compare the notes on II. 8 § 2 (253), § 9 (264), § 24 (276): but on the other hand II. 8 § 12 n. (265).

2 See the notes on IL 8 § 5 (258), § 15 (268) ³ Trieber Forschungen zur spartan-ischen Verfassungsgeschichte 99 f. (Berlin 1871. 8) endeavours to prove that, in his account of Sparta and Crete, Aristotle chiefly followed Ephoros. Here I in the main agreed with him in my critical edition p. LXII f., with considerable qualifications however in regard to Sparta. Meanwhile Gilbert Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte pp. 86-109 (Göttingen 1872. 8) endeavoured to show that on the contrary Ephoros made use of the Polities of Aristotle, Frick in the Jahrb. für Philol. CV. 1872 p. 657 made reply to him that Ephoros' work, as is well known. only went down to the year 340 E.C. (It would have been more correct if he had said to 355: for all that follows was added by Demophilos, the son of Ephoros, probably after his father's death.) But it can be proved that Aristotle wrote at his Polities as late as 331, and for the proof Frick refers to Müller Fragm. hist. Gr. II p. 121. Both Gilbert and Frick ought to have known that, from the dates there quoted by Müller on the authority of Meier, Rose Aristoteles pseudepigraphus p. 307 ff. had with far greater reason inferred that the Holtrefat did not appear until the period between the years 318 and 307, and further that it is only on account of the uncertainty of the dates themselves that Heitz Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles (Leipzig 1865. 8.) p. 247 sq., Aristot. fragm. (p. 242 in the Paris edition of Aristotle), rejects this inference. Even if Rose is right we should conclude from this, not as he does, that

Aristotle cannot have been the true au-

thor, but only that the work was first published after his death with additions by the editor. For the genuineness of the groundwork at least has been sufficiently made out by Heitz and by Bergk Zur Aristotelischen Politie der Athener (On a fragment of the Polities found lately, treating of Athens), in the Rhein. Mus. XXXVI. 1881. 87—115: cp. Susemibl in Burriar's Jahreber. XXX. 1882. 20—22. If the matter rested thus Gilbert would be completely refuted. But leaving the correctness of these dates an open question, it is not very probable, to say the least, that Aristotle should have published thus early a work like the Hohreian based upon such comprehensive studies On another side Oncken op. c. II p. 330 f, by the help of fragments of this work which we still possess on the Polity of Lacedaemon, has tried to prove that Aristotle, quite independently of Ephoros, was the first to investigate Spartan constitutional history in true scientific spirit; that he probably visited Sparta himself for this purpose and drew infor-mation there from living oral tradition, The difficulties in connexion with this hypothesis are patent, and with reference to Crete at any rate the coincidence between Aristotle and Ephoros is of such a kind that in accordance with the line of argument above Aristotle must have used either Ephoros or his authority: see the notes on II. 10 § 1 (351), § 2 (352, 354), § 5 (359), § 6 (360). Even with reference to Sparta hardly any other con-Clusion seems possible: see the notes on II. 9 \$ 17 (310); 10 \$ 1, \$ 2 (352, 354), \$ 2 (359); VIII (V). 1 \$ 10 (1498), 7 \$ 2 (1593), 11 \$ 3 (1710), 12 \$ 12 (1771), and compare Rose of cit. 398, 490. Only we are not to infer from this that Ephoros was Aristotle's only authority

nothing of the Carthaginian constitution: moreover we are bound on the whole to subscribe to Aristotle's estimate of them.' We shall not venture however to tank his ments quite so highly as Oncken has done. Certainly there never was before so mercilessly destructive and yet so just a criticism upon that Spartan state which up till then had been, most unwarrantably, the idol of all aristocratic and oligarchical circles. Yet on the one hand we must remember that close as were his relations with those circles, and although in essentials his own patternstates were based upon similar foundations, Plato had been by no means blind to the defects of the Crean and Spartan constitutions. Indeed in important particulars, and even in those of the greatest importance, Aristotle can but repeat the censure pronounced by his master.' On the other hand it is really necessary to reflect how, after so crushing a criticism which leaves scarcely anything untouched, Aristotle can possibly still be content, like Plato, to pronounce the Cretan and

here. On the contrary while it is more in than doubtful whether he has Ephoros in view when he quotes certain opinions and statements (see on 11. 6. 17, 11. 9, 11), it is quite certain that in regard clearly in clearly indeed from all other authorities. This indeed from all other authorities. This divergence must be due to another source, and here and there to one which he alone from the contract of the contrac

(369): VI (IV). II § 15 (1301).

In spite of Oncken's opposition it will still remain the universal belief that the picture which Aristotle draws of the condition of Sparta agrees fully and com-pletely only with the Sparta of later times. But the extreme view that this description in no respect applies to the Sparta of the earlier times should perhaps be modified. What is to be said, for instance, when Trieber op. cit. p. 136 ff. actually praises Aristotle for having in his criticism of the Spartan constitution taken into account simply the existing historical relations of his age, thereby fulfilling a condition laid down generally by the science of history in our time; while at the same time he would fain persuade us that this procedure, so far as the history of Spartan antiquity was neglected, was due to ignorance and resulted in misstatement! Why should not a part of the mischiefs discovered by him, and the germ at least of the remainder, have always existed in the Spartan state, even if it was not perhaps until after the Persian wars that this germ developed with gradually increasing strength and banefulness? And the procedure which Trieber commends only deserves to be praised because in fact even in historical matters we are fully entitled to argue from consequences to their causes, from the end to the beginning. Whoever con-siders the facts collected in the note on II. 9. 37 (350) will hardly find the sug-gestion of Trieber and others—that the readiness of the Spartan ephors and senators to receive bribes only belongs to later times—particularly credible; but first of all he will enquire, with what date these later times ought rightly to commence. Fülleborn in a note to Garve's translation II p. 242 says most sensibly: 'Aristotle's remarks are very strangely contradicted by all the famous anecdotes of the hero-'ism and chastity of the Spartan women. But different periods must be distin-*guished in Spartan history.....and it 'should be borne in mind that Aristotle "after all deserves more credit than 'scattered anecdotes of such a kind.' But should not this consideration be extended to other cases? Where Aristotle assumes that Spartan institutions were always thus and thus, while later writers contradict him and even claim to know the names of those who introduced the change, should we directly and unbesitatingly pronounce these later authorities right? See the notes on II. 9 § 14 (200, 300), § 15 (303).

² Of what is really the main point Aristotle says this himself II. 9 § 34 (cp. note). See further the notes on II, 9 § 5 (283), § 11 (295 b), § 20 (318), § 23 (324), § 25 (339), § 27 (335), § 31 (341).

Spartan constitutions (with the addition merely of the Carthaginian) to be the next best after his own model state, and thus himself to sacrifice to the idol he has just destroyed. As to the socialist elements in those constitutions, they certainly do not go too far for him, but on the contrary not far enough; like his master, he is far more rigidly logical. The social principles of Aristotle's model state are as strictly deduced as those of Plato's.

It would be quite incredible that, amongst the best approved constitutions actually established, Aristotle should not have mentioned Solon's as well as the other three. For this reason alone it is hardly conceivable that the section in which it is discussed should not be genuine: rather is it matter of surprise that the subject is dismissed so briefly. But the mere list of legislators, with which the second book ends, is certainly a foreign interpolation which contradicts the clearly expressed purpose of the book.

VI. THE LEADING PROPOSITIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

We might naturally expect the exposition of Aristotle's own model constitution to follow directly upon this criticism of those which claim that title. But here again, with that characteristic unlikeness to Plato which was before remarked's our philosopher declines to regard as comparatively unimportant everything else in political theory except the perfect state. The positive or constructive side of the theory of the constitution, to which we now come, includes two parts, one general, the other special. The former' and much shorter portion, m. cc. 1—15, treats of the fundamental conditions of the healthy working of constitutions, which, as such, apply equally to the best form of state and to all others'. More explicitly, this portion falls into two main divisions: the first (A), cc. 1—5, while touching here and there by anticipation 'upon the classification of separate constitutions, for the most part merely prepares for this by a discussion of the fundamental political concentions which must be assumed for all of them; the true citizens cc. 1,

¹ See further the notes on II. 12 § 1, § 10 (421), § 12 (423, 425), § 13 (427).

² p. 21. ³ On what follows compare Susemihl On the Third Book of Aristotle's Politics in Philologus XXIX. 1870. 97—119.

⁴ Hildenbrand, etc. 408 f. He rightly points out another reason why Bk. III should follow closely on Bk. II; 'the 'latter, at its very outset, along with its 'task of criticism attempts a positive

^{&#}x27;solution of the problem'—of the utmost importance for all constitutions and intimately connected with the subject of Bk. 1—'whether and to what extent the 'family and private property, institutions 'anbserving individual interests, have any 'right to continue in the presence of the 'state, the organization for the common

^{*}Wesl.*

5 III. 1 § 9 n. (439 b), 3 § 1, 2 n. (456), 5 § 5—7 n. (508).

2: the essential identity of a state c. 3: the relation between the virtue of the good citizen and that of the good man cc. 4, 5. Now this relation will vary under different constitutions and thus determine their nature and comparative merit. The subject of the remaining chapters (B), cc. 6—13, is, firstly, a definition of constitution (πολιτεία) in general, and a preliminary classification of the several forms of the state (πολιτείαι). As we are told in Bk, I., the end of the state is Happiness. the true well-being and common weal of the citizens. All constitutions which make the interest of the governed the end of government are normal constitutions (ορθαὶ πολιτεῖαι): those which exist for the interest of the governors are corruptions or degenerate varieties (παρεκβάσεις) c. 6. Then, by a merely numerical standard, the normal constitutions are provisionally divided into Monarchy, True Aristocracy and Polity (Πολιτεία proper); the corrupt forms into Tyranny (τυραγγίς), Oligarchy, Democracy; according as one man, a minority, or the majority respectively rule (c, 7). We pass on (c. 8) to consider secondly a series of difficult problems (amoplas). From the discussion of the first of these it appears that it is merely an accident of Oligarchy and Democracy that a minority governs in the one, a majority in the other. It is essentially the selfish government of the rich by the poor which constitutes Democracy, the selfish government of the poor by the rich which constitutes Oligarchy (c. 8). The remaining discussions treat at greater length three separate inquiries: (a) in c, 9, (b) in cc, 10, 11, (v) in cc, 12. 131. From the definitions just framed the first (a) draws the inference that in reality the true end of the state is not adequately secured upon the democratic principle-equal political privileges to all citizens who are equal in respect of free birth: nor yet upon the principle of oligarchy; for the state is no joint-stock trading company; the aristocratical principle of intelligence, virtue, and merit is alone sufficient

- (A) First main division : cc. 1—5
 - (a) Who is the true citizen? cc. 1, 2
 (β) What constitutes the identity of a state? c. 3
 - (γ) Is the virtue of the good citizen the same with the virtue of the good man? cc. 4, 5.
- (B) Second main division : cc. 6—13
 (I) Constitution defined; preliminary
 - classification of constitutions:
 - (II) Discussion of difficult problems (ἀπορίαι): cc. 8—13

- More precise definitions of Democracy and Oligarchy: c. 8 The comparative merit of consti-
- tutions: cc. 9—13
 (a) the aristocratical principle preferable to that of democracy
- and of oligarchy: c. 9
 (β) the mass of the citizens and the laws in what sense sovereign on an aristocratical principle:
- (7) the claims of the better citizens and of the mass how best accommodated on this principle, and the varieties (monarchy, pure aristocracy, polity) thence resulting: ce. 12, 13.

¹ The subdivisions of III. cc, I—I3 may thus be tabulated:

(c o). This is followed by the inference (β) that the higher the capacity of a body of citizens, and consequently of a state, the more as a rule does the worth of eminent individuals fall short of that of the great mass of other citizens taken collectively, just as the wealth of the richest individuals amongst them is outweighed by the total property belonging to the remainder. Hence, even on an aristocratical principle, sovereignty belongs to the whole body. Yet this many-headed sovereign, besides being restrained by the laws, must always in the direct exercise of its powers be confined to the election of magistrates (δρραμφτώ) and to the scrutiny of their conduct, when, at the expiry of their term of office, they render an account of their stewardship (δρθναν). All the details of state affairs will be entrusted to the magistrates elected by such a competent civic body from amongst is ablest members.

A marvellously profound thought this, marking its author's essential independence of Plato', and proving how powerfully he had been influenced by democracy and the Athenian polity. However distinctly he, like Plato, disapproves of its unrestrained development in Athens and elsewhere subsequently to the time of Pericles', he has nevertheless laid down for all time the justification of the democratic element in political life', and has done something at least to set a proper limitation to it. Moreover this thought has a far wider bearing. A true constitutional state combining freedom and order, whether under a monarchy or a republic, whether prince or people is sovereign within it, is only conceivable if the sovereign has definite limitations imposed by law upon the direct exercise of his sovereignty, in keeping with the true

egesis.

² For this reason Oncken's assertion

1. c. 172, that the exposition given 11

§§ 15, 16 is borrowed from observation of
the Attic democracy, as it was even after

Pericles' time, is not correct.

3 Whether Trendelenburg in Natur-

sovereignty, in keeping with the true
rwife p. 458 (Esping 1806. 8) has railly
shown "the fillesy of his analogie" in
Hendel thinks 1.c. may be seen from
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external and internal relations of power. No doubt the restraints imposed by a constitutional state of large size in modern times are very different from those devised by Aristotle for his Greek cantonstate, and suggested by the forms most suited to his purpose amongst those in actual existence. Yet after all, although the idea was foreign to him and to all antiquity, it is upon just this principle that representative government rests. Now-a-days the people does not elect the magistrates, unless it be the president of a republic, the borrowed monarchical head of the whole state: they are nominated by the monarch or his republican fac-simile, and there is no popular court to which they are directly accountable. Legislation again, the settlement of the state revenue and expenditure, and all that is included therein, are no longer directly in the hands of the entire body of the citizens. But even under a strict constitutional monarchy, where the monarch is the only recognized sovereign, the people have a most substantial share of political privilege, in that through their representatives they take part indirectly in legislation, in voting the budget, the ratification of treaties and the control of the administration. Even the most conservative modern statesman no longer overlooks the fact that the strange phenomenon, changeable as the wind, called public opinion', may in certain circumstances be consolidated into a firm, enduring, real popular will. which even under the most absolute monarchy gradually becomes the most powerful and irresistible of all political forces; and that thus the so-called sovereignty of the people, which as a legal principle is more than doubtful, yet in fact indirectly and ultimately ever prevails. No one knows better than Aristotle that nothing is more foolish than the masses: but he is quite as well aware, that again there is nothing wiser. Where the one quality ceases and the other begins he has not attempted to determine and perhaps this is an attempt which no mortal man can make with success. He is 'far too well-trained a realist,' to fall into the error of those who treat that Proteus, the public, as if it did not exist, or who do not know how to reckon with such a force. He was, so far as we know, the first to expound, prove, sift, and limit this thought which up till then had only been thrown out by democratic party leaders2; the first who, while accepting it not with interested views merely but from full conviction, yet considers it impartially in the spirit of the true statesman who has in view only the welfare of all, and of the psychologist who 'has an understanding for the instincts of a great people. He believes

¹ Demosth. Fals. kg. 135: ως ο μέν δημός εστιν ασταθμητότατον πράγμα των πάντων καὶ ἀστωθετώτατον, ώς ωντερ έν θαλάττη προϋμα άκατάστατον, ώς ωντέντη κυρώματης.

Oncken op. c. II. 168.
 Compare Athenagoras in Thucyd. VI. 30. 1: also Pericles ib. II. 40, Otanes in Herod. III. 80 s. fm.

'the individual can be ennobled through the common feeling of the 'body corporate to which he belongs; that his powers and intelligence 'can be multiplied, his good instincts raised, his bad ones corrected 'through being merged in a higher unity: and this is the only ethical 'point of view, under which an intrinsic right to political elevation can 'be ascribed to the people. Aristotle uses an example here (c. 11 § 3) which contains in itself a great concession. The capacity of the 'public for judging in matters of artistic taste he touches upon as a 'truth which needs no proof; and yet on this very field the right of 'the masses to decide is much more disputed and much more dis-'putable than on that of public life, where the weal and woe of each 'individual is in question and the healthy instinct frequently sees 'further than all the intelligence of the experts'.' Plato is of quite another opinion (Laws III. 700 E ff.)*, and 'nothing is easier than by resolving the public into its elements to show that it really consists of 'mere cyphers": but it is impossible to do away with the fact that the 'noet or artist is nothing without this public, which he must conquer in 'order to rule, and that the judgments of this court have a force with 'which the view of the experts, who are seldom agreed, can never be 'matched'.' Spengel' is undoubtedly right: these chapters (III. cc. o-12) contain doctrines more important than any to be found elsewhere in the work, doctrines 'which deserve to be written in letters of gold.'

This section ends with the remark (III, 11, 20) that all this does not as yet inform us what kind of laws there ought to be, but simply that those made in the spirit of the right constitution are the right ones. In other words, the order of merit of the normal constitutions, and in its complete form that of the degenerate varieties, is not yet decided. We

1 See however the notes on III. 11 § 2 (565 b), 15 § 8 (647).

2 Yet on the other hand see Symp. 194. 3 Such a resolution Socrates undertakes in Xenoph. Memor. 111. 7 in the

case of the popular assembly (Vettori).

4 Oncken 11. 165 f. 'What,' he rightly adds, 'would have become of the Ger-man drama of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, had its fate rested solely with the critics, from Gottsched and Nicolai down to the romantic school?' It is however a mistake to suppose that the further step from this 'passive' popular sovereignty to the 'active sovereignty, which finds expression in the self-government of the Demos by the Demos' was also taken by Aristotle, 'when he recognized Polity as a form of government on an equality with Monarchy and Aristocracy' (Oncken II. 169, 230 f.). For

(1) Aristotle did not recognize Polity as standing on an equality with the other two forms of government, VI (IV). 8. I : and (2) no greater rights are granted to the people in a Polity than in an aristocracy or a moderate democracy, VI (IV).

14. \$\infty\$ 10, 14. And when Oncken made the assertion (II. 174) that Aristotle invariably subordinated to the law and the popular decree the wisdom and virtue of popular decree the wisdom and virtue of even the best individual citizen, he must surely have forgotten the substance of III. c. 13, c. 17 & 5-8. * Arist. Stud. II. p. 54 (646). * In general the result of the preceding statements is that Democracy is prefer-

able to Oligarchy, and the latter preferable to a Tyranny; but whether and how far a moderate oligarchy deserves to rank before an unrestrained democracy has not vet been decided.

naturally expect the remaining discussion (v), cc. 12, 13, to give at least the outlines of such a decision, bringing the whole exposition into real organic connexion with the previous classification of forms of government, and thus concluding the general theory of the constitution. But at first sight this expectation would seem to be wholly disappointed. Schlosser' was the first to find fault, not without reason. So much of the previous discussion (cc. 8-11) is repeated in cc. 12, 13 that he conjectured, not very happily, that these chapters had been transposed. After him Bernayse declared cc. 12, 13 to be simply another version of cc. q-11 and cc. 16, 17. This view requires careful examination. Against it may be urged that the subject of cc. 14, 15 (indeed the whole discussion περί βασιλείας, cc. 14-17) is quite as closely connected by its contents with c. II as it is with the latter half of c. I2 (\$\\$ 13-25), and much more so than it is with cc. 12, 13 \$\\$ 1-12; and as it most naturally follows upon c. 138, there would be a tremendous gap, in accordance with the remark above made, between the end of c. 11 and the discussion on Monarchy at the beginning of c. 14, which on Bernays' view would directly follow. Notwithstanding this, cc. 12, 13 SS 1-12 might well pass for another version of cc. 9-11, lacking only the important second question as to the limits to the sovereignty of a competent body of citizens. In that case, however, the editor must have made more than a slight change in the passage to adapt it to its present place. For though the reference in 13 \$ 1 to c. off, as preceding might be cut out as a loose addition, that contained in 13 § 2 is firmly embedded in the context*. On the other hand, the latter part of c, 13 (\$\ 13-25), which is really devoid of all connexion with the earlier part as it at present stands, might conveniently come immediately after c. II as an exception to the rule there set forth, thus: 'if however an individual man is superior to all the citizens together, then in the best state he stands above the law 'as absolute king and ruler.' The question of 11 § 20 noticed above would then remain unanswered, but it might be urged that it belongs to the theory of the special constitutions to provide the answer. But graver considerations remain. From 11 § 8 it would

tioned. But surely it is enough that in

13 § 20 the mention of them as opposed to the corrupt forms serves to introduce

the whole of the succeeding exposition, although at last this stops short (§ 24)

merely at the antithesis of the best con-

¹ In his translation vol. I. p. 296 n. 79. Cp. my note on III. 13. 12 (599).

In the note to his translation, p. 172. 8 Bernays indeed disputes this. He maintains that the sentence which states mandams the semeste which states the propriety of this transition, φαμέν γάρ τῶν ρόδων πολιτιών μίαν εθναι ταύτην 1. c. βασιλείαν (III. 14. I) finds no point of con-

nexion in the last words of c. 13, since the normal constitutions are not there men-

stitution and the corrupt forms. 4 Cf. the notes on III. 13 88 1, 2. 5 As Conring saw.

⁶ P. 41 : sec also p. 43 n. 2.

follow, in contradiction to Aristotle's view, that even in the best state the magistrates might be elected from men of a definite census only'. Further there is one short sentence in c. 13, in its traditional place entirely unconnected with what precedes or follows, § 6, which however would be quite in place immediately before § 13. The close of § 12 has no counterpart at present in the previous chapters, yet it cannot be separated from its immediately preceding context; and it is evident that the subsidiary question here raised, - 'Are the best 'laws to be made for the advantage of the better citizens or of the 'majority?'-stands in the closest connexion with the main question at II & 20°; but no less evident that the answer to it here given is incompletea. There is then in any case a lacuna after 13 § 12: we can easily imagine something to fill it, after which what in our present order stands as § 6 followed quite naturally 1.

If therefore we really have two versions of the same subject-matter before us, then the older one contained in cc. 12, 13 has been handed down to us in worse condition and is the more incomplete; the later version, cc. q-11, must have been left unfinished. In any case there is no redundancy noticeable here, but rather a lamentable deficiency. But on the other hand, the inquiry as to which is the most normal and best of the normal constitutions (11 § 20) can only be conducted by a more exact determination and modification of the previous result with regard to the most legitimate holder of sovereign power; and this consideration seems to render necessary a certain review of all the political factors, whatever their justification. It was further stated expressly, 11 § 1, that all the cases except that in which the sovereignty of the people is justified are to be afterwards discussed. Now it cannot be denied that c. 12 does make a start in this direction by first deciding universally which factors really can lay claim to political rule and thereby granting at the outset that wealth (and therefore Oligarchy) has a certain justification. The diffuseness of the repetition is not commendable, but in such works as those of Aristotle's which have been preserved it has simply to be accepted

¹ See the note on III, 11. 8 (560). 2 πότερον τώνομοθέτη νομοθετητέον, βου-

λομένω τίθεσθαι τους δρθοτάτους νόμους, προς το των βελτιόνων συμφέρον ή προς το των πλειόνων ; III. 13 § 12. Compare οποίους μέντοι τινάς δεί είναι τοὺς δρθώς κειμένους νόμους, ούδέν πω δήλον...πλήν τουτό γε φανερόν δτι δεί πρός τήν πολιτείαν κείσθαι

τοὺς νόμους, 11 § 20.

See Thurot's excellent and convincing analysis Etudes 47 ff., from which Susemihl should not have expressed par-

tial dissent in Philologus XXIX. 113-15 and in the critical edition. It requires correction in one important point only which does not affect the present question: see the note on III. 13. 12 (599). Compare also Susemihl Compos. der Arist. Pol. 23 ff (where however the last sentence of n. 19 should be rescinded) and in part Spengel Arist. Stud. III. 24.

⁴ See again the note on III. 13. 12. 5 Cp. the note on III. II. I.

⁶ See on III. 13. 12 n. (599).

in silence. The main point is that in the lacuna following 13 § 12, before § 6 (the proper place of which is between § 12 and § 13), a convenient place presented itself for a discussion declaring the true Aristocracy to be an unlimited democracy of none but competent men and ranking it above Polity (Πολιτεία)1; as in the latter the inferior capacity of the body of citizens leads to the introduction of a property qualification to ensure the election of none but men of special excellence as magistrates. Lastly, it is clear from cc. 14-17, that in the developed Greek state there is only one case where Aristotle admits monarchy, namely, when the monarch is superior in ability to all the rest taken together; and he assumes that only the citizens of the best state, all men of ability themselves, will accept such a monarchy. It becomes doubly difficult then, nay almost impossible, that such a case should ever occur. Still it remains just conceivable, and as long as this condition of things lasts the best state, instead of being an aristocracy, is, in this exceptional case, the only true monarchy: this then is the absolutely best constitution, superior even to Aristocracy*,

VII. MONARCHY AND THE BEST STATE.

If the foregoing arguments are sound, the special theory of the constitution falls into three parts; the theory (i) of monarchy. (ii) of the best constitution, (iii) of the remaining constitutions. The first comprises Bk. III cc. 14-17, the second Bkk. Iv and v. (in the old order vii. viii), the third the remaining three books.

Aristotle's conception of monarchy as explained above not unnaturally determines the very character of his discussion of it. This discussion has indeed come down to us in the utmost confusion, and appears somewhat defective: but even after a clear order of thought has been attained by means of various transpositions, the impression it makes upon us is, from the standing of our own political development and experience, highly unsatisfactory. The cause of this is not far to seek. The only true and proper monarchy which Aristotle from his point of view can recognise, is absolute monarchy: we may for the most part entirely concur in his objections to this form, and yet consider that, treated thus far, the subject has been by no means exhausted. In Aristotle's time the sole monarchies of any note which history had

See the note last quoted.
 See VI (IV). 2. 2 with nm. (1136, 1137). If this premiss be granted, the unlimited rule of a person superior in

ability to all the others together, in-cluding even the best, must certainly be absolutely the best.

produced, except the Greek tyrannies, were despotism, as found in the huge empires of the east, and the so-called patriarchal kingship of the heroic age-the rule of a chief over a small clan and territory, over a Phoenician or Hellenic city-state or canton in prehistoric centuries. Even the rule of the Macedonian kings was, by him at least, regarded in no other light. For the small Greek state, which he keeps solely in view, monarchy is hardly deserving of much more consideration than as the imperfect historical starting point of all subsequent development1. In the organism of the large modern state, absolute monarchy, where it has rightly understood its task, has actually helped to educate men for a reign of law under a constitutional monarchy. Nowhere else could this latter arise. The ancient state had not got so far as its very first condition, which is representation; and like all other political thinkers of antiquity even Aristotle, as was remarked above (p. 40), was as yet far removed from the faintest idea of this kind*. It was his too one-sided conception of the state as the exclusive means of educating men to mental and moral excellence that gave rise to his ideal state, and made him set ideal monarchy in it above ideal aristocracy, thereby declaring the form of government proper for intellectual minors to be the highest form for the most enlightened,-although, this being so, he can scarcely hide from himself its impossibility. This however did not hinder him from seeking, by the adjustment of opposite forces, a further practical ideal amongst the degenerate constitutions in Polity (Πολιτεία) and so-called aristocracy. Here he has rightly pursued the thought of elevating the authority of the state above the strife of divergent interests; yet from the circumstances, the most effective realization of this thought in limited monarchy never came under his ken. He can finely describe the functions of the king, but the real significance of this form of government is concealed from him: he gets no farther

1 Spraged Arist. Stud. II. 53; "Benged Arist. Sol. Alex is to Aristote a historical tradition rather than a form with any further capacity for life in the mental development of his own nation;—and life all Greek philosophers and political varieties he rarely notices any other. Thus he is rarely notices any other. Thus he is difficulties involved in the practicability and proper limits of this government. Our astonishment at this defective method of treatment, which first surprised Schloser, hereupon ceases. Spengel put the question Unit. Part. Part. 10-1.

cussions of cc. 14—16? The way kings govern, their inner life, their influence on the people is quite lost sight of. This must be answered in the affirmative with one exception, to be afterwards mentioned p. 46, for which we can easily account. The ideal king, the preeminently best man, can have no instructions given him (c. 13 § 14, c. 17 § 2).

² And therefore far from any idea that true popular liberty thrives best under wisely limited monarchy.

^{**}See the notes on III. 13 § 14 (601), § 25 (615).

<sup>§ 25 (015).

4</sup> See Henkel op. c. 95. n. 25; also VIII (V). 10 § 0, 10 with n. (166s).

than to base it exclusively upon personal merits¹, so that no place is left for it in the practical ideal of mixed constitutions⁸. This inevitably causes an internal inconsistency in the work. According to his plan, the last three books ought to have treated exclusively of the remaining constitutions other than monardy and pure aristocracy. But on the historical ground of revolutions and their prevention he cannot help treating of monarchy over again in Bk. vui (V).

It is abundantly clear from the foregoing that nothing can be a greater mistake than the assertion, sometimes made of late, that in his ideal king Aristotle had his own pupil, Alexander, before his mind*. It may be surprising that the philosopher's relations with the court of Macedon failed so completely to influence his political theory, that he had no apprehension that he was living right at the close of Hellenic history, with its political development, its system of great and small states; but on the contrary saw nothing impossible in such a new development of a Greek city-state as his ideal constitution would present. But the fact that it is so cannot be altered by our astonishment and inability, with the means at our disposal, satisfactorily to explain it. This ideal of Aristotle's is in reality a small Hellenic city and not a large state like Macedon, which ceases to be a state (πόλις) in his sense of the term, and is no more than a race or nationality (20vos), carrying out a policy of conquest and not, as he requires, a policy of peace. If then the ideal king is to arise only in the ideal state, he cannot be an Alexander. Once no doubt the thought flashes forth, IV (VII), 7, 3, that the Greeks united in one could conquer the whole world. But to Aristotle the end of the state is, as we said, not the conquest of the world but something quite different; no longing for such a state

last attempts to stamp Aristofle as a Macedonian partizon, made by Bernaya Macedonian partizon, made by Bernaya Macedonian partizon, made by Bernaya Milamowitz Aristiqueur tow Maryster 1841, 1854 (Heinin Sisk), have not proved for fortunate; see Burstinet Yukuruter. Natura Safe (Heinin Sisk), have not provide made and classicolora Alteribam I. 54-103, who goes still further Perlawary 1881, how goes still further perlawary 1881, how goes still further and dem classicolora Alteribam I. 54-103, how goes still further and the particular 1885, and the still further still further than 1841 (1981). The passage 10 (1911), 2-11 (ept. the not); a still important for this question although its surficion, despets to which it belongs, its surficion, despets to which it belongs to surfice despets to the surfice despets to which it belongs to surfice despets to which it is belongs to surfice despets to which it is belongs to surfice despets to which it is belong to the surfice despets to the surf

¹ See the n. on III. 13. 9; also VI (IV). 2. 2, VIII (V). 1 § 11 with n. (1503), 10

⁴ Cp. the note there (782).

of united Hellas, which would contradict all the rest of the Politics, is in the least discoverable in this passage.

On the subject of historical science Aristotle's notions are very defective: he is in truth still far removed from that 'which we our-'selves have only learned to know within the last century, that which 'Turgot and Lessing intended by the improvement and education 'of humanity, and Hegel defined as its organic development.' He altogether mistook the true importance of labour, 'the mightiest lever 'in this process.' Yet it would be going too far to deny him all insight into the course of development of the Greek nation from the state of nature to the state of civilization, and from one grade of civilization to another, or into the features of this progress stamped upon the history of the Greek constitutions'. We are set right on this point by a brief but especially interesting part of the discussion on monarchy (III. 15 88 10-13), when taken in connexion with similar passages further on". 'Aristotle has not simply observed for himself the career of the 'separate states; he knows that they have also a common constitutional 'history: that a definite order of polity belongs to an entire period: 'that the same development of mental culture, of social and military 'organisation, is accomplished all through a group of connected states 'and causes their political relations to assume an homogeneous form, 'And so he depicts with a few masterly strokes the chief stages of 'development through which the political world of Hellas passeds.' The first development embraces the normal constitutions as far as Polity: the second, in another order, the degenerate forms as far as democracy: the former carrying us to restrained, and the latter to unrestrained, popular supremacy. The main character of both periods is republican. In the first of them Monarchy is only a starting-point, as has been said, for Aristocracy and Polity; in the second Tyranny is only a stage in the transition to Democracy.

Any one who has followed the order of our work up to this point will be bound to admit that the description of the ideal Aristocracy, or the normal and absolutely best constitution, can now no longer be deferred. If so, then the two books containing it, which have come down to us as the seventh and eighth, should according to Aristotle's design follow directly as the fourth and fifth. Now the last chapter of Book III. c. 18, forms an immediate transition to this description, breaking off with an unfinished sentence, which is repeated in another

¹ Oncken II. 169, cp. 137 f.

² Cp. the notes on III. I4 § 12 (627), 15 § 11, § 12 (662), § 13 (663). ⁸ Henkel op. c. 94. But certainly this

description leaves much to be desired, as may be gathered from Oncken's remarks. Cp. also the notes on III. 15 §§ 11—13.

4 Henkel op. c. of f.

form at the beginning of the seventh book of the old order1, but with an apodosis here added and the sense complete as follows: 'He who 'would investigate wherein the best constitution consists must first 'determine what is the best life,'-since on Aristotle's view of the end of the state the one serves as an aid to the others. And this circumstance loses none of its weight by the fact that this transition can hardly be by Aristotle himself, but by the author of the older edition. For even then it shows (see above, p. 17) that he at all events found the seventh and eighth books still arranged correctly as the fourth and fifth.

It can hardly be maintained that the discussion contained in the first chapter of the seventh or, more correctly, the fourth book, as to where that best and most desirable life, the life of happiness, is to be sought, is not by Aristotle: but while appropriate to his oral lectures, as was remarked above (p. 12), it is to all appearance very foreign to this written works. And this is no less true of the treatment of a second preliminary question which follows in close connexion, in cc. 2 and 3 and the beginning of c. 4; namely, whether capacity in war or in peace is more desirable for the state, and in particular whether the active life of the practical statesman or the contemplative life of the scientific inquirer is the happier for the individual. Further, the way in which this subject is settled or rather left unsettled is quite unlike Aristotle'. To the genuine Aristotle this is no preliminary question, but the really fundamental problem of his whole ideal of the state. The one side of it he has himself settled with the most desirable cleamess when describing his ideal, IV (VII). 14. 10 ff., in such a way that he at the same time lays down the principles for the solution of the second and much more difficult question, which is really the cardinal problem of his whole practical philosophy. For here no less than in what follows, as in the Ethics and Metaphysics, he ranks the theoretical life above the life of practical politics, and yet he considers the individual to be merely one living member of that corporate body the state: and the reconciliation of this antithesis can only be found in a political life which itself regards the promotion of art and science as its highest and ultimate aim7. This

¹ In the text both versions will be found at the commencement of Book IV

⁽vii).

² Cp. in particular Spengel Ueb. Arist.

Pol. 17 ff., Arist. Stud. II. 60 (652) ff., and Susemihl in the Jahrb. f. Philol.

XCIX. 1860, 604 ff. 3 See the notes on IV (VII). I § 2, § 10

^{(704), §§ 13, 14.} 4 See the notes on IV (VII). 2 §§ 3—6,

^{§ 11 (725), § 16 (720); 3 § 3, § 6 (741),}

<sup>§ 8 (743), § 9 (745), § 10: 4 § 1.

*</sup> IV (VII). 15 § 8 8—10, V (VIII). c. 3,
c. 5 § 4 with sss. (1023, 1024) § 12—14.
Cp. the notes on IV (VIII). 14 § 8 (903),
IS § 2 (917): V (VIII). 2 § 1 (977): aloca
c. 3 § 5 (997, 923), 5 § 10 (1024), and
Excursus I upon Bk. V (VIII).

⁶ See the passages quoted by Zeller II

ii 614 n. 1. 7 Cp. Exc. I at the end of Bk. v (VIII).

is really the fundamental thought of Aristotle's ideal state, but we nowhere find it worked out; nor could the editor to whom we must attribute the section in question, cc. a, 3. He would not else have attempted in his clumsy manner, unlike Aristotle's', to solve the problem and fill up the lacuna which he had rightly perceived to exist. This circumstance shows then, either that Aristotle stopped short on the very threshold of his description of the ideal state, or else that his continuation of it, which has not come down to us, had disappeared remarkably early.

With the fourth chapter the outline of this best constitution really begins. Aristotle sets out with the external conditions, treating first of the natural conditions, of the land and the people (cc. 4-7); then of the social and socio-political conditions, the exclusion of the citizens from all work for a livelihood, the proper division of the soil, the proper qualifications and position of the cultivators, the regulations for the building of the city, its small towns and villages (cc. q-12). Here at length begins the internal development of the best constitution; yet by the end of Bk. v (viii), it has advanced no further than its first stage, the education of the boys, in the middle of which it comes to a dead stop, so that the third of the three questions proposed in the last chapternamely whether melody or rhythm is of greater importance for the purposes of musical instruction-is never discussed at all, and the question what sorts of time are to be employed for the same purposes remains undecided2. We may at all events be thankful to fate for sparing us a section of the work, which is rich in interest for the science of education in all ages, though it fails to satisfy our curiosity as to the further organisation of the ideal state. Some compensation for the deficiency in this direction is afforded by many observations not merely, as has been said before, in Bk. II, but also in Bk. III. Thus in the latter we learn how this or that ought to be regulated in the state, or sometimes even how it should be in the best state or the best constitution, or in the Aristocracy*. And Aristotle's many previous intimations*,

¹ See the notes on IV (VII). I § 10, rog); a § 6, rryi); § 8 3, rg, 88 3 - 10. ° Cp. the note on V (VIII). 7, I (1081). Even William of Moerbeke writes at the end of his translation: realdware having open in procondum invent. Of older scholans Conving in particular endeavoured to determine more accurately the parts missing; of the moderns more especially the parts are supported by the parts of the moderns more especially in the main, the arguments by which others have in var no supply to show that the deficiency in van sought to show that the deficiency

does not exist or is at any rate unimportant. So too Zeller op. 1. II ii 676 f., 736 ff. Compare further Spengel Uch. die Pol. des Arist. 8 foll.

the F9.1 des Arrat. 8 toll. 3 Sec 111. 1 3 Sp. 10 mn. (440, 441); 4 S 4 5 m. (54); 3 N. (59); 3 Sp. (504); 3 Sp. (550); 7 S 3 mn. (530, 537); 7 S 8, 9 m. (550); 3 S 8, 9 m. (550); 3 S 8, 9 m. (550); 3 S 9, 10; 10 S 2 m. (550); 3 S 9, 10; 10; 3 S 9, 10; 10; 3 S 1

^{*} I. 13. 15 with n. (126)-cp. II. 9 \$8 5,6 n. (285)-II. 9 \$ 1, 10 \$ 9 n. (368),

taken along with other considerations, give us at least partly to understand what portions are wanting.

When we consider the very high mission of culture with which Aristotle's ideal state is entrusted in the promotion of the sciences, and the preference which Aristotle expressly concedes to the education of the intellect over that of the character1, it is surprising that he takes up the whole of early education until the twenty-first year with gymnastic and military exercises, so as to leave no more than three years, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth, for all the other subjects of instruction'. Moreover one of them, music, is so limited that an influence upon the formation of character, or very little else, is all that is left to it. Besides this, only reading, writing, numeration, and drawing are noticed; and this short course of three years will be wholly taken up with them. Hence we cannot look for more advanced scientific instruction, and even poetry can scarcely be employed for anything further than learning to read and write, or getting by heart lyric pieces to sing. The exclusion of comedy, moreover, and of all connected kinds of poetry, from the domain of youth is expressly mentioned ty (vii). 17, 11; and the same holds of all music with a 'cathartic' effect, v (vIII). 7. 3 ff.5 On this analogy it can scarcely be doubted that the exclusion must be assumed to apply in general to all the kinds of poetry to which solely this sort of effect is ascribed by Aristotle, that is, to epos and tragedy as well as to comedy: and that Aristotle wished to restrict attendance at the theatre and the recitals of the rhapsodes to grown-up persons, or at any rate not to allow them to young men until after their seventeenth year. Thus the use made of poetry for the education of the young in Aristotle's ideal state could hardly go beyond a mere chrestomathy from Homer, Hesiod, perhaps also from a few tragedies and easy prose writers, in learning to read and write. But Aristotle states, IV (VII). 15. 9, V (VIII). 3. 13, that the education of the body must form the commencement, while the moral education must advance within the soul, from "which we indirectly learn that a chapter on

IV (VII). 5 § 2; 10 § 10, § 14; 16 § 12; 17 § 12—Cp. 17 § 5 § 7: V (VIII). 3 § 10—Cp. 7 § 3; 6 § 15, 16. Cp. also the note on V (VIII). 2 § 2 (g/g). On II. 6 § 14, III. 3 § 6 foll. see below.

1 See IV (VII). 14 § 8 foll. N. (go3), 15 § 8 and generally the passages quoted

on p. 48 n. 5.

See v (viii). 4 §§ 7—9 with Exc. 1 at the end of Bk. v (viii).

See V (VIII). 5 §§ 4—7 with nn. (1024-5-7); § 15 foll. nn. (1044, 1045);

^{6 § 1} ff. nn. (1061-2-7-8, 1071-3); 7 § 3 ff. nn. (1086-7, 1098, 1104-5-9): also the Excursuses I, II, III, IV at the end of Bk.

v (vIII).
2 Zeller op. c. II ii 737 should be cor-

⁵ Cp. v (viii). 6 § g with n. (1073); also nn. on 7 § 4 and Excursus v at the end of Bk. v (VIII).

⁶ See the Introduction to my edition of the Poetics pp. 8 f., 15, 64 f.

'scientific education was intended to follow". And the question, how far the 'higher' sciences are to be considered for educational purposes, is assuredly not proposed, v (VIII), 2, 2, in order to remain unanswered. Lastly, in v (VIII). 3. 10, a later investigation is expressly announced to decide whether one or more subjects should belong to the more refined training which aims at the highest intellectual satisfaction; but in the account which has come down to us we seek in vain for the fulfilment of this promise. On the other hand every direct influence in this direction is expressly excluded from the boys' education up to their twenty-first year, v (VIII). 5. 4. Hence we may infer from his own words that Aristotle, like Plato2, intended a later training in the higher sciences for state purposes to follow this lower educational course8; and this would furnish the solution of the riddle'. Even as to the subjects of this higher instruction Aristotle can hardly have thought differently from Plato, except that perhaps he added poetry; Pure Mathematics, however, Astronomy, the Theory of Music, and lastly, for natures most scientifically endowed. Philosophy proper, were certainly the means of instruction enjoined. There is ample time for them, as the active duties of full citizens do not begin until military service is over, IV (VII). 9 § 5 f, 14 § 5; and no one will be eligible for a civil magistracy much before his fiftieth year, even if he enters the popular assembly earlier, 9 § 9 n. Thus their service in the army leaves the younger man leisure for scientific studies. Only Aristotle must have maintained, in opposition to Plato, that this extended course should he different for practical minds and for those whose bent is more towards theory; in order to make of the former officials for the state, and of the latter its men of science, who in other respects may, and indeed ought to rest satisfied with the fulfilment of their general civic duties. In this particular Aristotle approached the modern idea of the state more nearly than any other ancient thinker. Yet when looked at in the light of his own premisses this solution of the problem cannot be said to be altogether happy. If in the best state the best man is to be at the same time the best citizen and statesman6; if moreover scientific activity

Zeller op. c. II ii 737 n. 4.
 See nn. on II. 5. 25 (181), IV (VII).

See nn. on 11. 5. 25 (181), IV (VII).
 17. 15 (970).
 No previous enquirer has thought of

this. Oneken alone felt the difficulty, but did not also see that with the means at our disposal the veil may be sensibly lifted. See next note.

⁴ This disposes for the most part of Oncken's objections op. c. II 204 ff.,

²¹⁸ f. He does not see that it is only in the instruction in practical music and in gymnastic that Aristotle maintains a mean which must not be exceeded; he never says a word to the effect that in

the sciences also one can learn too much: see Exc. I at the end of Bk. V (VIII).

See the note on IV (VII). 3. 8 (743).
See III. c. 4 with the notes on § I (468), § 5 (471), § 16 (491); c. 5; 18 § I:

is to be the higher, moral and practical excellence the lower, part of human virtue; then the only logical consequence is Plato's government by philosophers-which, taken in itself. Aristotle rightly rejects, 11. 5. 25'.

The chapters on the education of the boys are incomplete: this theory of the subsequent higher training of our future citizens, as well as the discussion on female education which was expressly promised I. 13. 15 (cp. II, q & 5, 6)2, is wanting. We lack too the entire regulations for the external life of children and adults whether men or women.-or in other words the whole of civic discipline: for Aristotle no less than Plato conceived the state to be an educational institution. As a necessary consequence, he took this discipline and moral guidance through the whole of life to be simply a continued course of educations, and both alike to be the proper field of stateactivity. Almost all the other intimations of Aristotle, to which we find nothing corresponding in the execution, relate to this comprehensive subject. One special division which he mentions IV (VII). 16 88 12, 13, 17 § 12 (comp. 17 §§ 5. 7. 10), is the superintendence of the morals of the boys and their education under Inspectors (παιδονόμοι), officers appointed on the Spartan precedents. They are to have their official quarters near the gymnasium for the young, IV (VII), 12, 5: to take care that no stories unseemly to their age are told to children even under five years of age, c. 17 § 5; and that they have as little as possible to do with the slaves, § 7. They have also to take precautions that no improper statues or pictures are exposed to view within sight of the children (§ 10), from whom even the paintings of a Pauson with their comical and satirical exhibitions of what is low and hateful must be kept at a distance: v (vIII). 5, 215. In this part of the work too we were to have been more precisely informed what habit of body in the parents is best adapted to give them healthy offspring6; whether comedies should be exhibited, and the recital of satirical poems (e.e. Taußos) allowed, and in what manner; perhaps also how far drinking

IV (VII). 7 §§ 1—3, 9 § 3 n. (808): 13 §§ 9, 10; 14 §§ 7, 8; V (VIII). 1 §§ 1, 2 n. (974): VI (IV) 7 § 2.

¹ See the note on II. 5. 25 (182): Nic.

Eth. vi. 7. 7 (vi. 8 1144 b 14 ff.) Metaph. 1. 1. 11 ff. (981 a 12 ff.). 2 See the notes on both passages

<sup>(126-7), (285).

3</sup> Nic. Eth. x. 9. 9, 1180 2 I ff. This is not expressly stated in the Politics; but the same thought forms the basis of

the remarks in IV (VII). 12 88 4-6: 17 §§ 8, 9, as Zeller op. c. II ii 739 n. 4 rightly reminds us. Cp. nn. on IV (VII).

^{12 § 5 (863), 17 § 9 (962).}See Schömann's Antiquities of Greece I. p. 248, Eng. trans. by Mann and Hardy (London, 1880. 8).

⁵ See the notes on IV (VII). 12 § 5, 16

^{§ 12, 17 § 5, § 10, § 12;} V (VIII). 5 § 21. 6 See on IV (VII). 16. 12.

parties of adults are to be countenanced, IV (VII). 17. 121. Inspectors for the women (yvvaukovouou) are also mentioned along with the inspectors of boys as officials in aristocracies, vI (IV). 15. 13, VII (VI). 8. 23: they certainly ought not to be absent from the true Aristocracy*. We can hardly be wrong in assuming that on the decision of these two boards of officers the exposure or rearing of new-born infants depended3; and that for the purpose of maintaining the same fixed number of citizens they were authorized, nay were bound, to enforce abortion if necessary; II. 6, 10 ff., IV (VII). 16. § 15, § 17.

This unalterable number of citizens is bound up with the equally unalterable number of inalienable and indivisible family properties, IV (VII). 10. 11, of which, as in Plato's Laws, each citizen holds two, one near the town, and one further off in the country towards the boundaries of the territory. This indicates a second treatment of the same subject, comprising the more accurate discussion of property in general and of national wealth which was expressly promised, IV (VII). 5. 2; and here the propriety of the provisional definition of national wealth adopted in the passage just cited should have been submitted to a second and more detailed examination. Here also a place would no doubt be found for explaining more fully the reasons promised IV (VII). το 8 το. 8 τ. why Aristotle was induced to adopt συσσέτια; why it is hetter to promise and grant freedom to serfs and slaves as a reward for good conduct; together with the discussion of their general treatment announced in this passage"; also the consideration of the question postponed in II. 10. 9, as to what means it may be expedient to tolerate in order to prevent an increase of population beyond the limits fixed8. But there is an explicit proof, that even the political organization

of the ideal state was to be treated in detail. In one passage, II. 8 25 the more precise solution of the question whether and under what conditions and at whose instance changes in the established laws are admissible is left over for further consideration. What sort of restrictions Aristotle wished to introduce in this respect we cannot tell: it is only certain that, while he did not allow the popular assembly the initiative, he yet made every new law dependent upon their consent 10.

¹ Zeller, op. c. II ii 739 n. 3, assumes a discussion on this last point to be promised. The context does not appear to me to warrant this: see the note there.

² See the notes there. 3 The usage was somewhat different,

though still analogous, at Sparta: see n. on IV (VII). 16. 15.

⁴ See the notes there; also II. 7. 5 with n. (236).

⁵ Cp. the notes on II. 6. 15, IV (VII). 10. 11.

⁶ Cp. the note on IV (VII). 5. 2.

⁷ Cp. the notes there. 8 Cp. n. on 11. 10. 9 (368).

⁹ Cp. the note there, (278). 10 Of course constitutional changes are

not permissible if it is seriously meant that this constitution is in all points absolutely the best.

Moreover, the powers of the popular assembly were but limited even in this best of all communities, composed of men not under thirtyfive1 nor yet over seventy years of age. Apart from the election of magistrates they were not to extend much beyond the acceptance or rejection, without further debate or amendment, of treaties, and of peace or war, as previously determined upon and proposed by the senate and the highest magistrates. Yet on the other hand popular courts of justice on the Athenian model were to decide charges brought against magistrates during the time of their accountability8. Equal in birth, in landed estate, in immunity from all remunerative or productive labour4, and in respect of a public education from their seventh year5, all citizens of this state enjoy equal rights. Any qualified citizen may, it seems, vote for any other for any magistracy, such a civic body being credited with the intelligence and good will to nominate to each branch of the government the persons most suitable on the ground of the distinctions in capacity and training which, in spite of equal circumstances, have manifested themselves. But Aristotle certainly did not intend to leave undecided at what precise age the entrance upon full citizenship was to take place; nor again at what age men were superannuated, and upon retiring became priests, IV (VII). 9. 9, whereby almost entire leisure for science was secured to them in their old age?. The figures 50 and 70 which have been tentatively assumed will at least be not far removed from his view; and thus this governing civic body will be considerably in the minority when compared with the total number of citizens superannuated or not yet fully qualified, the boys, younger men, and the aged of the citizen order8. Only foreigners and resident aliens are allowed to engage in trade, industry, or manual labour: a pro-

¹ See nn. on IV (VII). q § q, 16 § q. " This follows from II. 11. 6, III. 11. 8 n., taken in connexion with the other passages quoted in Exc. Iv at the end of

³ This may be inferred from II. 12. 5, III. 11.8: see notes there: also Exc. v at the end of Bk. II. But Aristotle might have required that the jurors in these courts should be elected instead of being

courts should be elected instead of being chosen by lot; see II. 17, 7n. [391). ⁴ II. 9 \$ 2 ff., II \$ 10 : III. \$ \$ 2 n. [504), \$3, \$ 5 x. [509); IV [VII]. 9 \$ 18, \$ 3.5, \$ 9; 10 \$ 13; 12 \$ 4 * 1 V [VIII]. 2 \$ 3.5, \$ 9; 10 \$ 13; 12 \$ 4 * 1 V [VIII]. 2 \$ 8, \$ -6 m. [609]; \$ \$ 1n. [1004]; \$ \$ 8 n. \$ n. [(1008); \$ 6 \$ 4ff.; \$ 10; 7 \$ 1 with notes. Cp. also Exc. 1 at the end of Ek. V [(VIII); n. on I. 11. 6 [103] with the passages there quoted.

⁵ IV (VII). 17 § 7, and the note on § 4;

¹ by (10)1, 17 § 7, and the note on § 4, 15 (m. 1679); V(111), § 1 3, m. (1604); 4 § 7 III and Exc. 1 at the end of Bk.

Sec. 1, 9 in (165b): III. 18 § 10 m.

Sec. 1, 9 in (165b): III. 18 § 10 m.

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Sec. 1, 9 in (165b): III. 18 § 10 m.

Sec. 1, 18 jul. 18 jul. 18 § 10 m.

Sec. 1, 18 jul. 18

IV (VII). 9. 9.

7 Because old men are no longer of service for government II. 9. 25. See the note there and on IV (VII). 9. 9 (816).

E Cp. n. on IV (VII). 9. 9 (817).

hibition which strikes a severe blow at the cultivation of the imitative arts, that is, at the fine arts1. The soil is to be cultivated by serfs who are not free, or at all events by vassals of non-Hellenic descent who are but half free2.

But, while emphatically not a conquering military power any more than a trading community, this state with its one aim of culture^a makes the largest concessions possible in both these directions. It is to be a maritime state, IV (VII). 6. I ff.4, as well as, like Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, to exercise an hegemony; that is, to stand at the head of a more or less dependent confederation, in which union has been achieved, if necessary, with the edge of the sword5. In this way Aristotle thinks that the peculiar spirit and core of Athenian social and political life, that wonderfully noble union of manliness with culture, has been best preserved and promoted by a partial fusion with Spartan forms. He may even have counted on the tribute of the allies to fill the treasury. Otherwise it is not easy to see why, after the wise regulation that only a part of the soil should be broken up into family properties, the rest being reserved as domain land, only the expenditure upon public worship and the common messes, not that upon any other state function, is taken into account when he comes to deal with the revenue from this domain land, IV (VII), o. 7. 'The messes (grantina) 'are with Aristotle, as they were at Sparta", at once common meals 'and military unions. Some of them are to be held in the guard-'houses inside the city wall'. All boards of officials have their messes, 'each in its own official quarters: so, too, the priests; even the 'rangers and field-patrols in the country". The rule of a common mess-'table is binding on all collective members of the political body corpo-'rate".' In particular from them springs that voluntary communism which Aristotle praises in the Spartans 10, and the entry into them was undoubtedly to begin with enlistment amongst the recruits at the age of seventeen". Later on, but yet hardly before the training of these recruits is completed12 with their twenty-first year 18, they are also per-

¹ Even vocal and instrumental virtuosi in music are classed with manual labourers (βάναυσοι), V (VIII). 588, n. (1028) 6,

^{\$4} ff., \$8 15, 16; 7 \\$6: comp. Exc. I at the end of Bk. v (vIII).
2 IV (VII). 9 \\$8, 10 \\$13.
3 ['Culture-state'; one which exists

to promote the higher civilization: see p.

^{48.} Ta.]

4 Cp. nates on IV (VII). c. 6.

5 See IV (VII). 14. 21 with n. (917).

⁶ Cp. Schömann op. c. pp. 272, 279

Eng. tran., Trieber op. c. 1-26.

¹¹ V (VIII). 4. 9, cp. Exc. I at the end of Bk. v (VIII).

¹² See on IV (VII). 17. 11 n. (966).

¹³ IV (VII). 17. 15.

mitted to attend drinking-parties' and there to sing,—which under all other circumstances is strictly prohibited to adults'; further to visit the theatre and musical and poetical entertainments of all kinds'.

From the foregoing $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ is also clear now that the passages to which we are referred in \mathbf{u} . 6 \S 1 \mathbf{z} , \mathbf{z} , are still extant, but that more precise explanations ought to follow. Similarly the promise of future discussions upon the size of the town and the question whether it is essential that the citizens should be of the same descent, \mathbf{u} , \mathbf{x} , \mathbf{y} , \mathbf{z} , $\mathbf{$

It appears to us, it was remarked before (p. 46), not so easy to understand how the resident alien of Stageira, the great realist, the friend of the Macedonian kings under whose spear the last energies of Greek life were bleeding away, was still Greek and Athenian enough to dream of the possibility that the 'nobility of mankind,' the Greek nation, had vet to wait for the future to produce its noblest race, who alone would be one day canable of creating this pattern state, IV (VII), c. 7. More intelligible, but all the more repulsive, is it to note how Aristotle sets about the propagation of this noblest of civic bodies, in true Spartan or Platonic fashion, by tyrannical marriage-laws and matrimonial supervision and inhuman exposure of children, as if he were raising a breed of race-horses: to see the successful defender of the family and of property, who investigates with admirable profundity the moral nature of marriage", at the same time hampering and almost stifling the free use of property and of the mental faculties, and destroying the healthy vital atmosphere of marriage. And this by measures which, as we have said (p. 34), go far beyond those of Plato in the Laws, by fixing a normal number of children which the whole body of citizens are permitted to have and sanctioning abortion in order to secure that the number is never exceeded.

VIII. THE PATHOLOGY OF THE EXISTING CONSTITUTIONS.

The opening words of the sixth book-Bk. IV. in the old order-are in their most suitable connexion when following directly upon the

¹ IV (VII). 17. 11.
² V (VIII). 5 § 8, 6 § 4 with notes: cp.
n. on IV (VII). 17. 11 (966). No weight
can be given to V (VIII). 7. 13 f., as the
passage is conjectured to be spurious;

see n. (1113).

8 IV (VII). 17. 11.

⁴ Cp. st. on II. 6. 14. 5 Cp. st. on III. 3. 6. 6 Cp. Exc. 1 at the end of Bk. II.

description of the ideal state. The task of Politics, we read, is not simply confined to an examination of the absolutely (απλώς) best constitution. It equally includes the determination of what is best on the average (ταις πλείσταις πόλεσι); and of the best constitution under the given circumstances (ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων), or in other words the best for a given people or a given population. If finally it happens that even this last is out of the question, political science has to treat of the best possible form of some worse constitution; and hence must investigate all possible species and even sub-species of constitutions. The third book, for example, spoke of democracy and oligarchy; this is now corrected by the statement that there are several subordinate varieties of both. But while those fundamental distinctions of the third book are again resumed, we are expressly told in c. 2 that the first problem has already been solved by an account of the absolutely best constitution, or, what is the same thing, of monarchy and aristocracy proper; thus only the remaining normal constitutions and their corruptions have still to be discussed. The order in which these stand is as follows: mixed or so-called Aristocracies', Polity (Πολετεία), Democracy, Oligarchy, Tyranny2. The problems to be solved are as follows; to determine (1) how many subordinate kinds of constitutions there are; (2) what is on the average the best constitution; (3) for what different sorts of people the different forms are adapted; (4) how we ought to set to work in regulating each form of democracy and of oligarchy; and, last of all, (5) what are the causes which overthrow and the means to preserve the various constitutions. Thus, first of all, we here find from Aristotle himself an express corroboration of the view that the seventh and eighth books (old order) came fourth and fifth in the work as he wrote it: and in c. 7 § 2, he once more repeats the same declaration, that the absolutely best constitution discussed in those books alone deserves to be called Aristocracy in the strict sense of the word; just as the interpolator of c. 3 \$ 4, refers to this part of the work under the name of the "discussions on Aristocracy" (ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν), and so must still have had the original order before him. In the next place the order given in the above arrangement is adhered to most strictly in the exposition which follows.

For setting aside c. 3 and c. 4 \$\ 1-10, which certainly do not contradict this procedure, but, as was just remarked, can hardly be by

¹ αὶ ὀνομαζόμεναι ἀριστοκρατίαι VI (IV). Q. 10: see note on VI (IV). 2. 4.

² See the note on VI (IV). 1, 4 (III6).

³ See the notes on VI (IV). 3 \$ 1, \$ 2,

^{\$ 4 (1154), \$ 8; 4 \$ 1, \$ 4 (1164), \$\$ 5, 6, \$ 8 (1176), \$ 12 (1182, 1183), \$ 13 (1185) \$ 15 (1187), \$ 17 (1180), \$\$ 19, 20.}

Aristotle himself, there is, first, an enumeration (1) in c. 4 88 20-31 of the four varieties of Democracy and at the beginning of c. 5, 88 1-3, of the four varieties of Oligarchy passing from one resembling Polity to one which approaches Tyranny: then, c. 6, it is shown why there can only be four varieties for each of these two constitutions: next follows a discussion of mixed or spurious Aristocracy in its two varieties, when mixed with democratic and oligarchical, or merely with democratic elements, c. 7; cc. 8, 9, treat of the constitution most nearly allied to this last, Polity (Πολιτεία) or equal combination of Oligarchy and Democracy; and c. 10 of Tyranny and the forms in which it blends with Monarchy. Then (2) c. 11 presents Πολισεία in its character as the rule of the well-to-do middle class, as the best constitution on the average. The next investigation (3) breaks off unfinished in § 5 of c. 121: the passage which follows (12 § 6, 13 § 1-11), i.e. all the following chapter except § 12, does not belong to this subject but to the regulation of Polity: had it been more correctly edited it would have been worked into c. 9 to which I would transpose it. Only one circumstance is out of harmony: in the order which has come down to us. (5) the theory of revolutions and the safeguards of constitutions does not come last of all, but takes up the whole of (old) Bk, v: while (4) the regulation of the different forms of Democracy and Aristocracy does not appear till the first four chapters of (old) Bk. vi. The last three chapters of (old) Bk. IV, cc. 14-16, are taken up with fundamental considerations of a general kind on the regulation and organization of all possible constitutions, except Monarchy, Tyranny, and true Aristocracy, according to each of the three authorities in the state. Thus the deliberative or decreeing body is treated in c. 14, the administrative body or the organisation of the officials and magistrates in c. 15. the judicial power in c. 16. In accordance with this it has been proposed to transpose the (old) Sixth Book before the (old) Fifth, so that the former becomes the (new) Seventh and the latter the (new) Eighth: and this order has been followed in the text*. If it is right

interface questions (a) and (s) discelly contradicts Aristotle's express amountement above, makes this whole amouncement refer only to the contents of Bools IV and V of the old order; in these two complete discussion of the thorny of the imperfect constitutions with regard to their general underlying principles; in the (old) Bools VI he adults a more special ceter of the property of the content of the con-

¹ See the note there, (1315).
² Hildenbrand op. c. p. 372 ff. defends the received order here by saying that Arisine to the intended to lay down in vi (IV), c. and then in the first place in Book v of the old order, went on to describe their practical working, because upon this depends the right combination of the elements which follow in the (eld) Book v.

it must certainly be assumed that the four references back to the (old) Fifth Book which we find in the (old) Sixth do not, at least in their present form, belong to Aristotle, but at the earliest to the author of the later edition which has come down to us. One of them, vir (vi). 4. 15, is in fact so little suited to its context that it at once proclaims itself to be a spurious insertion. Two of the others, vii (vi), 1 § 1 and 1 § 10, may be removed, at least without much harm, on the same grounds". But the fourth, vii (vi). 5. 2, is so firmly embedded in the context that there is no resource but to assume that the interpolator has changed the future, which Aristotle himself used here, into the past8; an assumption quite as possible for the third passage as that of an interpolation 4. The two parts of the work thus moved into immediate proximity-the three concluding chapters of Bk. vi (iv) and the first seven chapters of Bk. vii (vi)-then become the general and particular parts of the same discussion. But we miss the account, promised at the beginning of Bk. VII (VI), of the possible combinations which may arise when in one and the same state the several political authorities are regulated according to the principles of different constitutions, vII (vI). I. 3 f.6 Nor is this the only defect. In the eighth and last chapter of Bk. vii (vi) the theory of the organization of the executive still remains a rough sketch, not vet worked out in detail, It certainly brings to a real solution a part of the questions merely proposed or mentioned provisionally in v1 (1v), c, 167: but it contributes hardly anything towards a more thorough solution of a problem expressly mentioned there vI (IV). 15 § 14, as not yet satisfactorily solved; namely a discussion of the differences between magistrates in different constitutions; while it omits altogether any mention of the influence of the various departments of public business on the mode of election to different offices, which was also expressly promised there, v1 (1v), 15, 8 228. But these are inconsiderable defects, and if on the transposition

I cannot accept this solution: the main points of my explanation will be found with some modifications in the notes on

with some modifications in the notes on VI (IV). 2 § 5 (1144), § 6 (1144).

1 See the note there (1424).

2 Only in the latter passage the & which follows must be changed into & 1/2.

which to nows must be changed into \$\delta_i\$, or else the whole of the following clause vovl \$\delta_i \tau d_i d_i d_i u_{int} \tau_i \text{Myoure expunged.} \$\$ See the note there, and Spengel Ueler die Politiki \$\delta_i\$ for the desired of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, which we do not the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, which we do not the constant of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$, where \$\delta_i\$ is the second of \$\delta_i\$ into \$\delta_i\$.

slight as it is, will be unnecessary See the note on VI (IV). 2. 6 (1144). Oncken, op. 4. II. 253, thinks these seven

chapters contain nothing but repetitions of propositions enlarged upon long before; but this statement is not proved, and is quite incorrect.

⁶ E.g. the deliberative body and the election of magistrates on oligarchical. the lawcourts on aristocratical, princi-ples. Cp. the last note (1488) at the end

of Bk. VII (VI). 7 Cp. upon this point the more precise explanation in the note on VI (IV.) 15. I

Oncken I. c. complains of the way in which this sketch, modelled in its main features on the organization of the Attic

proposed this book, vii (vi), no longer forms the conclusion of the discussion on imperfect forms of the state it will be most obvious to treat them like other spaces left blank in the course of, and not at the end of, principal sections: where we have more reason to conjecture subsequent losses than to infer that the execution on Aristotle's own part was deficient.

For the highly artistic construction of Book vurt (v) it will be sufficient to refer to the Analysis; on the transpositions necessary even in this book, as well as on the spurious passages in all the books, to the Commentary*. It would be superfluous to commend to the thoughtful reader the ripe political wisdom shown in the account of the forms of government actually established; and this eighth book in particular preeminently reveals the statesman*. In his picture of the despot of the shrewder type who skilfully copies the genuine king, vurt (γ). 11. 17—34, it really looks as if he had anticipated with prophetic eye the second French Empire and the third Napoleon. Can these precepts on despotism (τηνρανής) have actually been read by the latter and turned to account? That question no one perhaps is in a position to answer.

There is yet another fact which quite apart from this may be emphasized here. As Teichmüller especially has shown, Aristotle recognised even in his day the importance of the influence which the mode of life and the social relations of a nation exercise upon the form of its political development and of its constitution. Yet Zeller's remarks, that he nevertheless does not speak of civil society as distinct from the state, and that the different principles of classification which he assigns for the forms of government will not quite blend into a unity, appear to be by no means completely answered by Teichmüller's explanations. It is true that in III. 5. 9 ff., IV (VII.) 7 f., Aristotle draws a definite distinction between social relations and the political relations proper which

government, follows without any introduction upon what procedes. This is quite true, but he appears to overlook que re vept bestives of r. hourie, ob griest principal de la presentation of the contents vii (vi). 1. 1, which points to a supplement with such additiones; since in that nauver to the following words and relocation and revergelayour reprior additions with the content with the desire with the receiption reprior address with the whole book is "a regular medley of "motify elements, which, although perfect where the procession of the proce

is therefore (see p. 59 n. 5) an ungrounded assertion. See the note on VIII (VI). 1. 2 (1370 b).

^{1 [}See also below, pp. 93 ff.]
2 Cp. Hildenbrand op. c. 469—486;
Zeller op. c. II ii 750; Oncken op. c. II.
241—252; Henkel op. c. 91: Van der
Rest op. c. 519 ff.

In Die aristotelische Eintheilung der Verfassungsformen 12 ff (St Petersburg 1850, 8). Compare the review by Susemihl Jahrb. f. Philol. CIII. 1871 p. 137 sqq., from which is taken all of importance in what follows.

⁴ op. c. II ii 699, 705 foll., 749.

in various ways depend upon them: v1 (1v). 4 \$\ 20-22, 6 \$\ 1-3, 12 § 2; VII (VI). 4 § 1-3, 8-14; Cp. III. 12 § 7 f.; IV (VII). Cc. 8, 9; VI (IV). cc. 3, 4. But he nowhere attributes to the former independent importance, or a separate province of their own; they are generally regarded only as the condition which is requisite in order that the life of the state may take this or that form. But this leaves the distinction imperfect. In general, where Aristotle discovers a new conception he also coins his own term for it, or at any rate remarks that there is as vet no appropriate word for it in Greek. But here, in keeping with this imperfection, there is no such remark with reference to civil society: but, as Teichmüller' himself quite rightly observes, the word 'city' or 'state' (πόλις) is sometimes used in a narrower sense to exclude the merely social elements, sometimes with a wider meaning to include them. Further, the distinction of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity, and so also amongst the degenerate forms, that of Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy, merely according to the number of the rulers (III. 7. 2 f.), is certainly only provisional. Immediately afterwards (III c. 8, see above p. 38) it is described as something merely accidental in the case of Democracy and Oligarchy, which in the extreme case might even be absent, the real ground of the distinction being poverty and wealth. Indeed later on the mere distinction in number is, in the case of Aristocracy and Polity, completely abandoned. Even in the ideal Aristocracy the whole civic body rules itself; and although here, as was remarked above (p. 54), the real governing body of fully qualified citizens forms a minority of the whole number, yet one can see no reason why in a spurious Aristocracy the actual civic body must necessarily be a smaller number than in a Polity. Thus the only normal constitutions proper that remain are ideal Monarchy and ideal Aristocracy, see vI (IV), 7 & 2, 8 \$ I : spurious Aristocracies and Polity only occupy the place of intermediate or transitional forms between the normal constitutions and their corruptions. The so-called Aristocracies are said to be mixed forms combining aristocratic with democratic elements or both with Oligarchy, v1 (IV). 7 § 4, 8 § 9; why there should not also be among them combinations of aristocratic and oligarchical elements* without democratic admixture, is not quite clear. Polity appears as a mixture of Oligarchy and Democracy: if this is the case. both these extremes, to which it is intermediate, must be considered to be perverted forms of it, instead of Oligarchy being a corruption of Aristocracy and Democracy of Polity, as was said at first (III. 7. 1 foll.) and again repeated vi (iv), 8, 1. There are however even later passages

¹ L c. 14 ff.

² See the note on VI (IV). 7. 4 (1238).

in which Oligarchy is defined as a corruption of Aristocracy; and his qualification of prevailing views, that it is the rule of the rich rather than of the minority, is in some measure ignored viii (v). 7, 1.1 In Polity then no aristocratic element is recognised; for the principle of Aristocracy is virtue or superior excellence⁸, while the only excellence discoverable in Polity is superiority in war: III. 7. 4. comp. vI (IV), 12. 7 foll.8 This is just what Aristotle censures in Sparta, II. q. 34 f., IV (VII) 14 § 15 ff. (cp. 2 § 9); and consequently he ought not to have reckoned the Spartan constitution, as he does, with spurious aristocracies, but with Polities. But on the other hand how should Polities be counted amongst normal constitutions of even the second rank unless a certain excellence of the citizens was also required in them? Or is the public education, for which Sparta is praised, v (vIII). 1. 44, to make the difference? But there was nothing of the sort at Carthage, and vet Aristotle classes the constitution there with aristocracies and not with Polities*. Again, the rule of the majority and of the minority is represented as quite indispensable to the notions of oligarchy and democracy. vI (IV). 4 \$\ 5, 6; while in VIII (V). 7 \$\ 5-9, VI (IV). 7 \$\ 4, 8 \$\ 3 ff., Aristotle is made to adopt-at one moment to adopt and then at the next to contradict-a view which is altogether incompatible with such definitions, viz. that the mixed constitutions which incline more to democracy should be called Polities, and those which incline more to oligarchy, Aristocracies 6. Such inconsistencies would certainly be too glaring even for a far less able thinker. They are not made a whit more intelligible by the fact that the conception of Oligarchy oscillates somewhat between a government of wealth, of birth, and of a minority: on the contrary they bear the clearest marks of interpolation?. But further: the best of the four varieties of democracy is a departure from Aristotle's conception of democracy, the government of the rich by the noor, for it represents both as sharing the government equally, vi (iv), 4. 22. Even the conception of a degenerate constitution as government in the interest of the governors is not at all applicable here, if we follow the description given in VII (VI). 4 \$\mathbb{S}\$ I-7, nor yet in the case of the best and most moderate oligarchy. Thus both should be reckoned

⁶ It is a strange misconception of

Oncken's op. c. 11. 236 f., to attribute the propositions contained in VI (IV), 8

¹ See note there, and on VIII (v). 7. 6

<sup>(1599).

&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See the note on III. 7. 3 (536).

³ See the note on III. 7. 4 (538).

⁴ So Nic. Eth. 1. 13. 3, 11022 10 f., X. 9. 13, 11802 29 ff. b VI (IV). 7 § 4. II, VIII (V). 7 § 4 and also perhaps 12 § 15. In II. II § 5 the expression is more hesitating.

^{§§ 3, 4} to Aristotle himself, whereas in fact the whole chapter is written to refite them. 7 See the notes on VI (IV). 4 § 4 (1164); 78 4 (1238): VII (VI). 27 (1402): VIII (V). 7. 6 (1500).

amongst the normal constitutions of the second class: and even the second and third varieties of oligarchy would have to be included with them as forming the lowest types of normal constitutions; since they are still governed by the laws, and so are constitutional, not arbitrary, governments1. It is surprising how Teichmüller2 could overlook the fact that on his own showing, the social element-whether the predominating employment is agriculture and cattle-rearing, or trade and industry, or something intermediate, the pursuit of both equally-only suffices to distinguish three varieties of democracy, so that Aristotle is obliged to take other points of view in order to make out four. In the case of oligarchy the distinction, which Aristotle certainly makes, between the rich nobles and merchants or manufacturers who have made money, does not come into consideration to mark the distinction which he draws between the four varieties of this constitution. In place of it we have merely the ever increasing growth of wealth and its accumulation in fewer and fewer hands, and here again in the account which Teichmüller8 himself gives of these varieties this is precisely the case. In the whole scheme of the successive grades of constitutions from the Ideal Monarchy downwards, through the genuine and spurious Aristocracies, Polity, first Democracy, first Oligarchy, &c., down to the most extreme Democracy, then the most extreme Oligarchy (government by Dynasts)4, and finally Tyranny, this being the ultimate stage of development5, there is no place where the historical forms of the monarchy could be fitted in. Lastly, from what precedes it is seen that the early and provisional statement of the relation of the constitutions to one another, III. c. 7, has not simply been modified by the further course of the discussions, but that in the end hardly any part of it is left standing; so that it may well be asked whether under these circumstances Aristotle was justified in putting it forward even provisionally. No doubt all these vacillations, inequalities, and contradictions, affect the busk rather than the core of Aristotle's political theory; indeed a certain portion of them are by no means to be regarded as actual mistakes. The main supports of this political system are, that the unqualified principle of democracy and the absolute principle of oligarchy, the latter more even than the former, introduce the same sort of arbitrary government, which comes to a head in Tyranny-that a good middle class is the foundation of a healthy political life; and

¹ Comp. Oncken op. c. II. 252, who however is not altogether right; he goes too far in maintaining that hence under certain conditions an oligarchy does not differ from an aristocracy, nor a demo-

cracy from a polity.
2 op. c. 18 f.

² op. c. 18 f. 3 op. c. 20 f. 4 See n. on 11. 10. 13.

⁵ See n. on VI (IV). 11. 21 (1305).

their strength has outlasted the storms of centuries. Poets like Phocylides and Euripides (the latter with a political intention), had, it is true, sung the praise of the middle class1; 'but Aristotle is the first 'thinker who makes the functions of the middle class in society and in 'politics the foundation of his practical political theories, and of his 'explanation of political history. His love of the mean in all things is 'nowhere so systematically and so consistently carried out as here .' He forcibly depicts the equalizing force of the well-to-do middle class and the permanence of the constitution where it is most strongly represented, that is, Πολιτεία. The next best condition is one where it is at least as strong as one of the two contending extremes, rich and poor, and thereby is enabled to stave off the decisive victory of either. Even then it is possible to maintain, according to circumstances, either another Polity, or at least a law-abiding and moderate Democracy or Oligarchy. as the case may be. But where the middle class is weaker than either senarately a perpetual struggle prevails between the two extremes, with never-ending revolutions, 'and the end is the fatal exhaustion of both; 'while Tyranny succeeds to their inheritance".'

But the more essential the part played by Polity in the philosopher's political system, the more surprising does it appear that his remarks on this form of government cannot be combined in all their details into a consistent whole, a complete picture which shall be quite distinct. At one time he represents it as being in accordance with an aristocracy and a 'polity' to fill all offices by election, without a property qualification : in the case of polity, therefore, by no higher qualification than is generally requisite here for actual citizenship v1 (1v). q. 5. At another time however the application of the lot, either alone or accompanied by election with restriction of the right of voting or being voted for, v1 (14). 15 \$ 10 f. is said to be characteristic of Polity. This contradiction may not be so important perhaps as at first sight appears*; yet we are all the more surprised to find in the same chapter the restriction of the popular assembly to the mere election of the council and the magistrates represented as characteristic of Polity, vI (IV). 14 § 105, and then to hear (8 re) that usually in Polities the resolutions of the popular assembly may be annulled by the council and the questions which they affect brought before the former assembly again and again, until it passes a resolution conformably. In the same place exactly the opposite procedure is recommended as more just, and that, too, for Democracy:

¹ Sec n. on VI (IV). 11. q.

² Oncken of c. II. p. 225. ³ Oncken of c. II. 227, 228. ⁴ See the note on VI (IV). 15. 21

^{(1371).} ⁵ See n. on VI (IV). 9. 5 (1255).
⁶ See n. on VI (IV). 14. 15 (1340).

thus then the latter, by adopting it, would become even better than the ordinary Polities. Must we here recognise another of those additions whereby the school obscured the master's work'? Who again can fail to be surprised at the great concession which is made to unqualified popular rule and paid democracy, vI(IV) o § 2, 13 § 5, when Aristotle states that the combination of the two measures, payment of the poor for attendance in the popular assembly the council and the law-courts, and punishment of the rich for their non-attendance, is appropriate to Polity? It may be that he is thinking only of those Polities in which the middle class is not numerous enough to maintain a decided preponderance as compared with the two extreme parties, where consequently its deficiency must be artificially made good in this way2. But this, to say the least, has never been expressly mentioned by Aristotles, and there is all the more reason to hold that in the end he has approximated, much more than he himself believes, to unqualified government by the people, and that his Holereia is nothing but Attic democracy without its unfavourable side. Aristotle himself remarks, III. 15. 13. that when once states have grown more populous and cities increased in size it is not easy to call into life any constitution except a democracy; and in VII (VI). 5 §§ 5, 6, that since then even the older moderate patriarchal democracy of peasant proprietors has come to an end. It is a result that he laments, but he is aware that it is unalterable. All that remains is so to shape the most advanced democracy itself that it may lose as far as may be its arbitrary, despotic character and wear the appearance of something like Holerola. This may be done by regulating for the advantage of all the system of payment, which cannot be altogether avoided here, and by checking the demagogues in their practices of vexatious accusations. The detailed proposals which Aristotle makes in this direction vII (vI), 5 \$ 3-8, 6 \$ 4; VIII (v). 8. 15 ff, 9 & 5-11 ff, prove his lively interest in this question. Oncken has well said: "Either renounce freedom and equality, that is, the essential " nature of the constitutional state in Hellas, and give up the community "to the despotic rule of violent oligarchs; or make the whole civic body "legislators and judges, summon the rich to take honorary magistracies, "compensate the poor for the service of watching over them. It was

amount of the property qualification in

The practical proposals in VI (IV). 14 §§ 11-15, which Krohn refuses to attribute to Aristotle, would certainly not be missed, if omitted altogether.

As Oncken thinks op. c. II. 239.
 Nor can it be inferred from the following words in VI (IV). 13. § 7 on the

the Polity, to which Oncken appeals, if these words are rightly taken—see the note there (1260); and on 0 § 3 (1254). 4 With Oncken op. c. II. p. 240, though his assertions require considerable modi-

fication in accordance with what is stated in #. 4 on p. 41.

⁵ op. c. II. 250, 260.

"the only alternative which could be found. This once conceded even "an opponent could not deny that the embodiment of the Athenian "spirit in Athens was without parallel in Hellas. With all its failings "it was the only state in which the political idea of the Hellenes at-"tained to complete expression, the community in which dwelt the "heart and soul of the Hellenic race : with whose power and liberty the "national life of Hellas became extinct. With deep dislike Aristotle "watches the great multitude in this mighty city reigning and ruling "like an all-powerful monarch; few there are whose observation traces "the mischiefs of its constitution so clearly to their causes. But the "idea of this state conquered even him. He investigated, observed, "described1 Athens, its history and its organization, as no one ever "did before him. The study which he devoted to it was the only "homage which he voluntarily paid it: no word of acknowledgment "escapes him. But throughout it receives from him involuntary hom-"age, since it is the only state whose actual life he could or did take "as a model for his own political design. He imagined himself stand-"ing as a physician at a sick bed; but the patient revealed, what no "healthy subject could teach him, the very idea of the Hellenic state."

IX. Date of the Work and its assumed connexion with the NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

"There are notices in the Politics of the Sacred War, vIII. (v). 4. 7, "as of something in the past: of Phalaecus' expedition to Crete, which "took place at the end of it, Ol. 108, 3 (B.C. 346), as a recent event, " νεωστὶ πόλεμος ξενικός διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, Π. 10. 16: lastly, of "the assassination of Philip (B.C. 336), VIII. (v). 10. 163, without any "intimation that it had but very lately happened"." On the other hand the passage II. 10. 16 appears to have been written before B.C. 3336. The Politics as a whole must have been written later than the Nicomachean Ethics, which is quoted six times, II. 2 § 4; III. 9 § 3, 12 § 1; IV (VII), 13 \$\% 5, 7; VI (IV), 11, 3°, and earlier than the Poetics which is announced as to follow in v (VIII.) 7. 37.

¹ In his Constitution of Athens in the Hohreia: see above, p. 35 %, 3.

² Diod. xvi. 62.

³ Cp. the note there (1673). 4 Zeller op. cit. II ii 154 n. (4).

⁵ See the note there (375).

See nn. on these passages.
 Cp. the Introduction to my edition of

the Poetics, p. 11f. Heitz' objection (in Die verlorenen Schriften 99 ff.) there mentioned in n. 2 on p. 12 has in the meantime been answered in detail by Vahlen Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. LXVII. 1874. 293—298: he has made it tolerably certain that the chapter on κάθαρσιs in question, which is now lost,

It must indeed be admitted, and has already occasionally been pointed out above, that a part of the inconsistencies in the work were, from Aristotle's general position, inevitable, nay even characteristic: that on the most careful revision he would never have detected them. Others again are such as might easily have escaped his notice. Yet after all, enough inconsistencies repetitions and other discrepancies remain1 to compel the inference that not only did Aristotle never give the finishing touches to this work, but that he must have been a long time over it, taking it up at intervals and with many interruptions through other works. In consequence of this he had altered his views on many points, and had not always the details of the earlier portions fully present to his mind when he came to write the later ones. The view here taken would be materially confirmed if the larger sections which are wanting were never really written, the work never having been completed as a whole.

It will be hardly possible to substantiate a well-grounded objection to the Aristotelian origin of the six citations of the Ethics, and yet that work itself a calls the theory developed in it not Ethics but Politics, and the same title is confirmed by passages of the Poetics and Rhetoric*. For the intermediate expression of the Rhetoric (1. 4. 5, 1359 b 10 f.), ή περί τὰ ήθη πολιτική, is here our guide, by making Ethics and Politics in the narrower sense appear as parts of Politics in the wider sense. The matter is thus stated with perfect correctness by the author of the Magna Moralia at the commencement of his work⁶, and Aristotle himself explains in the last chapter of the Ethics that a full realization of the principles laid down in it can only be expected from political education and legislation.

stood at the conclusion of the whole treatise after the discussion on Comedy, and not where I looked for it. Yet my remarks 1.c. p. 8 still retain their force.

1 Comp. the notes on Bk. II. 48 4 (149);

5 §8 1, 2 (153), § 14 (164); 6 § 15 (215), § 18 (220); 10 § 8 (366): Bk. III. 4 § 5 (471), § 9 (478): Bk. IV (VII). 13 § 4 (872), § 8 (881);

BL. IV (VII). 13 \$ 4 (872), \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (893); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 8 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (193); \$ 1 (

Bk. VIII (V). 1 § 2 (1493), § 13 (1504); 3 § 4 (1511); 5 § 9 (1559): 10 § 3 (1649), § 5 (1650), § 6 (1657); 11 § 16 (1731); 12 § 11 (1767), § 14 (1777). 2 See however the notes on IV (VII), 13

\$5, 7 (876,879,881): and n. (1287) on vi (iv). ii. 3 in regard to the citations there. I. 2. 3 1094 a 24 f.

L 3. 5 1095 a 2, L 4. I 1095 a 14 f.

cp. L. 13. 2. 1102 a 7 ff., VII. 11. 1. 1152b 1 f. 4 Poet. 6. 16. 1450 b 6 sqq. (cp. note 71 to my edition of this work). Rhet. I.

2. 7. 1356 a 26 sqq.
Brandis op. c. II ii 1335 n. certainly expounds his words differently; but see Zeller op. c. II ii 608 n.

To regard the Ethics and Politics however as forming the first and second parts of one and the same work, as has now and then been done, is certainly not correct1. Yet this view is undoubtedly very old. For it must even have been adopted by the writer who at the close of the Ethics appended that introduction to the Politics now to be read there which may be translated somewhat as follows*: "Since then "previous writers have omitted to make legislation the subject of their "enquiries, it might perhaps be as well that we should ourselves take "this subject into consideration together with the theory of the consti-"tution generally, in order that the philosophy of Man may be as far as "possible brought to a conclusion. First then let us try to review "whatever has been rightly stated at various times by our predecessors; "next from a comparison of the constitutions to investigate what it is "which preserves and destroys states and individual constitutions, and "from what causes some are ordered well and others ill. For when "this has been considered we should perhaps be more likely to gain a "comprehensive view not only of what constitution is absolutely the "best, but also how each separate constitution should be regulated, and "what laws and customs it must adopt (in order to be the best of its "kind). Let us begin then with our discussion."

Schlosser long since, with good reason, doubted the genuineness of this patchwork in the forcible and cogent remark8: "there is no coher-"ence between the close of this passage and the beginning of the "Politics, and Aristotle does not follow the plan here marked out." The opening of the Politics is only intelligible when regarded as belonging to an independent work which starts from the notion of its own subjectmatter, the state. We are not told that something similar was stated rather differently at the commencement of the Ethics: the state is here first constructed as the all-comprehensive association which has the highest good for its end: nor is there the least intimation that for the realization of unimipeded vrtuous activity, the full meaning of this highest good, we were referred in the last chapter of the Ethics to the Politics. The supposed transition then is pure fancy with nothing here

¹ So recently by Nickes for example. ² Nic. Eth. X. 9 № 22, 23 1181 b 12 f. παραλιπίστων οθν τών προτέρων άνε-ρείνητον τὸ περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας, αὐτοὺς

έπισκέψασθαι μάλλον βέλτιον ίσως, και δλως δή περί πολιτείας, όπως είς δίναμιν ή περί τὰ ἀνθρώπινα φιλοσοφία τελειωθή. πρώτον μέν οδν εί τι κατά μέρος είρηται καλώς ύπὸ τῶν προγενεστέρων πειραθώμεν έπελθείν, είτα έκ τών συνηγμένων πολιτειών θεωσήσαι τὰ ποία σώτει και φθείσει τὰς

πόλεις καὶ τὰ ποῖα ἐκάστας τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ διὰ τίνας αίτίας αί μέν καλώς αί δὲ τούναντίον πολιτεύονται. Θεωρηθέντων γάρ τούτων τάχ' ἄν μάλλον συνίδοιμεν και ποία πολιτεία αρίστη, καὶ πῶς ἐκάστη ταχθεῖσα,

και τίσι νόμοις και έθεσι χρωμένη. λέγωμεν οδν άσξάμενος. 3 In his translation of the Politics 1. xviii. His further conjectures need not be refuted now.

to support it. In keeping with the announcement contained in it Aristotle should rather have begun with the second book', making what is contained in Bk. viii (v), come next, and then developing the contents of IV (VII), V (VIII), and lastly of VI (IV), and VII (VI), What must be understood by a 'comparison of constitutions' we see clearly from x 9 8 20, 21, 1181 a 16, 17, b 78; at the same time we also see how much the interpolator has misunderstood the expression he borrows. There it denotes the combination of different laws and elements of different constitutions into a new constitution and new legislation: here it can only denote an accumulation of information on the constitutions of as many different states as possible and on the history of their development, because only from that can we gather what is here intended to be gathered from this 'comparison's. That before Aristotle no scientific enquiry into legislation existed is palpably untrue; and had the absence of such enquiry been the only inducement to the composition of his work, how could this have sufficed to make him lay down "the theory of the constitution generally"? That no writers had been found to elaborate this is not asserted even here; on the contrary we are promised an exposition and estimate of all the facts already discovered by earlier enquirers. Even the words καὶ ὅλως δὰ πεοὶ πολιτείας contain an un-Aristotelian idea, for they imply that Legislation must be a part of the theory of the Constitution, while to Aristotle, we have seen, both are parts of Politics proper. Of the incredible mode of expression in the concluding words from καὶ ποία πολιτεία ἀρίστη onwards we will say nothing: it is sufficient to remark that the interpolator has left out just what is most important, which in the translation above has been added within brackets. In short, to whatever period this interpolation belongs its author did not himself know what he was about, and it would be for the most part lost labour to seek to discover "method in his madness."

That in spite of their close connexion' the Ethics and the Politics are regarded by Aristotle as two independent works, is sufficiently shown by the way in which the one is quoted in the other. Until sufficient reason

¹ For the interpretation which Nickes, l. c. pp. 29, 30, puts upon the concluding words,—"Let us then follow this state-"ment of ours, but only after prefixing "a commencement dealing with other "matters,"-is not calculated to inspire confidence.

² αὐδ' ἄν ώωντο (ες, οἱ σοφισταί) δάδιον είναι το νομοθετήσαι συναγαγόντι τούς εύδοκιμούντας τών νόμων, and τών νόμον καλ

τῶν πολιτειών al συναγωγαί, where the

This monreas a sweeter, where the expression certainly tends to pass over into the meaning put upon it by the interpolator, but goes no farther.

This disposes of the unhappy attempt of Nickes 1.c. 25 f. to interpret the passage. In his refutation of the earlier attempts he is on the whole successful. 4 As Zeller observes op. c. II ii 104 f.

is adduced for transferring the first chapter of Bk, IV (VII), from Aristotle to Theophrastos or some one else', the yet more unequivocal mention of Ethics there (§ 13) as 'another study,' ἐτέρας...σχολής', has the most decisive importance: although the term 'another study' would mean no more when so applied than it does in the case of the Prior or Pure and Posterior or Applied Analytics, for example. Yet no one has tried to show from the close connexion between them that these latter treatises are merely parts of one and the same work. In fact Politics in Aristotle's sense, so far as the state according to its idea is a means of training to human virtue and therefore to happiness, is nothing but Applied Ethics: the problem of Pure Ethics being to show wherein virtue and happiness consist. But since this idea of the state could only be truly realized in the absolutely best state, which does not as vet exist, which even if it did exist would only be one state amongst many-since therefore the virtue of the citizen is dissociated from the virtue of the man-Ethics has to deal with the moral activity of the individual, Politics with that of the state"

In Aristotle's classification of the sciences, both studies, in common with Poetics, have a somewhat uncertain place and worth assigned them, as Zeller* and Walter* have shown: nor does it appear that Aristotle cleared this up sufficiently to himself, or even tried to do so. It is a peculiar weakness of his Ethics that it has no purely scientific importance for him; it merely serves as an introduction to practical morality": but again, as he himself explains, the direct value of mere theoretical instruction for this purpose is very slight, nay, quite insignificant7. Yet practical insight (φρόνησις), without which there is no moral virtue. can be materially promoted by Ethics®, although it does not by any means coincide with Ethics in subject-matter10. So too the practical insight of the leading statesman in political life can exist in a purely

1 See above, p. 15 %. I.

² Cp. the note there (709). ³ Cp. Zeller op. cit. II ii 104 f. n. 1, 182, 607 n. 3: Oncken op. c. L. 164 ff.

⁷ No. Eth. I. 3 88 5—8 1095 a 3 ff.; cp. I. 9. to 1100 a 1 ff.; II. I. 1 1103 a 14 ff.; II. 4 88 3—6, 1105 a 26—b 18; X. 9=X. 10 (Bekk.): cp. Pel. IV (VII). 13. 11 f., Nic. Eth. 11. 6 88 4-8, § 15 1106 a

^{26—}b 7, and 1106 b 36 ff.; II. c. 9. Comp. also Walter op. c. 151—162 who certainly should not have relied upon the probably spurious chapter II. 7.

⁸ Cp. nn. in 1. 5. 9 (45), 1. 13. 6 (112).

⁹ Nic. Eth. 1. 2. 2 1094 2 22 ff., 1. 3. 7 1095 2 10 f., 1. 4. 6 1095 b 4—13, VI. 7. 7 1141 b 21 ff. Comp. Walter op. c.

^{157, 400} ff.

10 As Zeller thinks, op. c. II. ii 608 n.; he has been refuted by Walter p. 151. There is no doubt that the passage of the Nic. Eth. adduced by Zeller, VI. 8 §§ 1—4 1141 b 23—1142 a 11, is not by Aristotle, as was long ago shown by Fischer Fritzsche and Rassow.

empirical manner without a comprehensive theory of politics; but on the other hand there is much to learn from such a theory, and the great practical statesman will be all the greater the more he has appropriated it to himself. That the main value of πολιτική consists in affording this important contribution to the education of capable statesmen is stated by Aristotle III. 1. 1; vI (IV). c. 1; VII (VI). 5. 1; IV (VII). 13. 5, and in other passages, and this fully agrees with his analogous view about Ethics. But his inconsistency with himself does not go so far here as before; rather he demands of political theory III. 8. I (cp. VI [IV]. 13. 5), that it should exhaust all conceivable cases, even those of which it can be foreseen that they will seldom or never actually occur1.

X. THE MOST RECENT CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

The comparative worth of the Manuscripts.

This question, of which some notice will be found above, has recently been raised anew by Busse in an excellent dissertation De praesidiis emendandi Aristotelis Politica". By a minute analysis of the old Latin version, Busse proves beyond all doubt that it has been over-estimated by Vettori and Schneider, and even by Susemihl, and is by no means so strictly literal or correct as they supposed4.

To begin with, William of Moerbeke's ignorance of Greek was something deplorable. He renders περί τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περί κτλ. de pronunciatis de optima civitate; προς δε τοις άλλοις apud alios: ἐπιτίθεσθαι praeferri; ἐπιδημεῖν praefectum populi esse; evidently arriving at the meaning of a compound by the most rudimentary analysis, as $\tau \hat{\alpha}$ αναθα τὰ περιμάνντα bona quae circa res bellicas⁶. But mere ignorance whether of the meaning of words or of the construction-and it would seem as if, in II. 12. 8, he made 'Ολυμπίασιν an accusative after τοῦ νικήσαντος qui vicit Olimpiasem⁷; at any rate he gives super tecta for

¹ Comp. nn. on III. 8. 1 (542); III. 13. 13 (601); VI (IV). 15. 4 (1350); see also

III. 2 §§ 1-3. [Here Prof. Susemihl's own Introduction ends. The following section is mainly an attempt to present succinctly some results of his critical labours; but for its form, and for occasional diver-gences of opinion, he is not responsible.

² pp. 1, 2. ³ Berlin, 1881. 8.

⁴ Susemihl however in the large criti-

cal edition (1872) p. XXXIII f. had already pointed out inaccuracies and inconsisten-

cies in William's translation and the need of caution in inferences from it to the

original. See also the edition of 1870, e.g. I p. 204 n. 1, 210 n. 2.

⁶ Yet it is an exaggeration when Roger Bacon writes "ut notum est omnibus Parisiis literatis nullam novit scientiam

in lingua graeca de quo praesumit, et ideo omnia transfert falsa et corrumpit scientiam Latinorum," Cp. Jourdain Recherches p. 67. 6 Busse op. cit. p. 36 f. Space permits

only a few typical instances to be selected from his stock.

⁷ p. 9. The best MS. gives Olimpiasem.

and δόμαπα in v (viii), 3, 9'—does less to obscure the readings of his original than a fatal inconsistency and fluctuation in the choice of renderings. The prepositions are changed or confused on almost every page. So likewise the particles: γωὶ autem in δωτι γωὶ τι, 10, 18, δωτω γωὶ (viii), 1.2; γωὶ γωὶ γωὶ (viii), 1.2; γωὶ γωὶ (viii), 1.2; γωὶ γωὶ (viii), 1.3; δωὶ τωὶ (viii), 1.2, 1; δῶν enim 1.8, 6°, etc.: not to speak of the stock renderings καλ....δῶ et...dizim, καὶ του et quidem. Sometimes be omits particle, κήν, γωὶ, διὰ σύτης) sometimes, εξ. 11, 5.9 δωαίως et itath, he inserts them. They are most frequently inserted to avoid asyndeton, as in 13, 3, φάρτως φαλέτως frattradem aut contribulem, etc. ⁴ He is careless of the order of words; thus 11, 4. 6 καὶ γού-εδα & δού δυτω φαρό-τρους δω et ambes feri numm ex duobus existentibus; 1ν (vii), 3, 8 καρώσ καὶ et admines (i.e. καὶ καρόσκ). His carelessness leads him repeatedly to translate the adjectives ἀριστοκρατική, δλημορική by the nouns aristorating, δίξεντλίει.

This being the ordinary style of his translation, when he comes to passages where his Greek original was defective, it is only occasionally that he transmits the defect faithfully: as in VIII (v). 6. 3 èν θω (for ένθα) in the, which he took for a proper name; III, 11, 3 κρίης (for κρίνουσι, so Ms) Kries; 11. q. 30 φιλίπα (so Ms) amicabilia, v (VIII). 1 δ 4 Ms av ipsorum (he has read the compendium αντών); 6 δ ο Ms ο αὐτός (for αὐλός) id itsum'. More frequently he tries to get some sort of sense by putting in a word or phrase suggested by the context. or by a parallel passage in the Politics. Take for instance VIII (v), I, 2: P' gives ανίσους ε. τι όντας, with space for one letter; Ms has slurred over this defect of the archetype by reading en; not so William; from the immediately preceding έκ τοῦ ἴσους ότιοῦν ὄντας he derives inacquales in quocunque existentes. Similarly with natura for byvaus in IV (VII). II. 4 (from the adjoining φύσιν), alia quiden esse eadem for το πάσι μετείναι VI (IV). 4. 25 (from the following τάλλα μεν είναι ταὐτά); see also III. 16 § 5 universale borrowed from c. 15 § 4 το καθόλου. IV (VII). I § 4 quae circa prudentiam se habent, neque enim beatificant. IV (VII). II § I si ad votum oportet adipisci positionem borrowed from 5 § 3 την θέσιν εἰ χρη ποιείν κατ' εὐχήν; etc.8 Thus the defects and false readings of his original, which must have resembled Ms though not so corrupt, are made worse by alterations and superficial remedies. In IV (VII). 14. 22 I had the same hiatus as M5 has now, through the homoeoteleuton σπουδ-άζειν, σχολ-άζειν: William does what he can

¹ p. 12. ² p. 11. ³ p. 30. ⁴ pp. 29, 30.

at v (vIII). 5. 17, where ἀκ... is all that stands in M* of ἀκροώμενοι.

⁵ pp. 14, 27. 6 p. 9. 8 Busse pp. 15—20.
7 pp. 9, 12, 23. Compare the lacuna

to conceal this by translating δυσεν τάξη καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης gratia ordinis et pacis, as if he had read τάξους. In vi (vi), 4, 11 M gives τῶν αδυνάτων ἢ instead of τῶν ἀδωνάτων ἢ is oto I, for William renders <aminus- quam to make sense. Similarly v (viii). 6. 11 M has ἢποιτο for ἢπτοιτο; William seguebantur; which must be his attempt to make sense out of ἦτονοτο.

Another source of divergence between the codices and William's Latin must also be kept in view, viz. the freedom with which he sometimes translates. Thus in 11. 9. 20 δημαγωγείν αὐτοὺς ήναγκάζοντο καὶ οἰ βασιλεις regere populum se ipsos (he read αυτούς) cogebant reges, he may perhaps have simply exchanged the passive construction for the active. This is a not uncommon resource with him: see VII (VI), 7 δ 5 προσκεισθαι apponere, 8 & 1 διπρησθαι dividere etc.; and for the converse II. 7 § 6 δείξη ostendatur, 8 § 5 γράφειν scribatur, VIII (V). 8. 9 παρειληφένω comprehendantur, etc.* Though he hardly ever appears to omit words from T, it can be shown that he sometimes adds: 6.6. 5, 8 εἶπεο τοῖς εἰοπμένοις si quidem et dictis «creditur», II. q. 3 κεκτημέναις περί οίκους (so Ms for περιοίκους) possidentibus «praedia» circa domus, etc.3 Yet additions may be due to glosses, like videro fugientem proelio, (?) ἀπάνευθε μάχης νοήσω in the margin of P', etc.* Lastly, how much caution is needed in handling this translation may be judged from a few characteristic blunders taken almost at random: 1. 9. 1 ούτε πόρρω εκείνης neque longe <posita>; 11. 8. 13 ου καλώς δε ουδ' ό περί της κρίσεως έχει νόμος, το κρίνειν άξιοῦν κτλ non bene autem neque de judicio habet lex judificare dignificans, though here one might suppose he had δ κρίνειν αξιών before him : 11. 11 § 14 εκαστον αποτελείται τών αὐτῶν unum quodque perficitur ab eisdem 6: c. 11 § 15 τῷ πλουτεῖν, αἰεί τι τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐκπέμποντες ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις inditando semper aliquam populi partem emittentes super urbes, suggested perhaps by ποιούσω εὐπόpous in VII (VI), 5, 01: HI, 3 & 2 είπερ οὖν δημοκρατοῦνται si quidem igitur in democratiam versae fuerant quaedam: 13 § 2 οἴκοι habetur: IV (VII). 16. 14 προς θεών αποθεραπείαν των είληχότων την περί της γενέσεως τιμήν ad deorum reverentiam hiis, quae sortitae sunt eum qui de generatione honorem (as if rais eilnyviaus were read)8.

From this examination of the old translation Busse concludes that it is a less trustworthy representative of the better recension (II i.e. P ¹ M) than P , the codex of Demetrios Chalkondylas. Its lost original was slightly better than the very corrupt Ambrosian manuscript

¹ pp. 2x—23: Γ may have had εfπωντο, but this is less probable. 6 p. 20. 7 p. 44. 43-2 pp. 24–26. 3 p. 32. 8 pp. 43, 20, 41.

Ms, but closely resembled it; the common archetype of the two being itself very corrupt, with numerous omissions through homoeoteleuta and one or two glosses inserted in the text1. And it was from this Latin translation and not from another manuscript, he thinks, that the scribe of P5 derived those readings wherein he departs from the second or worse family2.

These conclusions however are by no means warranted*. The ignorance and uncritical spirit of William of Moerbeke render it all the more certain that in the majority of the right readings which are due solely to his translation he must have followed a codex considerably better (as it was also older) than the archetype of P1 or of Ms. When all deductions have been made for variants arising from conjectures and mistranslations, the old translation presents the correct reading 18 times unsupported: 7 times in conjunction with P6 only: once in conjunction with Po only: 3 times with P1 (or its corrections) only; once with Aretinus only: 5 times in conjunction with more than one of the inferior manuscripts4. To these may be added some 12 other passages where the evidence, though good, is less convincing. Whereas the correct reading is due to P1 alone 11 times, to P1 in conjunction with inferior authorities (Ar., P2 margin, P3) 5 times: and several of these are such changes as Demetrios or Aretinus could

¹ pp- 45-47-² In proof of this Busse quotes (p. 48)

D1 3.0

2 2 from V (VIII). 8. 2-a passage where the second family II2 exhibits an hiatus-

T - DT	WY III III III	I - (margin)
<i>ταραδυομένη</i>	subintrans	ύπεισδύουσα
ταρανομία το μικρόν δαπάνημα έναιρεί	praevaricatio - parvae expensae consumunt	παράβασις αl μικραl δαπάν δαπανώσιν.

There is nothing new in this observation. Compare Susemihl's large critical edition (1872) p. XIII: "mirum autem est in eis "verbis, quae in vulgatae recensionis co-dicibus omissa hic liber (P⁶) cum paucis "aliis et vetusta translatione servavit, "eum aliis illis interdum accuratius cum "hac assentire aut alias eiusdem sensus "voces quam illos hic illic offerre, ut "propensus facile fias ad credeudum hos "in eo locos non ex codice Graeco anti-"quiore, sed ex ipsa translatione Latina " esse haustos."

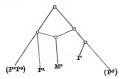
3 With what follows compare Susemihl Politica tertison edita (1882) Preface pp. VIII-xvin.

⁴ Γ aloue gives 1258 b 40 Χαρητίδη 1260 a 4 άρχόντων καὶ, 1260 b 41 εἶs ὁ 78, 1266 b 2 8' film, 1271 a 20 km, 1276 a 33 έθνος έν, 1282 a 27 μέγιστα, 1285 a 7 αύτοκράτωρ, 1332 a 42 ένια δέ, 1336 a 34 στουδοσομένω, 35 κατά, 1556 α 8 ευστάσεις μέρα 35 κάθης, 130 h 9 τρ Ταρωντίας σει, 1 μέρα 36 κάθης, 130 h 9 τρ Ταρωντίας 1 μέρα 32 κάθης 130 κάθης 130 κάθης 1 μέρα 32 κάθης 1 μέρα 32 κάθης 1 μέρα 36 κάθης 1 μέρα 36 κάθης 1 μέρα 35 κάθης 31 7a: 1 AMBRE 1 (2007. 3) 1335 a 26 σω-ματοs: Γp² 1254 a 10 ἀπλῶς (ἀπλῶς δλως M* P¹, δλως cet).

5 Of the disputed cases 1260 b 20 olkoνόμοι, 1262 b 32 τους φύλακας, 1274 b 20 (directives or directives?), 1280 a 29 ra-

easily make for themselves1. In 4. or perhaps 5, places P2 has alone preserved the right reading: it is difficult to find a single passage where it is due to Ms or to Ps alones. From Ps and from Arctinus unsupported a greater number of such cases is derived; but the uncertainty. whether we are dealing with a genuine reading of a manuscript or merely with conjecture, proportionately increases. The latter is more probable not only for Ps, but for the few occasional good readings of the worst manuscripts".

Further it must be noticed that while Ms I are often found alone supporting a variant against P1, M8 P1 are less frequently (the number of such cases being about 3) alone in agreement against F, and it is very seldom indeed that P1 T alone support any reading against M5. What is the right inference to draw from this state of things? Evidently that I and Ms go back to one common archetype, and P1 to another (from which also must be derived the traces of the better recension in P4 P4): only the immediate ancestor of M8 had been corrected by the latter, while this was not the case with T or the authorities from which it is derived. The genuine readings of the family II1 will be found to have been preserved sometimes in the one archetype (of Ms T), sometimes in the other (of P1 and of the corrections in P2 P4); and the relationship between the members of the family may be represented by the following tree.



¹ P¹ alone 1259 a 13 ελαιουργείων, the right order of 1278 a 36 f. (corr.¹), b 4 τάκεθης corr. 1 (εκάκτῶσς), 1286 b 17 με-τέβαλον (perhaps Γ also), 1287 b 38 βασι-λικόν, 1328 a 5 απάγχεαι, 1335 b 20 γενο-μένων, 1338 b 4 πρότερον (corr. 1), 1340 b 30 παιδίων, 1200 b 24 έτέρων, 1314 2 35 τδ ποιείν (?): P¹ Ar. 1263 b 4 τδ, 1280 b 19 elησαν; P¹ (corr.) Ar. 1255 a 37 εκγαναν, 1200 a 14 πολιτείαι»; P¹P² (margin) P⁸ (later hand) 1284 a 37 κολούειν. Of these έλαιουργείων, πρότερον, παιδίων, τὸ ποιείν,

elhour, keyovor are of slight weight. 2 P 2 1253 a 25 kal omitted after ϕ 600. 1270 b 38 elmos, 1325 a 29 abrò rò (corr.), 1339 a 14 elmeser: perhaps 1338 b 33

απαιδαγωγήτους.

a 120fb 33 π L*, Ub (cor.); 1274 b
20 π 1 πταίσωσι L*; 1275 b 30 ποῦτο L*
Aldine and M* (18t hand); 1331 a 24
θεώς P* Ar., 1205 a 28 η L*C Ar.,
1317 a 12 π β Rb Ar. 1302 b 30 π δ ποσῶν
Rb.

4 For proof of this see (beside the criti-

Few of the readings common to M P² or of those common to Γ M have much to recommend them. Yet this is far from proving P² to be our best authority. Against such a view may be urged (i) the number of mistakes with which, no less than Γ or M², it abounds: (2) the futile attempts at correction which it sometimes exhibits, e.g. III. 13.7 rawires γ̄φ δε δωίων for αὐται γ̄φ δ§ δωοῦτε δωίων (δωοῦτε having been omitted in the archetype of Π²): (3) the fact that, as just shown, Γ, solely or with inferior manuscripts, furnishes the true reading at least 34 (perhaps 46) times; whereas P¹, alone or with inferior manuscripts, does the same only 16 times. These considerations are not to be set aside by an isolated passage like II. 9, 8, where P² δωοῶτονεν is a trifle nearer right than M² δωοωνοῦτ Will. ministram².

All existing manuscripts of the Politica, when compared even with those of the Ethica, are late and bad. Still there are degrees of bad-ness: and if to follow r M', other things being equal, in preference to P' sometimes leads an editor away from the true reading of II', he would yet oftener go astray if he followed P' against P M'. The relationship between the two families is itself obscure. In some respects II' is the better of the two, particularly where it preserves words omitted in II': in such cases it is seldom II' that has a gloss inserted, nearly always it is II' that is mutilated? Yet as a general rule II' should be followed in preference to II'.

Coming now to Busse's view about P^s, we must admit that this manuscript presents most remarkable variants. Take v (vIII). 2 § 5 ff. (1337 b 17 ff.):

331	D	1 / 11. / .		
		P^1 M^8	William	P ⁵
		πρὸς ἀκριβείαν	ad perfectionem	πρὸς τὸ τέλειον
		εἰρημέναις	dictis	ρηθείσαις
§	6	EVEKEV	gratia	χάρω (Bekk.)
		τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ	ipsius quidem enim	αύτου μέν γάρ (Bekk.)
		φίλων	amicorum	τῶν φίλων
3 §	1	την δὲ μουσικήν ήδη	de musica autem	περὶ δὲ τῆς μουσικῆς
§	3	τέλος	finaliter	τελευταΐον

δτι δεῖ ποιοῦντας quod facientes oportet τί ποιοῦντας δεῖ (Bekk.)*

In some of these instances the discrepancy has nothing to do with

viIII.

cal notes) Susemihl's Third edition (1882) Preface pp. X, XI, where also the diagram is given, p. XVI.

c.

b) some parts of the treatise, K^kO^b and L^kM^b in others.

3 Other instances of close agreement with the old translation, in 1327a 34, 1320a 17, 18, 1334a 37, 1336a 34, b 18, 1320a 17, 10, 1307b 32.5 Susmill of. C.

Puoted by Busse p. 45.

The manuscripts of the Nicomachean
Ethics show an equally perplexing discrepancy between K^bM^b and L^bO^b in

the old translation: and this is still more plain from the following variants of P6: 1330 a 32 χρή for δεί c. c.1; 1333 b 2 δὶ καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα for καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ (Π¹ omit δὲ); 1335 b 23 παιδοποιίας for τεκνοποιίας; 1336 b 5 γὰρ τοῦ for τοῦ γὰρ, 1339 a 16 χάριν for ἔνεκα, 1340 a 8 δήλον for φανερον; 9 αλλων for έτέρων; 1342 a 6 απάσαις for πάσαις; 1300 a 18 ου for μή. But at the same time this corrupt carelessly written book has some readings agreeing with P1 and M8 against the old translation, and others which no Latin version would ever have suggested. Thus 1338 b 27 λειπομένοις Ms Ps deficientes William. 1318 b 31 τιμημάτων τὰς μείζους ἀπὸ omitted by M° P° translated by Will.; 1326 b 4 μèν τοῦς M° P1.5 Ald., τοῦς μèν Π°; 1332 b 1 μεταβάλλειν Ms P1.5 μεταβαλείν Π2; 1334 b 2 τε untranslated by Will., τὰ P1.6; 1335 a 16 τὸ C. C. τοὺς M5 P6; 1337 a 18 βέλτιον M6 P6 Ar., βέλτιστον c. c. optimus Will.; 1319 b 24 καὶ τὰ P1.5 and in the margin of P4, κατά c. c. in Will.; 27 at πρότεραι Π1 P5 and the corrector of P4, αὶ πρότερον Π^8 ; 1322 a 22 τοῦς εἰρημένους M^8 and $P^{1.8}$ (1st hand), τη̂ς είρημένης c. c. dicto Will.; 1306 a 22 έγχειρίσωμεν ceteri, έγχειρήσωσιν M5, έγχειρήσουσιν P5 manus iniecerint Will.; 1313 b 2 φρόνημά τε P1.0 Rb, φρονήματά τε c. c. sapientiae Will.: 1316 a 32 των c. c. του P1.6 Ar.. in T Ms a hiatus. Take even the suspected passage 1334 a 28, 29 δεί δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλής σωφροσύνης τους άριστα δοκούντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων ἀπολαύοντας C. C., indigent iustitia et multa temperantia qui optime videntur agere et omnibus beatis frui Will. Any one correcting the text from the Latin version would surely have written ἀπολαύειν; but Po has δεόνται.....οι ἄριστα δοκοῦντες.....άπολαύοντες. Or again, 1311 b 7 δια τὸ είς τὸ σώμα αἰσχύναι (αἰσχύναι Mº P¹ αἰσχύνεσθαι Πº); propterea quod aliqui monarcharum in corpus verecundiam fearunt would have suggested aloyivan not aloyivan which is what we find in P6. So again had the scribe wished to emend the corrupt οπλίτην of 1321 a 12. William's armativam would have suggested όπλιτικήν or όπλίτιν, not όπλιτικόν which is the reading of P5. Far more probable is it that here traces of the archetype still remain. Similarly in 1320 b 3 the right reading adoutious seems to have come down in P6 as well as in P1: it is at least unlikely that William's respuentes suggested it. Even in VIII (v) 8. 2, the passage which Busse thinks conclusive, but for the reminiscence of a phrase in Plato it is by no means clear that παραδυσμένη should supersede ὑπεισδύουσα².

¹ Consensus codicum.
² Bekker, who took P² of the second or worse family as the foundation of his text, often adouted readines from P²: in

some cases even, e.g. 1336 b 18, 1337 b 16 f., 34 f., where M*P1 have a better reading. See p. 76.

Dislocations and double recensions.

The text of the Politics, when put into the more coherent shape which to the German editor most nearly reproduces Aristotle's intention', is seen to depart from the order of the manuscripts not merely in the two great instances of the arrangement of the books', but also in a large number of other cases. It will be useful here to review, at greater length than can be done in the critical footnotes, the difficulties for which transposition seems to be suggested as a natural remedy, especially as the fullest account of these suggested as an antural remedy, especially as the fullest account of these suggestions has often to be sought in monographs or magazine articles not always readily accessible.

(1) Bk. I. 11 § 5, 6. Montecatino, p. 422 of his Commentary on Bk. I., was the first to enquire what is the connexion between & 6, sioù & τεγνικώταται μέν των έργασιων όπου έλάγιστον τύγης, βαναυσόταται δ' έν αις τα σώματα λωβώνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δ' όπου τοῦ σώματος πλείσται χρήσεις, αγεννέσταται δε οπου ελάχιστον προσδεί αρετής, and the context. Piccart, p. 140, proposed to remove it to follow τῶ σώματι μόνω γρησίμων (l. 27). As Schneider saw, this will not do; for the third or mixed sort of χρηματιστική could not be excluded from the ἐργασίαι of Now the last words of δ s, immediately before εἰσὶ δὲ τεγγικώταται κτλ, αιε, περί εκάστου δε τούτων καθόλου μεν είσηται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δε κατά μέρος ακριβολογείσθαι χρήσιμον μέν πρός τας έργασίας, φορτικόν δὲ τό ένδιατοίβειν. This reads like the final remark of Aristotle on the senarate branches of vonuariorism, considered not in regard to theory but to practice (τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν, δ 1); no new remarks upon them ought to be added. If so, § 6, which consists of such remarks, would be in place if it preceded περὶ ἐκάστου δὲ κτλ: or, which is the same thing, if the sentence περί ἐκάστου δὲ...τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν be transposed to follow ἀρετῆς. The argument too runs on better to the next sentence ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ενίοις γεγραμμένα κτλ, § 7. "I have here said what was necessary in a "general way on each of these various branches; to go accurately into "details would no doubt be useful for the various pursuits themselves. "but it would be a tedious subject to dwell upon. The reader is "referred for particulars to the separate works which have been written "upon them3."

(Greifswald 1867. 4).

As may be done by passing over the parts printed in Clarendon type and reading the duplicates of the same passages in their transposed place; where they stand in ordinary type between thick brackets

thus < >.

² See above p. 16 n 4.

³ Susemihl Quaestiones Criticae 1 p. 9

- (2) Bk. 1. 13 § 8. q. v. "It is strange," says M. Thurot', "that "after having spoken of the deliberative part of the soul, Aristotle does "not say one word of the aperal διανοητικαί which properly belong to it. "while speaking three times, ll. 15, 17, 20, of \(\eta\theta\text{ur}\) \(\alpha\text{open}\) in the same "sense. Further, it is singular that in order to prove that he who com-"mands ought to have "thun apert" in perfection, he says that the work "belongs to him who directs it and that reason (λόγος) is a directing "faculty: this reflexion evidently applies to the αρετή διανοητική of το "λόνον έγον, elsewhere called φρόνησις, III. 4, 17, and not to the ήθική "aperi of the aloyor." He proposes therefore to transpose ll. 14-17. όμοίως τοίνυν... τργον to follow ἐπιβάλλει αὐτοῖς: to omit ήθική in line 20, and change ηθικήν to διανοητικήν in L 17. (The transposition becomes less needed and less satisfactory if ηθικήν be retained.) Now there is no doubt that, on the stricter Aristotelian theory, φρόνησις inseparably involves ήθική αρετή, Nic. Eth. vI. 13 & 2, 3, 6 (cp. ib. 12 & 6, ετι το έργον αποτελείται κατά την φρόνησιν και την ήθικην άρετήν); so l. 20 ήθωή may stand. The dianoetic virtue, in its perfection, seems to reside solely in the master who commands. Cp. § 7, just above the present passage, ὁ δοῦλος όλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, and Pol. III. 4. SS 17, 18, ή δὲ φρόνησις άρχοντος ίδιος άρετη μόνη, τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἔοικεν ἀναγκαΐον είναι κοινάς και των άρχομένων και των άρχοντων, άρχομένου δέ γε ουκ ἔστιν ἀρετή φρόνησις, ἀλλὰ δόξα ἀληθής with the notes.
- (3) Π. 4.4, δονε δὲ μάλλον...ροὶ νεωτρόζεων. "It is singular that "Aristotle supposes here what he has not yet proved and is going to "prove later on, namely, that communism relaxes the bond of family "affections. Again in c. 5 § 24, 176 § 1, he supposes without saying "so, that community of wives and children will make the labourers "more obedient" (Thurot). He therefore suggests that Π. 4. 4 should follow κοινωνίν in 15. 24. A better place would seem to be in 4 § 9, 126 b 24, after Aristotle has proved that τόδομής φλίλα must result from the Platonic institutions in the absence of the ordinary motives to mutual kindness. The argument of §§ 5—9 goes to show συμβαίωνα ἀνάρκη τουναντίου ὧν προσήκει τοὺς ὁρθος κειμένους νόμους αίτους γίνεσθαι; the application to the agricultural class would come in appositely to point this reversal of the effect intended."
- (4) II. 6 § 3 sub fin. καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τυνα δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν φυλάκων. Aristotle would hardly consider a discussion περὶ παιδείας to be extraneous to the main political subject of the Republic. Moreover

¹ Etudes sur Aristote 18, 19. Comp. also Susemihl Quaest. Crit. VI. 9—11.

Op. cit. 26, 27.
 Susemihl Ouaest. Crit. 1 p. 13.

in line 37 he exchanges the construction with $\pi \epsilon \rho l$ for a new one oferal $\delta \epsilon i \nu$... $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda i \rho_0 \omega \epsilon$. The clause $\kappa a l$ $\pi \epsilon \rho l$ $\pi \epsilon \omega \delta \epsilon i \omega$... $\pi \epsilon \omega \lambda i \omega \epsilon \omega$ solutions the subjects ($\pi \epsilon \rho l$ $\delta \lambda i \rho \omega \nu$ $\pi \epsilon \mu \pi \omega \nu$) on which Socrates in the Republic has touched, and therefore in ξ 1 after $\kappa \tau \rho i \sigma \omega \nu$ 334 b 30°.

It is possible, however, while admitting that the transposition would give a better position to these words, to defend their present place. Aristotle is evidently criticizing in an unsympathetic spirit. He has reduced the points touched upon to a minimum ($eq\dot{a}$) $\partial N_p \omega m d\mu e m \nu$). Afterwards, when he complains of the extraneous topics which take up the bulk of the treatise (criticism on poetry and art, psychology, meta-physics, ethics), he has grudgingly to allow that some of these long digressions do serve the purpose (or at least are introduced under the colour) of elaborating the training of the guardians.

(5) II. 7 § I, αἷ μὲν ἴδωστῶν αἷ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν. Giphamius (Van Giffien)* comparing c. 12 § I, ἐνοι μὲν οὐν ἐκοινώνγουν πρόδων πολιτικῶν τόξ ἀντιμονούς λιλλὸ ἐκτιλοντικ ἐδιεντεόντεν τὸ βίσν... ἔνοι ἐδ νομοθέται γεγώνασν...πολιτευθέντει αὐτοί, proposed to omit φιλοσόφων καὶ. Spenge! simply transposed these words before ἰδωστῶν. (6) II. 7 § 8 I 0-12 = 8 i B= 20.

The third objection to Phaleas' scheme, §§ 8—13, emphasizes the necessity for equality of education as well as of possessions. Like the preceding criticisms, §§ 5—1, it deals with the internal arrangements of the state. In §§ 14—17 there is a transition to its external relations, which Phaleas ought not to have overlooked, as he did. It is not likely them that in §§ 18—20 (with which we must take § 21) Aristotle would return to internal matters and repeat his previous objection in other words. Yet this is what he has done if the common order be retained. Let the two passages be read side by side, and it will be seen that there is no new thought in the latter, but only a reiteration of the former in different language.

ἐπεὶ στασιάζουσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆν τῶν τιμῶν, τοὐναντίον δὲ περὶ ἐκάτερον (οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ πεοὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἄνισον. έστι μὰν σὖν τι τῶν συμφερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἔσας εἶναι τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μὴν μέγα ουδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἀν οἱ χαρίεντες

¹ Compare Victorius Comm. p. 106 (ed. of 1576): adiungit autem in extremo disputasse etiam illic Socratem de disciplina quam putaret convenire custodibus illius rei publicae: hoc enim coniungi debet cum iis quae nunc repetit facienti-

bus ad materiam eorum librorum indicandam, non cum inferioribus ut quidam falso putarunt.

² In his commentary p. 210. ³ Arist. Studien III. p. 14 (66).

οί δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι· ὄθεν καὶ

έν δὲ ἰζ τιμή ήμεν κακὸς ήδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός), ου μόνον θ' οι άνθρωποι διά τὰ άνανκαία άδικούσιν, ών άκος είναι νομίζει την Ισότητα της ουσίας, ώστε μή λωποδυτείν δια το ριγούν ή πεινήν, άλλα και όπως γαίρωσι και μή έπιθυμώσιν έαν γάρ μείζω έχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, διὰ την ταύτης ζατρείαν άδικήσουσιν. ού τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην μόνον, άλλά καὶ ἄνευ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς άνευ λυπών ήδοναις. τί οὖν ἄκος τών τριών τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βραχεία καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη τρίτον δ', εί τινες δύναιντο δι αυτών χαίρειν, οὐκ ἀν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ φιλοσοφίας άκος, αι γὰρ άλλαι άνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ άδικοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἀλλ' ού διά τὰ άναγκαῖα, οἶον τυραννοῦσιν ούν ένα μη ριγώσεν (διό καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, αν αποκτείνη τις ου κλέπτην άλλα τύραννον) ώστε προς τας μικρας αδικίας βοηθητικός μόνον ο τρόπος τής Φαλέου πολιτείας. 7 🚳 10 -I 3.

ανανακτοίεν [αν] ώς οὐκ ἔσων ὄντες άξιοι, διὸ καὶ φαίνονται πολλάκις έπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες έτι δ ή πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ πρώτον μὲν ἵκανὸν διωβολία μόνον, όταν δ' ήδη τοῦτ' ή πάτριον, αεὶ δέονται τοῦ πλείονος, έως εἰς απειρον έλθωσαν, απειρος γαρ ή της επιθυμίας φύσις, ης πρός την άναπληρωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ζώσιν, τών οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ τας ούσίας ομαλίζεαν, το τούς μέν έπιεικείς τη φύσει τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν ώστε μη βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτείν, τούς δὲ φαύλους ώστε μή δύνασθαι τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ἀν ήττους τε ώσι καὶ μὴ άδικώνται. 7 🚳 18-20,

It seems advisable therefore to remove \(\) 18-21 to precede \(\) 14 to, to treat as parallel versions \(\) 10-13, \(\) 18-20 cited above, and to take \(\) 21 as coming directly after them but before \(\) 14.

(γ) II. II § 12. In § o Aristotle says that eligibility to office on the ground of wealth and on the ground of menit are traits of oligarchy and aristocracy respectively: hence the Carthaginian constitution, where wealth and ability combined are qualifications for the highest offices, must be a third and distinct scheme. This, he adds, § το, is a fault in the legislator, who ought to have made provision that ability should not be associated with powerty even in citizens in a private station: ¿ρῶ σ̄νους ¿ρῶ ζουτον & ὁνουνται σχολάζεω καὶ μηθὸν ἀσχαμονός, μὴ μένων

¹ Susemihl in Fahrb. für Philol. XCVI. 1866. p. 330.

ἄρχοντες ἀλλὰ μηδ' ιδιωτεύοντες. Now here, as far as the sense goes, the clause in § 12 belongs: βέλτιον δ', εί καὶ προείτο τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ό νομοθέτης, άλλα αρχόντων γε επιμελείσθαι της σχολής. "If he was "forced to neglect the last-mentioned task, at least he might have made "provision for poor men in office." Then would follow quite naturally the criticism of § 10: "at all events he should not have allowed these "high offices to be virtually put up for sale"."

(8) ΙΙΙ. 7 §§ 3, 4 ὅταν δὲ τὸ πληθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον, καλείται το κοινόν όνομα πασών τών πολιτειών, πολιτεία. συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως. Ενα μεν γαρ διαφέρευν κατ' αρετήν ή πλείους ενδέχεται, πλείους δ' ήδη γαλεπον ήκριβώσθαι πρός πάσαν άρετήν, άλλα μάλιστα την πολεμικήν αυτη γάρ εν πλήθει γίνεται διόπερ κατά ταύτην την πολιτείαν κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν καὶ μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. Spengel2 first called attention to the difficulty of συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγωs, when as Aristotle goes on to explain (ήδη χαλεπόν) it is hard for a large number of citizens to attain a high standard of excellence. Thurot supposed a lacuna to precede συμβαίνα, containing a reason for the name Πολιτεία, something like this: <διά το τούς πολιτικούς ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μη τοὺς ἀπλῶς ἀρίστους. The parallel passage in III. 17. 4 πολιτικόν πλήθος έν ῷ πέφυκεν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλήθος πολεμικόν may have suggested to Zeller the insertion of πολεμικών before πλήθος in § 2. In any case he is right so far as this, that the remark to which συμβαίνει εὐλόγως refers must emphasize the warlike character of Πολιτεία. Schmidt lastly found such a remark, and the lost subject of the verb συμβαίνει, in the last clause of § 4, καὶ μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ οπλα, which he would transpose to come after πολιτεία.

(9) 111. 11 § 20 άλλά γάρ... § 21 κείσθαι τοὺς νόμους. Schneider bracketed the clause αλλά γάρ...αδίκους as superfluous and disturbing to the context. If retained in the present order there appears to be a double recension άλλα γαρ...αδίκους = πλην τοῦτο...νόμους. But it seems better, with Congreve, to reverse the order of the two sentences.

(10) III. 13 § 6 εἰ δὲ τον ἀριθμον... ἐξ αὐτών. Thurot sums up his elaborate examination of the context as follows. Aristotle has proposed, § 5, to investigate who ought to have power in a state where all kinds of superiority are represented-wealth, nobility, virtue, numbers. The discussion continues as follows: (i) If the virtuous are few in number we must enquire whether there are enough of them to govern the state

Susemihl Fahrb. f. Ph. xcvi. 1866.

P. 333. ** Ueber die Politik p. 23 n. 24.

⁸ Etudes sur Aristote p. 42, 43.

⁴ Susemihl Philol, XXIX. 1870. 106 n. 16, Quaest. Crit. III. p. 15, IV. p. 12.

Susemihl Quaest. Crit. III. p. 16. 6 Etudes sur Aristote 47-51.

or to constitute a state by themselves, § 6. (ii) No superiority gives exclusive right to power, \$\$ 7-10. (iii) The best laws are adapted to the interest of the whole state and the body of citizens, § 11, 12. (iv) Individuals, one or more, of pre-eminent virtue cannot be reduced to a level of equality, \$\ 13, 14 (then follows a digression on ostracism). Now (i) has no direct bearing on the question proposed; the right of virtuous men to command must be proved before any enquiry as to what ought to be done when the virtuous are few in number: (ii) is the negative solution and (iii) has the germs of a positive solution, which we may suppose more fully developed in a part now lost. A discussion of a particular case, analogous to that in (i), is presented in (iv). The conclusion is that the proper place for (i) will be after (iii), i.e. somewhere between αρετήν (§ 12, end) and εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν, the beginning of § 13. For §§ 7-12 are certainly just as much in place immediately after the question proposed in § 5, which they answer from the negative side. And although in itself § 6 might very well follow § 5, it must excite considerable suspicion to find that the important question started in 8 6 is never fully answered at all and not even noticed until § 12'. (11) III. 13. 22. The sentence ωστε δια τοῦτο...τοῦτο δρώσιν, if

(11) Ill. 13, 22. In sentence dore δως τοντο...τούτο δρώσως if genuine, interrupts the thread of the remarks begun in § 20 and continued to δωρθούν in § 23, to the effect that the problem, what to do with unduly eniment citizens, is one which is equally urgent in all constitutions. The words cited δωγε δω τούτο...τούτο δρώσω, however, do not bear upon the general problem, but on the particular case of monarchs. Hence, as Thuret' saw, they would be more in place in § 23 after δωρθούν, at the end of the general reflexions. Bernays' however found them a place at the end of § 20 above, after δχε τρόσω.

(12) In. cc. 15, 16. On the question of absolute sovereignty, arrayor more than στιμαθρια κόμου drus πάττω η όδ στιμάρη, a succession of ἀπομά and a general investigation are promised in 15 § 3. What follows in the order of the manuscripts may be briefly summarized as follows*: (a) Is the rule of the best man more advantageous than the rule of the best laws? §§ 3—6. (β) Assuming that in certain directions the laws are insufficient, should the decision rest with the one best man or with a number of the more competent citizens, in the extreme case the whole body of a qualified community? §§ 7—10. Then comes a historical or antiquarian appendix to this ἀπομά, contained in §§ 11, 12. (γ) How are the standing difficulties of hereditary succession, §§ 13, 14,

¹ Susemihl in *Philol*. XXIX. 1870 pp. 113—4. ² Etudes sur Aristote 51—53.

² In his *Translation* p. 211. ⁴ For a fuller account see the *Analysis* p. 112 f.

and (δ) a body-guard, §\$ 1.4, 1.5, to be dealt with? Aristotle appends to this last enquiry a sort of digression, § 1.6, showing what would be the decision in the case of the constitutional monarch. But, as he explains, resuming his argument with c. 16, it is not the constitutional monarch, but the absolute sovereign about whom the question is now being raised (§§ 1, 2, down to the words κατά τὴν ἐαντοῦ βολύγρευ ὁ βοκιλείο). Here it seems absolutely necessary to assume a lacuna. For what immediately follows, § 2 ἔοκαῖ δἶ τωτω...§ 4 πάντων, relates to a different ἀστρέα altogether: (ϵ) Is not the rule of one an unnatural anomaly where the citizens are all on the same footing (ἐξ ἔρισῶν ἡ πόλω)? Should not power rather pass from hand to hand (ἀνὰ μέρο)?

Here the limit of amopias distinctly discernible is reached; in the remainder of c. 16, & 4-13, αλλά μην...όμοίως, no new question is started, but remarks are jotted down which bear more or less directly on those formulated in the preceding chapter. Thus all from δ 4 αλλα μην as far as κατά το ἔθος in § 9 must belong to the first ἀπορία (α): Is the rule of the best man to be preferred to that of the laws? Not that it could anywhere find a place as a whole in 15 §§ 3-6; but the earlier part (a) αλλά μην... § 5 των κειμένων could suitably be transferred to the end of 15 § 5 to follow κάλλιον and precede ότι μεν τούνυν; the remainder (b) 16 δ 5 ο μέν οὖν τὸν νόμον...δ ο κατά τὸ ἔθος might be inserted a little higher up in 15 \$ 5 between πασαν and αλλ' lows. Again, the next piece of c. 16, (ε) §§ 9, 10 from ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον as far as συμφράδμονες, clearly has for its subject that comparison of the one best man with a number of qualified citizens which is introduced in (β): and this might go in 15 § 10 after o els and before el δή. To this same amopla further belongs the remainder of c. 16. from § 10 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν to the end δεῖν ομοίως; when placed side by side with c. 15 §§ 7-10 καὶ γὰρ...ο είs, it is seen to be another recension of that passage.

καὶ γοὰρ νῖν στινιόντες δικάζουτε καὶ βουλκίονται καὶ κρύνουτε ,αἶται δ' εἰσὶν αὶ κρύσεις πάσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστον. καθ ἔκε μελν οἶν στιμ βαλλόμενος ἐστισοῦν ἴσως χείρων ἀλλ' ἐστιν τὴ πόλις ἐκ πολλών, ἐσπερ ἐστίαιτες συμφορητὸς καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ ἀπόξε. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει ἄ μενων όχλος πολλά ἢ εἰς δοστεσοῦν.

εἰπὶ δὲ καὶ νῶν περὶ ἐνίων αὶ ἀρχαὶ κώριαι κράκεις, ἀσπερ ὁ δικαστής, περὶ ἀν ὁ νόμιος ἐδυκαττῶ διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν γε διναστός, οιδοὰς ἀμφαιβητεῖ περὶ τούτων ώς οἰκ ἀν ἄριστα ὁ νόμιος ἀρξεικ καὶ κράνεις. ἀλλὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφόθηκαι τοῦς νόμιοις τὰ δὶ ἀδυκατα, ταῦτ ἐστιν ἀ ποιεῖ διαπορείν καὶ ἐχτινὰ πότη, οιν ποιεῖ διαπορείν καὶ ἐχτινὰ πότη, οιν έτι μάλλον άδιάφθορον τὸ πολύ, καθάπερ ύδωρ το πλείον, ούτω καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον τοῦ γὰρ ἐνὸς ὑπ' ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ή τινος έτέρου πάθους τοιούτου άναγκαΐον διεφθάρθαι την κρίσιν, έκει δ έργον άμα πάντας όργισθήναι καὶ αμαρτείν, έστω δὲ τὸ πλήθος οἰ έλεύθεροι, μηδέν παρά τον νόμον πράττοντες, άλλ' ή περί ων εκλείπειν άναγκαΐον αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῦτο ράδιον εν πολλοῖς, άλλ' εἰ πλείους είεν αγαθοί και ανδρες και πολίται, πότερον ο είς αδιαφθορώτερος άρχων, η μάλλον οι πλείους μεν τον αριθμόν άγαθοὶ δὲ πάντες; ή δήλον ώς οἱ πλείους; άλλ' οἱ μὲν στασιάσουσιν ο δὲ εῖς ἀστασίαστος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀντιθετέον ἴσως ὅτι σπουδαῖοι την ψυχήν, ώσπερ κάκείνος ο είς. 15 § 7-10.

τὸν ἄριστον νόμον ἄρχειν αἰρετώτερον ή τον ανδρα τον αριστον. περί ων γάρ βουλεύονται νομοτεθήσαι τών αδυνάτων έστίν, οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ αντιλέγουσιν, ώς οὐκ αναγκαίον ανθρωπον είναι τὸν κρινούντα περί τῶν τοιούτων, άλλ' ότι ούχ ένα μόνον άλλα πολλούς. κρίνει γαρ έκαστος αρχων πεπαιδευμένος ύπο του νόμου καλώς, ἄτοπον τ' ἴσως ἃν εἶναι δόξειεν εὶ βέλτιον έχοι τις δυοίν ὅμμασι καὶ δυσίν ακοαίς κρίνων, και πράττων δυσί ποσί καὶ γερσίν, ή πολλοί πολλοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὀφθαλμοὺς πολλούς οἱ μονάρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ώτα καὶ γείρας καὶ πόδας, τοὺς γὰρ τή άρχη καὶ αύτοῦ φίλους ποιούνται συνάρχους. μή φίλοι μεν ουν όντες οὐ ποιήσουσι κατά την τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν εί δὲ φίλοι κάκείνου καὶ της αρχής, ο γε φίλος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος, ώστ' εί τούτους οίεται δείν άρχειν, τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους ἄρχειν οἴεται δείν όμοίως. 16 § 10-13.

Such would be the best restoration of the primitive order of these two chapters, if the order of thought and the connexion were solely to be followed. Yet undoubtedly the less complicated and artificial assumption is that of two independent versions combined by an overcareful or unintelligent compiler. Such a view has been acutely advocated by Mr J. Cook Wilson¹. "It may be that the two chapters belong "almost wholly to two parallel versions and that instead of being "combined they should be still further resolved." Thus

- (i) 15 \S 2, 3 τ ô μ èv σ \$\text{\$\tilde{\text{\$v\$}}\cdot\text{\$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ = 16 \S 1 π \$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ \$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ \$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ \$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$...\$\tilde{\text{\$\tilde{v}\$}}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$...\$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$...\$\tilde{v}\$ \$\tilde{v}\$ \$\ti
- (ii) 15 §§ 3—6 ἀρχὴ...πάντας corresponds in subject to 16 §§ 3—9 τὸν ἄρα νόμον...κατὰ τὸ ἔθος + §§ 10, 11 ἐἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ...περὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

¹ Journal of Philology X. 1881. pp. 82, 83.

οὖδὲ ῥάδιον... συμφράδμονες. "Of these passages the third [16 § 9, 10] disturbs the context and looks like a parallel version of the second."

Spengel' proposed a simpler remedy for the confusion of cc. 15, 16: viz. to transpose 16 § 4-9 å $\lambda\lambda\lambda$ µyb four $\gamma e...$ xarh a^{*} b^{*} 0 to follow while a0 a len of 1 x5 y5. The passage following xarh a^{*} 0 b^{*} 0 to follow ships, a1 and a2 b3 also begins with $a\lambda\lambda\lambda$ µyb3, and there is an actual case, viz. the Ss. Ax5, where the recurrence of a word $(a\lambda\lambda \lambda a_{y})a_{y}$ 5, in Rdd. 1. 2 1357 a 17 and b 6) led to the omission of the intervening passage and its insertion in the margin. The inadequateness of this solution of the difficulty need hardly be demonstrated. For not only (1) does Spengel propose to insert a^{*} 1 after b^{*} 2 a^{*} 2 b, b1 is oblighed to explain that what we then get is a sort of dialogue between the supporters of personal rule and of the laws.

ούδαν δέ καλών έργου οὐτά ανδρός δομον δεόμενον καὶ πόλιν εἰδαίμονα τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι καὶ πράττουσαν καλῶς. ἀδύνατον γὰρ καλῶς πράττουσαν τειν τὴν μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττουσαν τειν τὴν μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττουσαν δομον δὲ καλών ἔργον οὐτ ἀνδρός πότερον δε την είδαιμονίαν την αυτην είναι φατέον ένδι τε έκατου των αυθρώπων και πόλεως ή μη την αὐτήν, λοιπόν έστω εἰπεῖν. φαικρὸν δέκι τοῦτο πάντες γαρ ἄν όμολογήσειω είναι την αὐτήν. ὅσοι γαρ ἐν σειω είναι την αὐτήν. ὅσοι γαρ ἐν

¹ Cp. Susemihl Aristotelis Politica tertium ed. p. XXI.

² Arist. Stud. III. 26 (78), f.

Arist. Stud. III. 20 (78), t. 3 ἀλλ' Ισως ἀν φαίη τις ὡς ἀντὶ τούτου βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν καθ' ἔκαστα κάλλιων. The reply is: ἀλλά μὴν ὅσα γε μὴ ὅσκεῖ δύνασθα διορίζειν ὁ νόμος, οἰδ' ἄνθρωπος

[&]amp;ν δίναιτο γνωρίζειν. Objection: ἀλλ' ἐπέτηθει παιδείσαι ὁ νόμος ἐφίστησι τλ λοιπλ τῆ δικαινότης γούμη κρίνειν καὶ διοικόν τοὺι ἀρχονται. ἐτι δ' ἐπανορθοίσθαι ἐδίναιν, ὁ τι ἀν δίζη περομένοι ἀξικαινος ἐπαι τοὺν πειμένων. Final reply and decision: ὁ μὲν οῦν τὸν ρόμον κτλ.

ούτε πόλεως χωρίς άρετης καὶ φρονήσεως ανδρία δέ πόλεως και δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔγει δύναμεν καὶ μορφήν, ών μετασχών έκαστος των ανθρώπων λέγεται δίκαιος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ σώφρων. С. Ι §§ 11, 12.

πλούτω τὸ ζην εὖ τίθενται ἐφ' ἐνός, ούτοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, ἐὰν ἢ πλουσία, μακαρίζουσιν, όσοι τε τὸν τυραννικόν βίον μάλιστα τιμώσιν, ούτοι καὶ πόλιν τὴν πλείστων άρνουσαν εύδαιμονεστάτην είναι φαίεν αν. εἴ τέ τις τὸν ἔνα δι ἀρετὴν αποδέχεται, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν φήσει την σπουδαιοτέραν. С. 2 & I, 2.

Here the language is by no means similar and the thought that virtue in the state is the same as virtue in the individual seems introduced in different connexion in the two passages. Nevertheless they cannot both stand. The latter opens the discussion afresh without any allusion to the previous chapter, as Spengel observed1. If it is to be fitted into this part of the work, it must be intended to supersede some part of c. 1. Susemihl is probably right in holding this part to be & 11, 12 2.

- (14) IV (VII). 4 \$\frac{8}{2}\$ 8, 9. Giphanius (Van Giffen)* calls attention to the difficulty of connecting the last words of § 8, ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, with those immediately preceding. Schneider proposed to transpose the whole period to the end of the chapter to follow εὐσύνοπτος: in this way § 9 ο λεχθεὶς ορος would refer to the number of the citizens. If the words ἐπεὶ...γίνεσθαι are in their right place and are to be taken with § 8, the preceding sentence θ class ναο...τὸ πῶν must be parenthetical. They cannot go with § 9 as the passage stands. Koraes omitted &6: it is a smaller change, with Böcker4, to transpose ἐπεὶ...γίνεσθαι to follow ἀναγκαῖον in § 9.
- (15) IV (VII), 8. 2 οδον είτε τροφή τουτό έστιν είτε χώρας πλήθος είτ' άλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν. Bojesen saw that these words should follow directly upon δ 1 όσα ταις πόλεστι αναγκαίον ύπάρχειν which they illustrate. They are not suitable to be instances of έν τι κοινὸν καὶ ταὐτὸ τοις κοινωνοις άλλης κοινωνίας, as on the ordinary arrangement they might be taken to be.
- (16) IV (VII). 8 §§ 3, 4 δταν δ' η...κτήσεώς ἐστιν. The proposal to make this passage follow πολιτείας at the end of § 5 serves to bring the mention of κοινωνία in § 4 nearer to the κοινωνοῖς of § 26.

Ueber die Politik, pp. 45, 48.
 7ahrb. f. Philot. XCIX. 1866 p. 602.
 See also Böcker De quibusdam Pol. Ar. Iocis (Greifswald, 1867) p. 6f., Spengel Arist. Stud. 111. 30 (82).

³ Comm. pp. 921, 2.

⁴ op. c. 13, 14. ⁵ Bidtrag (Copenhagen 1845) pp. 24—

⁶ Susemihl Ougest, Crit. V. p. 15.

(17) IV (VII) Cc. 13—15. Wilson' regards c. 13 as a shorter duplicate of cc. 14, 15. "In each the same question is próposed, what is "happiness or the chief good? (compare 1332 a? and 1333 at 15, 10?) "and the discussion of it is followed in each by a transition, in almost the same terms, to the subject of education (Cp. 13 % In O-13, with "15 % 6, 7 δrx μλν σδν..."λ/δαλ)." These transitional passages stand as follows:

ωστε δεί ταῦτα συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις. πολλά γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φύσιν πράττουσι διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἀν πεισθώσιν ἄλλως ἔγειν βέλτιον.

(§ 13) την μέν τοίνυν φύσιν οίους είναι δεί τους μέλλοντας εύχειρώτους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη, διωρίσμεθα πρότερον το δὲ λοιπον ἔργον ήδη παιδείας, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐθιζωνοι μανθώνουτι, τὰ δ᾽ ἀκούοντες, 13 8 10—12. ... «τήν φετήν,» καὶ ὅτι δι ἀντήν, φωνομό ἐι τούτων τοῦς δι καὶ διά, τίνων ἔτσι. «τότο δὴ θωμητέω, τηχώνομεν δὴ δημημέου, τηδτεροι ὅτι φύτσως καὶ ἐθους καὶ δόγου δεῖ, τούτων δὲ στοίους μέν τινος είναι χηὴ τῆν φύτιν, διώμισται πρότερογ, λοιπών δὲ θεσμήσια πότερον παιδευτίοι τῷ λόγω πρότερογ ἢτοῦς ἐθεσι».

ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην: ἐνδέχεται γὰρ δυημαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦγθαι. 15 % 6, 7.

There is certainly a striking parallelism here: compare especially 13 § 13 with τούτου δε ποίους...θόσων in the right hand column; but it is partly covered by the reference back τυγχάνομεν δε δεηρημέσω πρότερον, which Wilson is obliged to suppose inserted or to be, possibly, a reference

¹ Journal of Phil. X, pp. 84, 85.

to the *Ethics*. That there is an advance in the treatment of cc t_4 , t_5 will become apparent on a close comparison with c. t_3 : see the *Analysis* (p. $t_16)$. Similarly in t_1c . t_2 there is an elaboration of the earlier sketch in t_1t . c. t_3 ; in t_1c . t_4 t_5 when t_5 t_6 t_7 t_8 t_8

In 13 § 12 the fact that man often obeys reason in opposition to his habits and nature is a strange reason why habits and nature should be in harmony with reason. Hence Böcker' proposed to transpose $\delta m \sim ... \lambda \lambda \beta \cos t$ to follow $\beta \delta h r \omega t$ at the end of § 11. In this place it emphasizes the agreement necessary between the habits and the natural capacity of our citizens. But Wilson points out that the parallel clause in c. 15 refers to $\lambda \delta \gamma \omega t$ and $\delta \theta \gamma_1$ hence he defends the order of the manuscripts. The meaning then would be: "reason ought to work for "the end which the legislator has in view in harmony with nature and "habit; for men may be induced by reason to do what they would never do by nature or by habit."

(18) IV (VII). 16 § 4, 5 σχέδον δὲ πάντα...τούνους. This solution of the whole question discussed in this chapter should surely follow the difficulties enumerated, and not interrupt the enumeration, as it does at present. It is proposed to remove it to follow § δ πληθέον ἐτι - ἐῆ μισρόν-. If this be done, (1) § δ ἐτι - ἔ δ τῶν νῶν κτλ will directly explain § 4. ἐτι δ ἔθον ἀρχήμενοι... βούλυγου; (2) the transposed passage will have an excellent continuation in § 9, which fixes the ages for marriage at 18 and 37 (?) respectively.*

must apply to the very earliest infancy. If so they ought to come after § 3 deepow; for in § 4 Aristotle goes on to discuss viltar vil

ciicu .

(20) IV (VII). 17 § 12 νον μὲν σῶν ἐν παραδρομῷ...ἀναγκαίον. These remarks are clearly intended to put a close to the whole discussion of §§ 8—14. If so, they should come at the end, i.e. after δυσμένεων (? δυσγένεων) in § 14.8.

(21) ν (VIII). 4 § 7. The clause δεί δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων κρώτει, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι,

Comp. Susemihl Aris. Politica tertium ed. pp. XXI, XXII.
 Cp. Susemihl in Philol. XXV. 1867.

⁵ Čp. Susemihl in *Philol*. xxv. 1867 p. 403. * op. c. 15.

Susemihl Quaest. Crit. VII. p. 15.
 Susemihl in Philologus XXV. 1867.

pp. 408-9. 6 Susemihl I. c.

«pórspo» δ' οἰκ εἶγων must refer to the Lacedaemonians and their recent rivals the Thebans. They would stand better directly after the criticism on the Lacedaemonians in § 4; the intermediate remarks, §§ 5, 6, being of a general character and a deduction from this particular case.\(^1\) Moreover & should then be changed to δɨ.

- (22) V (VIII). V § 17 έτι δὲ ἀκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων γίνονται πάντες συμπαθείς και χωρίς των ρυθμών και των μελών αυτών. As they stand, these words, introduced by έτι, should give a second reason ότι γινόμεθα ποιοί τινες τὰ ήθη διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς, the first being the 'enthusiasm' inspired by the melodies of Olympos. But the reason alleged is surely only a generalization of the first: 'enthusiastic' strains inspire 'enthusiasm': and, further, all men become attuned to the mood of musical imitations by listening to them. Now a little further down, § 18, we are told that "rhythms and melodies afford the best imitations, "short of the reality, of emotions, virtues, and moral qualities gene-"rally: which is plain from their effects. For as we listen to music the "soul undergoes a change." But why should this change of mood in the soul prove music to be the best means of faithfully pourtraving morality and emotion? Transfer to this place the words from \$ 17. and the reason is plain: "because all men are attuned to the mood of the musical imitations to which they listen, even if there be no words, but mere rhythm and melody," i.e. a purely instrumental performance.
- (23) Υ(VIII). Y § 25 καί τις δοικε συγγένοια τοῦς εἰριωτόιες καὶ τοῖς ἡθιβοῖς ** ἀτοι (διὰ πολλοί φαιτ τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μῶν ἀμιοτάω τὸν τὴν ψηζήν, οἱ ὅ ξικαν ἀμοριάκα). Böcket* recommends that this, the only clause not at present included in the huge period stretching from § 17 to the end οῖ c. 5, should be transposed to a place before the apodosis, ἐ.α after δ 2 and before ἐ.κ ὑοῦν τοῦν τοῦν σελ.
- (24) v1(tv), cc. 3, 4 § 1—19. There are good grounds for believing that this portion of Ek. vv1 (v) is not genuine. From the parallelism of 4 γ, 7 or μν δυ π πλαντώω πλώσος καὶ δὲ ἢ ηλ είναι, είρηται διάτι δὲ πλάσος τῶν ἀρημένων, καὶ τίνει καὶ δεὶ τὶ, λόγωμεν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τὴν ἀρημένη πρόσερω, to 4 § 20 (the first words after the suspected section) δτι μλυ σὸν εἰνὶ πολαντῶω πλώσος, καὶ δεὰ τίνεις αίτας, ἀρηται πρόσερω, the inference was drawn that there were two interpolations. That the second is not a continuation of the first, but rather a parallel version unskilitilly added by the compiler's seems probable from the

Susemihl ib. p. 411, Q. C. IV. 20,
 also Böcker independently op. c. p. 18.
 Susemihl Philologus XXV. 1867. 411
 -413, Q. C. IV. 20, Spengel Arist. Stud.

 ³ op. c. p. 18.
 ⁴ Susemihl in Rhein, Mus. XXI. 1866.
 ⁵⁴—560.
 ⁸ See Cook Wilson in Journal of

^{-413,} Q. C. IV. 20, Spengel Arist. Stud. See Cook Wilson in Journal Philol. x. 80, 81.

fact that the promise made in $4 \S 7$ $\delta \omega \pi \iota \otimes \pi \lambda \epsilon \omega \times \kappa \tau \lambda$, is never redeemed: instead of this the main subject of c. 3 is treated over again in $4 \S 7 - 19$. We will here cite only the more exact correspondences adduced by Wilson in support of this view.

τοῦ μὲν οὖν εἶναι πλείους πολιτείας αἴτιον ὅτι πάσης ἐστὶ μέρη πλείω πόλεως τὸν ἀριθμόν. 3 § I.

πρόπου μόν γιδι δέ ολειδο στησειμένας δράμεν πέστος του πόλις. Επεπα πάλιν τούτου τοῦ πλήθους τοὺε μέν τέπόρους ἀναγκαῖον ἀναι τοὺε διπόρους τοὺε ξιάποιος τοὺ τόν εἰπόρων δέ καὶ τοῦ ἀπόρου τὸ μέν όπλιτικόν τὸ δ΄ ἄσπλαν, καὶ τὸν μέν γεωργικόν δήμιον όρθιμον ὅντα, τὸν δ΄ ἀγοραίον, τὸν δὲ δάνανονον, 3% ξι, 2.

έτι πρός ταῖς κατὰ πλοίτου δίαφοραῖς ἐστω ή μεν κατὰ γένος ή δὲ κατὰ ἀρετήν, ** καὶ ἐτ τὸ ἢ τοιοῦτον ἔτερον εἴρηται πόλεως εἶναι μέρος ἐν τοῖς πεψ τὴν ἀρωτοκρατίαν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ δεείλομεν ἐκ πόσων μερών ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ πῶσα πόλες. 3 § 4.

φανερον τοίννν ὅτι πλείους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολιτείας, εἶδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ εἶδει διαφέρει τὰ μέρη σφῶν αὐτῶν. 3 § 5.

ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα πολιτείας εἶναι τοσαύτας ὅσαι περ τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχάς εἰσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν μορίων. 3 § 6. όμολογοῦμεν γὰρ οἰχ ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ πλείω πάσαν ἔχειν πόλιν, 4 § 7. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις οἰκ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀλλὶ ἐκ πολλῶν σύγκευται μορίων, ὅσπερ ἐἴριται πολλάκις. 4 § 0.

εν μεν ουν έστι το περί την τροφήν πλήθος, οί καλούμενοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον δε το καλούμενον βάναυσον, κτλ

τρέτον δε <τό> άγοραῖον, κτλ τέταρτον δε τὸ θητικόν, πέμπτον δε γένος τὸ προπολεμήσον, δ τούτων οὐδεν ήττον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὑπάρ-

χειν κτλ 4 § 9, 10.
ἄστε κτλ...... φανερὸν ὅτι τό γε ὅπλιτικὸν ἀναγκαιόν ἐστι τῆς πόλεως μόριον. * * ἔβδομον δὲ τὸ ταῖς οἰστίμες λειτουργοῦν, ὅπερ καλοῦ-

μεν εὐπόρους. ἔγδοον δὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν κτλ
......ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μετέχοντας
εξιαί τινας ἀρετής τῶν πολιτικῶν.
4 🗞 15—17.

ώσπερ οὖν εὶ ζώου προηρούμεθα λαβεῖν εἶδη, πρῶτον μὲν ἃν ἀποδιωρίζομεν ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον πῶν ἔχειν ζώον κτλ

μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων λέγεται τὰ μὲν βόρεια τὰ δὲ νότια, τὰ δἔ ἄλλα τούτων παρεκβάσεις, οὖτω καὶ τῶν πολιτειών δύο, δῆμος καὶ όλεγαρχία. 3 § 6. αλλά πένευθαι καὶ πλουτείν τοὺς αἰτοὺς αϊδύευτου. ἐδι τυίτοι μέρα από τους οι είνους μελιοττα είναι δοκεί πόλικες, οί είνους καὶ οἱ ἀποροι. ἐπι ἐδ ἐδι τὸ ἐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολιοῖς, ταὶτα ἐναντία μέρη ἐμάνεται τοὺν τῆν πόλικε κατὰ τοὺς ἐδι πὰ πολοτείας κατὰ τὰς τὸ ἐπι ἐναντίας κατὰ τὰς ἐναντικοῦς ἐνα

Whereas in 3 § 4 the one version refers to Bk. IV (VII), δr τοῦς ποβι την ἀριστοφατίαν (whence it may be inferred that its author had the original order of the books before him), "the second version inserts, "instead of the reference, a long passage similar to that part of Bk. "IV (VII) which the first version refers to."

(25) VI (IV). 6 § 2, 3. τοῦς δὲ ἀλλοις μετέχειν ἔξεστιν, ὅταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ δωρισμένου ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. διὸ πῶσι τοῦς κτησαμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν. όλως μὸν γὰρ τὸ μὲν μὸ) ἔξεῶναι πῶσιν όλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔξεῶναι σγολάζειν ἀδύνατον μη προσδων σόσῶν.

The clause διλ...μετίχων is omitted by the manuscripts of the second recension. Either it is an interpolation or, if genuine, out of place; for there is nothing preceding διλ of which it could be the effect. Thurot* would find a place for it after προσόδων οδεών, but he has to admit that έξέων μετίχων is forced and unusual; it is ξέκλων μετίχων wherever this subject comes up, and the second claim forms no real antithesis to the first. Rassow* gives a more satisfactory contrast by inserting δημοκρατικόν after ξέπων: "on general grounds to exclude from citizenship "those who have the requisite amount of property would be an "oligarchical measure, to admit them democratical." After this rule

^{1 &}quot;The words may perhaps refer to Bk. IV (VII)" (Wilson). But he does not further explain.

² Etudes sur Aristote 60, 6 ³ Bemerkungen pp. 13, 14.

has been laid down the clause $\delta \iota \delta \dots \mu e \tau \delta \chi e \nu$ comes in with excellent sense as stating the practical result. It will be necessary to insert δ after $\sigma \chi o \lambda d \zeta e \nu$.

(26) VI (IV), C. 121. The subject of this chapter is the third of the investigations enumerated in c. 2 86 4-6. ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τίς τίσιν αίρετή: what form of government is most adapted to a state under given circumstances. After the general conditions, that it must be that supported by το κρείττον whether their preponderance comes from το ποιον or το ποσόν. Aristotle points out (1) when a democracy is desirable in the words of § 3, οπου μεν οῦν ὑπερέχει...τούτων; (2) when an oligarchy would suit better in the remainder of δ 2. όπου δὲ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων... πλήθους: while (3) the circumstances favourable to a Polity (in the technical sense) are pointed out in & 4, 5, οπου δὲ τὸ τῶν μέσων...ο peros. The similarity of their form proves that these three sentences ought to be taken closely together; (2) and (3) are however separated by the words δει δ' αει τον νομοθέτην...τοις νόμοις τούτοις, the former part of § 4. Not only so, but this sentence has nothing to do with the special conditions of an oligarchy: ἐν τῦ πολιτεία must refer to Polity in the technical sense: accordingly the sentence belongs to the second investigation of c. 2, τίς κοινοτάτη κτλ. Moreover from 12 § 6, όσφ δ' αν αμεινον right on to the end of c. 13, τὸ αργεσθαι. Aristotle never recurs to the enquiry tis tious alperti. He appears to go off on the subject of the stability of Polities (in the technical sense), ending with a brief historical digression, 13 § 6-128.

The conclusion to which these facts point is as follows: The enquiry for traw algory is broken off abruptly at δ μ dors in 12 §5; if it was ever complete—qp. vii (vi). 1.5, sai via λ across walvession via sruphepe viava, algorate spointpos—the rest of it has been lost. The beginning of 12 §4, δ δ d... arrows together with 12 §6 and the whole of c 1.3, belong to the previous enquiry. Bücheler with great probability would insert 12 §4, δ δ d... arrows via 12 §6, c 1.3 §5 1–6, δ or δ δ if δ δ deparent. Arrows δ if δ δ c. 1.3 §5 1–6, δ or δ δ if δ deparent. Arrows δ if δ is the constitution of Polity given in c. 9 § 6, between δ δ δ is δ arrows δ is strikingly similar. For the remainder of c 1.3, §8 f—1.2, δ δ δ δ δ δ δ is f in the end of c0, after δ δ 0.5 or after δ 1.5 or after δ 2.5 or after δ 3.5 or after δ 4.5 or after δ 4.5 or after δ 5.5 or aft

(27) VIII (V). I § 8. There are two ways in which revolutions arise. διὸ καὶ αὶ μεταβολαὶ γίνονται διχώς ὅτὲ μὰν γάρ...ἐκείνων, ὅτὲ δὲ...

¹ See Susemill in Rheim. Mus. XXI. 564 ff.; also Böcker op. cit. § II, pp. 24 —32.

² The reader may satisfy himself of this by careful examination of the passage: cp. *Analysis* p. 121 f.

μοναρχών. But in § 9 another way is seemingly brought in êt π εφλ του μαλλον καὶ θήττον κτλ, and in § 10 another êt π ρός τὸ μόρος τι κτλ. Further, these two latter cases properly belong to the first alternative, when the revolutionary party wish for a change in the government; they are both equally opposed to the other στὸ ἐἐ κτλ, where the object is not to overthrow the form of government, but to crush the present holders of power. If then Aristolle wrote in the proper logical order, the place for the second leading alternative στὸ δὲ οδὲλ... ἢ τὴν μοναρτών is in \$11 between relaxed and arternative δτο δὲ οδὲλ... ἢ τὴν μοναρτών is in \$11 between relaxed and the second leading alternative δτο δὲ οδὲλ... ἢ τὴν μοναρτών is for \$11 between relaxed and the second leading alternative δτο δὲ οδὲλ... ἢ τὴν μοναρτών is for \$11 between relaxed and warraws δὶ.

Wilson* discovers a parallel version of 1 \(\frac{1}{28} \) 2—7, δεί δὲ πρώτον...

στάσεών είσιν, in 1 \(\frac{1}{2} \) 11—16 πανταχοῦ γὰρ...τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν.

The most striking correspondences which he adduces are:

δεί δὲ πρώτου ὑπολαβεῖν τὴν ερχήν, ότι πολλαὶ γεγέσησται πόλτε τόλια ἀρχήν, ότι πολλαὶ γεγέσησται πόλτε τόλια πάτων μὲν δριολογούντων τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ ἀναλογίαν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ ἀναλογίαν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ πρότερον. ὅῆμος μὰν γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ ἴσους ότιοῦν ότιας οἰσθαιά πλοῦ ἴσους εἶναι (ότι γὰρ ἐλειθεροι πάττες ἐμοίος, ἀπλοῦ ἴτοι ἐνὰν τομέσηστης), όλι γαρχία δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀνίσους Ἐν τι όττας όλως εἶναι ἀνίσους Ἐν τι όττας όλως εἶναι ἀνίσους ὑπολαμβάνευ κατ ὁτότα γὰρ ἀνσοι ὅντε ἀπλῶς ἄνατο ὑπολαμβάνου κατ ὁτολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐνολομβάνου ἐν ἐνολομβάνου ἐνο

όμολογοῦντες δὲ τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ κατ ἀξίαν, διαφέρονται, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι, ἐἀν κατὰ τὶ ἴσοι ιδοιν, ἴσοι δλως εἶναι νομίζουσιν,

οὶ δ΄ ὅτι, ἐἀν κατὰ τὶ ἄνισοι, πάντων ἀνίσων ἀξιοῦσων ἐαυτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλωστα δύο γάνονται πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία. §§ 13, 14.

Further "the main thought of these two parallel passages is repeated "in a shorter form" in a §6, 3, : "there is here then perhaps another "re-writing, seemingly by a later hand, of the introduction to the book "and with this third beginning seems to cohere the rest of cc. a, 3." Wilson sees in each of these a probable reference to Bk. III; at 1 § 2, § 13, a § 2. It must be observed however (!) that the main difficulty of c. 1 lies in §8 $\gg -1$ 1, and is not removed by these suggestions: (2) there is a real advance in c. 2 as compared, for instance, with 1 ≈ 1.5 in c. in deep class Wilson sees) If 1 ≈ 1.5 in ~ 1.5 is another recension of ≈ 1.5 a. ~ 1.5 and ~ 1.5 is another recension of ≈ 1.5 a. ~ 1.5 as ~ 1.5 as ~ 1.5 and ~ 1.5 another considered. (3) It is nossible that 1 ≈ 1.6 a resorted cover ≈ 1.5 and ~ 1.5 alone ~ 1.5 and ~ 1.5 are ~ 1.5 and ~ 1.5 and

¹ Susemihl Quaest. Crit. V. p. 10.

² Yournal of Philology X. 84.

should precede I § II, $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi o \hat{\nu} \gamma a \hat{\rho} \kappa \tau \lambda$. At all events that passage is out of place where it stands in c. 3.

- (20) YIII (γ). 6 §§ 10—13, φιωνοείνει δὲ ἄλγωργία...) ¹'hφικῶν. In its present place this passage interrupts the orderly enumeration of the causes which tend to overthrow oligarchy owing to internal dissensions: (1) 6 §§ 2—5 continual decrease of the privileged body, (2) §§ 5—7 rise of demagogues amongst them, (3) §§ 1.9 extravagance and reckless living, (4) §§ 1.4, 15 insults offered κατὰ γόμους ἢ ἔκως, (5) § 10 refusal on the part of some oligarchs to go the full length in oppression of the Demos. In §§ 10, 11, coming between (3) and (4), the conditions of permanence in an oligarchy are touched upon; a better place for them is after § 16; while §§ 1.2, 13 are probably interpolated?

A few remarks may be useful on the suggestions here passed under review. Though necessarily an unsatisfactory remedy', transposition has been used with great effect in some authors (ϵ_{ef} Lucretius) and has always been a recognised expedient. But it has been most successful when applied to verse and to dislocations arising mechanically through the displacement of leaves or by carelessness of transcribers. Now only a small part (fit any) of those here assumed can have had such an origin. The most reasonable account of the majority presupposes an editor clealing unskilledly with Aristotle's materials'. In proportion as this is

¹ Susemihl Politica tert. ed. p. XXIII; Böcker op. cit. 37.

Böcker op. cit. 40, 41.
 Susemihl Quasst. Crit. V. 12, 13.
 Before we can prove that a transpo-

sition is correct, we must have shewn not only that the passage cannot be placed in its old position, but that it must be placed in its new." Postgate Notes p. 24.

Notes p. 24.
5 "Hoc est uerisimillimum: ipsum
Aristotelem omnes has particulas, quas
in altera Politicorum recensione siue
uberius tractare siue continenti exposi-

tionis ordini linecere silis propuestis in magnitude iline anthonis proteine in magnitude iline anthonis proteine magnitude iline anthonis con necitient, qual notis illis ubdisset scriptor, ineptissime confussa in huno, quem hotelenant, locuro mortilitas, quem fordependenant." Biocher sp. citi, 33. There was no plane for footnotes in an ancient book i but some instances in an ancient book i but some instances in the above like— p_s , Q_s (1) (1) (2) (21) narginal notes. Compare the remark of Welldon Traustation p. 10 on 1. 2

admitted the certainty that a given transposition restores the original form, due to its being logically required, diminishes: and room must always be allowed for the misgiving "ne hoc modo ipsum potius Aristo-"telem corrigamus quam editores eius antiquos: certe cur ab eo ipso in 'libris celerrime scriptis, neququam diligenter ubique elaboratis, inco"hatis potius quam perfectis optimam semper disponendi rationem "esse inuentan non sane seio cur credam."

These observations are all the more necessary as the most recent edition of any part of the $Politics^*$ earnies still further the disintegration of the text, transposing and rejecting supposed interpolations in a part of the treatise hitherto believed not to need these remedies. The most important change introduced is to make Bt. 1. cc. 8–11., $\pi \gamma_{th} \chi_{th} \chi_{th} \gamma_{th} \gamma$

ή δ δε πλειόνων κυμιών κοινονία τόλιοις πόλες ήδη, γυνιμότη μὸς οὐτ τόλιος πόλες ήδη, γυνιμότη μὸς οὐτ σόρς την οἰντῆς φύσων. Το δε φύσει τῆς την οἰντῆς φύσων. Το δε φύσει τῆς γούσειως τολαπθέσης, ταὐτην φωμόν τῆν φύστν εἶναι δεάστοι, ιώστη ἀθηρώπου Τέτου ελιός του, ιώστη ἀθηρώπου Τέτου ελιός του, πάσια πόλες φύσει ἐστῶς, εἶτην καὶ αἰ πρώται κοινωθία. τόλος γὸρ αῦτ δεάνων. 2 β. 1,125 b 28—34+

Then follows 2 § 7 διδ και τὸ πρώτον...τών θεών. Then another double recension consisting mainly of 2 § 13, 14:

¹ Susemihl Politica tertium ed. p. XXVI. Cp. also p. XIII. ² Aristetlis Politicarum liber primus ex recensione M. Schmidt (Jena 1882, 4to). The arrangement adopted is justified in an article in Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXV. 1882. 801—824. Compare with <ή δη> πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῦν, 1252 b 28.

 $<μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ> αἰτία <math>^{\circ}$. τὸ $<γάρ> οῦ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τόλος βέλτιστου. ἡ δ αἰταρκεία [καὶ] τόλος, <math><αιστε> καὶ βέλτιστου. 2 § 8, 1252 <math>^{\circ}$ 34 1253 $^{\circ}$ 1.

what follows Susemihl Politica tertium

cd. (Teubner) pp. xxIV—xxVI.
³ Even Krohn Zur Kritik 33—35 regards the first book as Aristole's. He nowhere states how far it had been manipulated by the olrelies συναγωγή.
⁴ alri (-α» for fir.

καὶ πρότερον δη τη φύσει η πόλις η οἰκία καὶ ἔκαστος ημών ἐστίν.

το γυβ όλου πρότερου ἀναγωτίου είναι τοῦ μέρους. ἀναιρομένου γοβ τοῦ όλου οὐκ ένται [ενός εὐδε χεθ] εἰ μὴ ὁμονέμως [όντερ εἰ το Μεγα τη κάθενη, διαφθαίαν τρὸ εὐκο ἐντικ ταιάτη πάντα γόρ τῷ ἔργο ἐρισται κότα οἱ λοκτέω τὰ αὐτὰ εἰκαι, ἀλλ' ὁμόνημα. 2 §§ 12, 13: 1253 a 19 —25. [Ετ. μόν είν ή πόλει και έγέτει και εγέτει και εγέτει του ή διαστο δίλοι».] εί γιὰ μι ή αὐτάρι κης διαστος χωρισθείς, όμούως τοῦς άλλοις μέφεσιν ἔξει πρός τὸ όλοι. όδ εί μι θι διαφίανος κοισινωτώς, ή μηζῶν δεόμενος δι' αὐτάρκαιν σύδεν μέφος πόλεις (μέτε ή θυρίω ή θεόι.] 2 § 14: 1253 a 25—29.

 \tilde{a} τε περ \tilde{a} ζυξ \hat{a} ν \tilde{a} σπερ $\hat{\epsilon}$ ν πεττοίς, 2 \S 10 1 : 1253 a 6, 7.

What is left of c. 2 follows in the usual order, i.e. \S 9, 10 de rodraw ... π ndwynrje, \S 10-12 doir... π du, \S 15, 16 de four... π ldwynrje, \S 10-12 doir... π ldwynrje, \S 15, 16 de four... π ldwynrje, \S 10-12 doir... π ldwynrje, \S 11-13 reform μ ld où armylouse (the preceding sentence of \S 1 doi.e. π ldwyn is enclosed in brackets)...dwise: 10 \S 1-23 dôlaw... π ldwyn erfors: 9 \S 1 al doi.e. π ldwynrie π ldwyn erfors: 9 \S 1 al doi.e. π ldwynrie π ldwyn erfors: 9 \S 1 al doi.e. π ldwynrie π ldwynrie

¹ The parallel versions here given hardly deserve that name if compared with those pointed out by Spengel, Susemil, Wilson. It is essential that the should be found repeated with a mere variation of language. Schmidt employs the two columns to separate genuine Arbitotichian fragment from the additions Arbitotichian fragment from the additions and the second of the additions of the additions on the companion of the additions of the additions from the second of the additions of the additions of the found three times, and the passages where it occurs are judged by him to be additions to the original Aristotle (ps. e. So₄) because, if the end of the state is e? ps. it cannot be end-goesar. This then, he argues, is an instance of two independent changes are also as a superior of two independent densitions which have been blended into according to his view, the present text, c, as Krohn calls it, 'our old recension', has been formed by the comprehension of heterogeneous materials.]

ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICS.

INTRODUCTION. B. I. cc. 1. 2.

- I. As the end and aim of every society is a good, the end and aim of the state, the highest society under which all the rest are included, is the highest good: I § I.
- II. The assertion (in the Politicus of Plato) that the difference between the family and the state is merely quantitative, not qualitative, and hence that there is no essential difference between a father, a master, a king, and a republican statesman, $1 \le 2$, disproved by an analytical enquiry into the origin of the family, the village-community, and the state: $1 \le 2 \le 1$.
- (a) The family is formed by nature out of the two smallest natural unions, of husband and wife, and of master and slave, solely for the support and propagation of life: 2 ≤ 2-5.
- (b) In the same natural manner out of the household or family grows the village-community, the first in the ascending scale of societies formed for purposes wider than the satisfaction of mere every-day wants. Out of the village arises the state, in which the primitive form of government was accordingly monarchy: 2 ⊗ S−7.
- (c) The state itself then, the most complete society, springing up, like the rest, to provide the bare means of living, continues to exist for the full development and perfecting and independence of life. It is, in a higher sense of the term, most ruly a natural growth; and man is a being by nature ordained for civil society, ≥ §8 s, o, far beyond all other animals, because he alone possesses speech and the perception of good and evil, of right and wrong: ≥ §8 to −12.
- (d) Moreover the state is in the order of nature prior to the family and to the individual: 2 \$\mathbb{S}\$ 13, 14.
- (e) Only the actual establishment of the state raises man to what he really is and endows him with those higher gifts of virtue, in the absence of which he is no better—far worse indeed—than any of the brutes: 2 ≤ 15, 16.

PART I: OF THE FAMILY: B. I. cc. 3-13.

A. Of the Family in general. There being three fundamental constituents of the family, the subject is divided into a consideration of the several relations (1) of master and slave, (e) of husband and wife (the conjugal relation), (3) of father and child (the parental relation). To which must be added a consideration of wealth and its acquisition (pymarrawsp); the relation of this subject to that of the family (decompant) is a disputed point needing investigation: 3 §8 1—3.

B. Special Exposition : c. 3 § 3—c. 13 § 6.

- I. Of the relation of master and slave, or of Slavery: 3 § 3-7 § 5.
- (a) Transition to this subject, 3 § 3. Statement of the two main points in the inquiry, 3 § 4.
 - (b) These two points discussed at length: cc. 4-6, c. 7 §§ 1-3-
 - (a) The nature and justification of Slavery; cc. 4—6.
- The nature and character of the slave: he is an animate chattel,
 4.
 - (ii) How far Slavery is in accord with the law of nature: cc. 5, 6.
- (a) There are as a fact men whom nature intended to be the slaves of the rest, c. 5.
- (b) But for that very reason slavery imposed simply by the laws of war upon men who are not of this sort is contrary to nature, c. 6.
 - (β) The view quoted in the Introduction from Plato's Politicus that rule over freemen and over slaves, whether in the family or in the state, is not essentially different and that it rests upon a science, is now more completely stated and disproved on the ground of the results just obtained, 7 ≤ 1, 2.

There are however sciences treating of the functions of master and slave. Wherein such science consists: 7 \$\mathbb{S}\$ 3, 4-

II. Of Property and its acquisition : cc. 8-11.

(περλ πάσης κτήσεως καλ χρηματιστικής: of the acquisition or management of property, the art of wealth.)

¹ [No uniform rendering of these two words has been attempted, and the term 'economic science', used a little lower down as a virtual reproduction of one of them, is without authority in this sense. The more common equivalents are, for χρηματιστική 'finance', 'money-making art'; for οἰκονομική 'household management', 'domestic economy'. TR.]

- (a) Theoretical discussion. The relation of the art of wealth (χρηματιστική) to a theory of the family or economic science (οἰκονομική): cc. 8—10.
- (a) The different cases possible: 8 §§ 1, 2.
- (β) Proof that the first is inadmissible: acquisition of property does not coincide with the whole field of economic science: 8 \$ 2 (δτι μέν οῦν...).
- (γ) To decide whether the former is at any rate a branch of the latter (or even an auxiliary science), it is necessary, 8 § 3, to distinguish
 - (i) direct acquisition through production by means of cattle-breeding, hunting, plundering, fishing, agriculture, and fruit-growing: a species of acquisition belonging as such to economic science and forming a part of it, or an auxiliary science: 888 --15.
 - and (ii) indirect acquisition by exchange, c. 9:
 - either (a) simple barter, not in itself unnatural provided it does not go beyond actual needs, $g \gg 1-6$,
 - or (b) exchange through the medium of money, an artificial, though necessary development of barter to facilitate intercourse. So long as it remains true to this object and no more than a means to the easier satisfaction of actual needs it does not become unsatural or foreign to economic science, as it does when trade is carried on as a distinct profession, money is made an independent end, and exchange simply a means to unlimited accumulation of money and capital: 98 7—18.
- (5) It is now possible to decide finally between the various alternatives remaining, so far as the natural species of acquisition is concerned. This is in one respect an actual branch of Economic, in another respect, and more truly, only an auxiliary to it: 10 §§ 1—2.
- (e) The most unnatural species of exchange is trading with money in the strict sense, the lending out of money on interest, which directly makes money out of money: 10 §8.4, 5.
 - (b) The art of acquiring wealth in its practical application: c. 11.
 - (a) Classification of the different branches of this art: 11 §§ 1-4.
 - Production proper: cattle-rearing, agriculture, fruit-growing; culture of bees, fish, birds: 11 88 1, 2.
 - (ii) Acquisition by means of exchange: 11 § 3.
 - (a) trade: whether (1) maritime, (2) inland, or (3) retail trade;
 - (b) the lending of money on interest;
 - (c) hired labour (1) of artizans, (2) of day labourers.
 - (iii) Branches of a mixed nature : forestry, mining, 11 § 4-
- (β) General remark on the different character of these various branches as judged by an ideal standard, 11 § 6.
- (γ) For particular information as to the practical exercise of these various branches of acquisition reference is made to special works upon these subjects and to

the stories current in various quarters of the means by which individuals have been enriched: 11 \$ 7—13.

- III. The management of the household, as it affects the members, especially in the marital and parental relations; also in the relation of master and slave; ec. 12. 13.
- (a) Different nature of the rule exercised over the wife and over the children:
- (b) The management of a household extends to inanimate property but especially and/primarily aims at promoting virtue and excellence in the members of the family, preeminently in those who are free: 13 § 1.
- (c) Proof that even a slave is capable of a certain mental and moral excellence and that he requires it: that the virtue of man, woman, child, slave, is different in kind and degree, 13 §§ 2—12, since
 - (a) although the parts of the soul are the same, they exist differently in man, woman, child, and slave, 13 \$\$ 5-9:
 - (β) a more detailed investigation shows that by common consent certain qualities would not be virtues in a man which are so in a woman, a child, or a slave; 1.3 & 10.11.
 - (γ) The virtue and excellence of a boy and a slave belong to them not in themselves, but in relation to another: 13 § 11 (ἐπεὶ δὲ...).
- (d) A more precise statement wherein the excellence of a slave consists. It is the master's business to train him to it. The right mode of treating slaves: 13 §§ 12—15.
- (e) The right course of training for women and boys is a subject that goes beyond the limits of the family and more properly belongs to the theory of the best polity: 13 §8.15, 16.

PART II: OF THE POLITY OR CONSTITUTION: B. IL.-VIII.

A. CRITICAL PART.

Examination of the schemes of an ideal best polity put forward in the theories of preceding philosophers, together with those. most commendable amongst the constitutions actually established. It is shown that none of them really answers to the best polity: B. II.

- I. The object and principles of this review: c. 1 §§ 1, 2.
- II. CRITICISM OF THE IDEAL POLITIES: 1 § 3-8 § 25.
- a. Plato's Ideal State in the Republic: 1 § 3-5 § 28.
- (a) The end which Plato assumes for the state, its utmost possible unity, really involves, in the form in which he assumes it, the abrogation of the state, and is thus incapable of realization: c. 2.
 - (β) But even granting that this is the true end and practicable it would not be secured by the means which Plato proposes; viz. the enforcement, upon the two upper classes, of community of wives and children and community of property: 3 % 1-4 % 13.
 - (i) Arguments against community of wives and children: cc. 3, 4.
- (1) Plate thinks it a proof of perfect unity that all should apply to the same objects the terms 'mine', 'another's'. But there is an ambiguity in the word "all". Plato's view would not be correct if "all" meant "all collectively", but only if "all" meant "each individual" "—a meaning here impossible: 3 88 t—3. This argument applies also to community of property.
- (a) Men care far less about the things which they share in common than about what is their own. Hence the community of children will result in the total neglect of them by all alike: their real or nominal parents will, one and all, feel but slight interest in what becomes of them. So that a specific real relationship, however distant, would be of far more service to them than this general indeterminate paternity: a 38 q-7.
- (3) Many parents however would inevitably recognise their own children: 3 §§ 8; 9.
- (4) As a rule violence and outrage are avoided with especial care in the case of near relations, but when it is not known who these are this heedfulness disappears:
 4 § 1.

- (5) It is strange that in spite of the community of children Plato does not altogether prohibit unnatural love but only its worst excesses; nor even that because he is scandalized at its improvitely between the nearest blood-relations: 4 88 2 –6.
- (6) The end Plato has in view is the greatest possible unity and harmony amongst the ruling class of citizens: all are to feet themselves members of a single family. But the result would be just the opposite, since when thus generalized all specific affection for kinsfulk would be abrogued and replaced by a feeble attachment in the last degree "watery" and attenuated: 4, 85,5-9. For Plato's purpose, then, these institutions would have been better adapted for the third class of the population, than for the first two as be proposes, in order to make its members dismuted and more obedient; 4 & 5.
- (2) Plato's regulation for removing children, under certain circumstances, from the two upper classes into the third, and conversely, would be attended by great difficulties: and as such children are not to be informed that they were born in a different class, the mischiefs pointed out under (4) and (5) would be more likely to occur in their case: 4 § 6 (abb. 4p...), § 10.

(ii) Arguments against community of property: 5 §§ 1—13.

- (1) The different forms of communism possible, 5 §§ 1, 2.
- (a) Community of property is no doubt more conceivable where, as in the Platonic state, the cultivators are not the owners of the soil: 5 § 3. But still in all that relates to social intercourse, to means and tenson, communism is shown by experience to produce much dissension, 5 § 4. Far preferable therefore would be that state of things where property in general remains in private ownership, but the laws have inspired the citizens with so much public spirit, that they are willing to give up to their fellow-citizens much of their private possessions for common use: 5 § § 8 8.
- (3) Communism destroys the high enjoyment afforded by private property, which is in itself fully justified and in many respects morally noble: 5 § 8, 9.
- (4) With community of wives, children, and property there could be no such virtues as chastity (σωφροσίση), in respect of one's neighbour's wife, or liberality: 5 § 10.
- (5) Lawaiits about disputed property, cases arising from perjury, &c. are not dne, as Plato maintains, to the absence of communism, but to the prevalence of moral corruption: 5 § 11, 12.
- (6) In general Plato's procedure is unfair; he has before him only the evils of which we should be rid by communism: the advantages we should lose he overlooks: 5 § 13.
 - (γ) Further objections to the Platonic institutions generally: 5 \$ 14—28.
 - (i) Their defects are ultimately due to the defectiveness of the end which they abserve, as pointed out above under (a). But so far as political unity within due limits must be the object of political institutions it is surprising that, considering the great importance which Plato stanches to the right education, he should not seek to attain this unity amongst his citizens by education, the introduction of common messes, &c. instead of the means which be employer; § § 18, 14, 52.
 - (ii) If the Platonic institutions were really serviceable, they would have been carried into effect before now: 5 \$ 16.

- (iii) But the experiment would prove beyond all doubt that the practical application of them could not be carried further than is at present actually the case in some states: 5 § 17.
 - (iv) Besides, the regulations laid down by Plato are extrenely imperfect. They only apply to the two upper clauses of citizens, and equal difficulties present themselves whether they are extended to the third class or not. In the former case the true foundation of the Platonis state would be annulled; in the latter the state would be divided into two hostlic camps in direct contradiction of the unity intended, as the advantages which Plato claimed for his state (see §§ 11 above) would for the most part be rendered illusory: §§ 81.8—44.
 - (v) The analogy of animals, who have no domestic life, does not prove that women can share the occupations of men: 5 § 24 (ἄτσπον δὲ καλ...).
 - (vi) To keep the same rulers always in office is a dangerous measure, but consistency on Plato's part requires it: 5 §\$ 25, 26.
 - (vii) Plato himself admits that his regulations do not secure the complete happiness of the upper classes. If so, then further this is true of the whole state: 5 \$\frac{8}{27}\$, 28.

b. The ideal polity of Plato's Laws: c. 6.

- - (β) Criticism of the state in the Laws: 6 \$\$ 6-22.
 - (i) It would require far too large a territory: 6 88 6, 7,
- (ii) It is not enough that a code of laws should take account of the land and the people; the neighbouring people have also to be regarded: 6 §§ 7, 8.
- (iii) Again, the principles regulating the limit to be set on possession need to be expressed more clearly and fully: 6 § 8, 9.
- (iv) There is an inconsistency in demanding equality of landed estate without at the same time fixing a definite unalterable number of citizens: 6 §§ 10—13.
- (v) We are not told how the ruling citizens are to receive an education distinguishing them from the rest, nor in what this education should consist: 6 § 14.
 (vi) It is inconsistent to make landed estate inalienable and at the same time
- allow moveable property within certain limits to change hands: 6 § 15.

 (vii) The division of each citizen's real estate into two scnarate establishments is
- (vii) The division of each citizen's real estate into two separate establishments is awkward: 6 § 15 (κal τὴν τῶν οἰκοτέδων...).
 (viii) The constitution proposed in the Laws is a combination of Olivarchy and
- Democracy, i.e. a Polity (πολετεία) technically so called. But

 (1) this sort of mixed constitution, though perhaps the best on the average,
 - this sort of mixed constitution, though perhaps the best on the average, is by no means the next best after the absolutely perfect scheme: 6 §§ 16, 17.
 - (2) Plato himself calls it a blending of Democracy and Tyranny, which is self-contradictory and, as a matter of fact, incorrect: 6 § 18.
 - (3) The oligarchical element is far too preponderant in this constitution of Plato's: 6 §§ 19—21.
 - (ix) The mode in which the magistrates are elected is politically unsafe: 6 § 22.

c. Phaleas' scheme of polity: c. 7.

- (β) Criticism: 7

 5 5—23.
- (i) The objection brought against Plato, 6 § 10, holds also against Phaleas: if there is to be a maximum fixed for property, then the number of children must also be limited: 7 § 5.
 (ii) Although a certain couality of possessions is no doubt of importance for the
- state, it is much more important that the estates should on the average be neither too large nor too small: 7 §8 6, 7.
- (iii) Far more important, again, is equality in respect of a good education, which trains the intellect properly and duly moderates the desires: 7 % 8, 9 . % 10-13=7 % 18-20.
 - (iv) Moreover Phaleas has never sufficiently defined equality of possessions, as he makes no allusion to moveable property: 7 § 21.
- (v) In his regulation of property he ought to have taken some account of the external concerns and relations of the state, but he has left them altogether unnoticed: 7 88 14--17.
- (vi) Phaleas prohibits all handicrafts to his citizens; but the measures adopted by him to render this possible are not suited to his object: 7 \$\infty\$ 22, 23.

d. Hippodamos' scheme of polity: c. 8.

- [(a) Introductory remarks on Hippodamos himself: 8 §-1.]
- (β) Account of his model constitution: 8 §§ 2-7.
- (i) Number of the citizens, 8 § 2.
- (ii) Division into artizans, farmers, soldiers, 8 § 2.
- (iii) Division of the land; a part to belong to the temples, a part to the state, a part to private individuals, $8 \S 3$ -
 - (iv) Legal regulations: 8 §§ 4, 5-
 - (r) The administration of justice to be confined to three objects, § 4.
 - (2) Right of appeal, § 4.
 - (a) Alterations in the mode in which jurymen record their verdicts, § 5.
- (v) Honorary distinctions for those who are the authors of useful reforms in the existing laws and institutions: 8 & 6.
- (vi) Maintenance, at the cost of the state, of the orphans whose fathers have fallen in war: 8 § 6.
 - (vii) Election of magistrates: 8 § 7.
 - (γ) Criticism: 8 § 7—25.
- (i) That all three classes should have an equal share in all the privileges of citizenship is impossible: 8 § 7 (ἀπορήσειε δ' ἀν...)—§ 10,

- (ii) It does not appear what is the end to be answered by such a farmer class owning the private lands: if it is also to cultivate the state lands its very existence is contrary to the object in view: yet one is at a loss to know who else could do this: 8 ξ to (Επ. δ. γεωργολ...).
- (iii) Nor is the proposal as to the mode in which the jurymen should vote, § 5, any better: 8 §§ 13-15.
- (iv) The proposal to reward reforms in legislation, § 6, is open to the objection that while on the one hand the unchangeableness of the existing laws is dangerous, 8 § 16−22, on the other there is pressing need that any change in them should be attended by conditions every whit as stringent: 8 § 33−25.
 - III. CRITICISM OF THE BEST AMONGST ACTUALLY EXISTING POLI-TIES: CC. 9—12.

(a) The Spartan polity: c. 9.

- (a) General prefatory remark upon the twofold standard to be set up in criticising a polity : 9 \S 1.
 - (β) The defects of the Spartan polity: 9

 § 2—36.

- (i) Under a good constitution judged by the first standard there will be provision that the citizens are released from all manual labour, and hence that the soil is cultivated by others than the citizens. But the position of the Spartan peasantry, the Helots, is radically wrong: 9

 2 2 4.
- (2) The license of the women, and their virtual supremacy at Sparta, are mistakes judged by either standard: 9 \$\$ 5-13.
- (a) The permission to give away or bequesth land at pleasure, the absence of any limit to the amount of dower, the unserticted right of the father (or of the successor to his rights) to bestow an beiress upon any one he likes;—all this combined has brought two-fifts of the Spartan land into female hands and occasioned moreover terrible inequality of possessions with a frightful diministion in the number of men capable of bening arms. In these circumstances the very law which was designed to increase as much as possible the body of Spartan citizens serves only to swell the males of putners; o 88 La—46.
 - (ii) Political defects: 0 8 10-26.
 - (1) In the Ephoralty, 9 88 19-24:
 - (2) in the Council of Elders, 9 \$\$ 25-28:
 - (3) in the Kingly office, 9 \$\ 29, 30.
 - (4) Bad management of the public messes at Sparta: 9 S 31, 32.
 - (5) The Admirals (ναύαρχοι), 9 § 33.
 - (6) All the institutions tend solely to military excellence, 9 § 34, which is, after all, but a means to an end and not an end in itself, 9 § 35.
 - (7) Defects in the financial administration, o § 36.

(b) Criticism of the Cretan polity: c. 10.

(a) How the resemblance between the Cretan and Spartan politics may be historically explained: 10 §§ 1, 2. [Digression on the geographical position of Crete and its political relations under Minos: 10 §§ 3, 4.]

- (β) Comparison of the Cretan and Spartan polities: 10 §§ 5-16.
 - (i) The resemblances, 10 88 5-7.
 - (i) The resemblances, 10 §§ 5—7.
 (ii) The differences between the two: 10 §§ 7—14.
 - (1) How far the public messes are better regulated in Crete than at
 - Sparta. Some other social rules peculiar to the Cretans: 10 §§ 7—9.
 - (2) How far again the magistracy of the κδσμοι is worse managed even than the ephoralty: 10
 § 9—14-
 - (iii) Nothing but its favourable geographical position has saved Crete more than once from the outbreak of mischiefs similar to those at Sparta: 10 §§ 15, 16.

(c) Criticism of the Carthaginian polity: c. 11.

- (a) General introductory remarks on the excellence of this polity, its resemblance to the Cretan, and more especially to the Spartan polity: 11 §§ 1, z.
- (β) Comparison of Carthage and Sparta in respect of the institutions at Carthage which correspond to the public mess, the ephoralty, the kingship, and the senate: II § § 3, 4.
 - (γ) To what extent
 - (i) the democratical element: \$\$ 5, 6,
 - (ii) the oligarchical element,
 - is more strongly represented at Carthage than in Crete or at Sparta
 - (r) in the Boards of Five, 11 § 7,
 - (2) in the exaggerated respect paid to wealth in the appointment to the highest offices, and in the fact that they can be bought—a practice mischievous to a true aristocracy: II \$\\$8-10, \\$12, \\$10-12.
- (δ) One defect very usual at Carthage is that the same individual simultaneously fills a number of offices: 11 §§ 13, 14.
- (e) From many of the evils resulting from the defects of their polity the Carthaginas are preserved solely by external means, placed at their disposal by the insecure favour of fortune: 11 88 - 5, 16.
 - (d) Criticism of the Solonian constitution: 12 §§ 2-6.
 - (α) Transition to this criticism, 12 § 1.
 - (β) There are no good grounds
 - (i) either for the praise bestowed by its friends: 12 §§ 2, 3,
 - (ii) or for the censure bestowed by its opponents: 12 §§ 3-6, upon Solon's constitution.

IV. APPENDIX.

- On the most prominent legislators, whether they aimed at founding new polities or not: 12 §§ 6-14.
- (a) Zaleukos, with remarks upon a supposed school of legislators, Onomakritos, Thales, Lycurgus, Zaleukos, Charondas: 12 88 6, 7.
 - (b) Philolags, 12 § 8.
 - (c) Charondas, 12 §§ 8-10,
 - (d) Phaleas, 12 § 11,
 - (r) Plato, 12 § 12, (f) Draco, 12 § 13,
 - (g) Pittacus, 12 § 13,
 - (h) Andromadas, 12 § 14.1

- B. POSITIVE CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY: B. III.—VIII.
 - I. FUNDAMENTAL GENERAL PRINCIPLES: B. III. cc. 1—13.

First group: the most general conceptions: III. i $\$ i-6 $\$ 2.

- a. The essential nature of a polity or constitution, of a state, of a citizen: cc. 1, 2.
- (a) The enquiry into the nature of a constitution raises the question 'What is a state?' and this introduces the further question 'What is a citizen?': 1 §§ 1, 2.
- (9) Citizenship is defined by participation in the government of the state, there hing two forms of this government, the one exceeded by the general deliberative and judicial hodles, that is, the popular assembly and the juvymen (Ruserrell), the other by the particular magistrates. Different polities have different regulations as to the government, and so too as to the right of participation in it. Citizenship not necessarily dependent on descent from citizens: 19 2—3 exp.

- B. The true nature of the state is so largely bound up with its constitution that a change in the latter is sufficient to destroy the identity of the state, c. 3.
- γ. Is the excellence (ἀρετή) of the citizen the same as the excellence of the man? $4 \S 1-6 \S 2$.
 - (a) Not unconditionally the same, since

their several functions: 4 88 4, 5.

- (i) the former varies with the particular polity, while the latter is always one and the same : 4 % i-3.
- one and the same: 4 §8 T—3.

 (ii) It is true that in the highest sense the excellence of the citizen means the excellence of a citizen of the best polity. Yet even in the best polity the citizens are not all equally good men, although they may be equally excellent in
 - [(iii) The state consists of very dissimilar elements, which differ in their degrees of excellence: 4 § 6.]
- (b) Government in the state must fall to the men who are intellectually and morally the most capable. Hence the excellence of the citizen who rules, i.e. his excellence as a ruler, must coincide with his excellence as a man: 4 88 7—0.
- (c) But no one can properly command in the state unless he has first learnt properly to obey; this then is a further qualification included under the excellence of the ruler, that is, by (b), under the excellence of the good man. It follows that the excellence of the citizen and the excellence of the man are in their inmost nature really identical and only apparently distinct (and the best policy that in which they are covertainty). The moral excellences (deraw) displayed in realing and obeying, though specifically distinct, are yet generically the same. Only the intellectual or diancetic excellence is generalized different in the ruler, where it is higher practical insight and prudence, from what it is in the subject, where it is merely right apprehension of the command 1; 4.88 10—18.
- (d) In agreement with these results the best polity refuses to allow its citizens to engage in agriculture or trade, to be attrizens or labourers. Men who are thus occupied must have a status assigned them distinct from that of the citizens. In all the other polities, true civic excellences, identical with the excellence of the good man, can neither wholly nor approximately be attributed to any of the citizens except those who are in a position to abstain from such occupations: § § 1−6 § s.

Second group of principles. Development of the chief species of particular constitutions, with their order of merit: 6 \ 2-13 \ 25.

a. Determination of all the possible leading types of polities: $6 \ 2-7 \ 5$.

- (a) A polity or constitution is nothing but a form of government, and the separate polities are especially distinguished by the different supreme authorities in whose name government is administered. This being so, the difference in politics is mainly based upon the observance of the end of the state, and upon the different possible modes of ruling men, whether in the interest of the governed, or in the stellah interest of the governed and so for the true end of the state, the common weal just the stellah interest of the governed and so for the true end of the state, the common way in the government of the governmen
- (b) The next subdivision is into three normal constitutions—Monarchy, Aristo-cracy, Polity—and three corresponding perversions—Tyranny, Oligarchy, Democracy, according as the supreme power is vested in one man, in several, or a large number: c. 7.
- β. Closer investigation into the nature of these constitutions and their relative values; cc. 8—13.
 - (a) Democracy more precisely defined as selfish government by the poor, Oligarchy as selfish government by the rich; the rule of the majority or the minority being but a subordinate characteristic, the absence of which, even when amounting to a reversal of the numerical proportions, would not affect the essential nature of the case: a.
 - (b) Which of the normal constitutions is the most normal and the best, and what is their order of merit; cc. o-12.
 - (a) The right (δίκαιων) recognised by the principles of Democracy and of Oligarchy respectively, and its divergence in each case from the absolute right which is based on excellence (τὸ κυρίωτ δίκαιων, τὸ κατ' ἀρετήν): c. 9.
 - (β) Who ought to be sovereign, judged by the standard of this absolute right, and how far his powers should extend: cc. 10, 11.
 - (i) Objections to the exclusive sovereignty of every class or person: c. 10.
 - Not simply of (1) a tyrant, § 1 or (2) the great masses of the poor, § 12 or (3) the rich, § 3; but also (4) the respectable classes (δt êrucucări), § 4, or (5) the one best citizen (et δd or roveburrori), § 5.
 - If however (6) the law is held to be the true sovereign, precisely the same questions recur in another form, § 5.
- (iii) The true normal state of things: the whole body of citizens relatively so virtuous that the merit of the great majority of them taken collectively will exceed that of the sneedild rifted minority. In that case
 - sovereignty should be vested in this whole body of citizens, 11 §§ 1—5: but
 - (2) its exercise restricted to legislative and judicial powers, more particularly the election and control of the responsible magistrates, to whom the

citizens should entrust the details of state business: 11 §§ 6-9.

- (iii) First objection to this arrangement, 11 §§ 10—12, and reply to the objection, 11 §§ 13, 14.
 - (iv) Second objection, 11 88 15, 16: how disposed of, 88 16, 17.
- (v) Under this arrangement the law must undoubtedly be the truly supreme sovereign: the unrestricted plenary powers of the human sovereign being exercised only in the province of the particular and individual which has by its very nature cannot define. The more precise character of the laws must in each case be determined by the constitution: 1: 18 50-201.
 - (γ) True constitutional principles more precisely elaborated: cc. 12, 13¹.
- (i) A claim to political privilege not conferred by all personal advantages, but only by those which are necessarily connected with the essential nature of a state, vir, free birth, wealth, and more especially merit (ifeer-i-capacity and virtue): to which may be added nobility, as being a higher degree of free birth and a combination of excellence with affluence: c. 12. Polities where the case is otherwise, are no normal forms but mere perversions, 13; 8.

Fuller statement of the claims justified, 13 §\$ 2-5.

- (ii) None of the advantages mentioned can lay exclusive claim to justification even from the one-sided oligarchical or democratical point of view, much less from that of the true aristocracy, as even in respect of merit it is always a question whether the excellence of the pre-eminently good men is or is not outweighed by the aggregate endowments of the great majority: 1.8 g ≥ 7−10.
- (iii) If it be so outweighed there is a solution of the difficult question, whether the laws should be made for the advantage of the majority or of the better men: 13 88 II. 12
 - (iv) This case also provides for
 - (1) the normal and best polity proper, True Aristocracy:
 - (3) a Polity, where distinctions of property are also regarded,
 (11) be the utmost attainable in other cases.—This whole discussion,
 (12) and (2), or samething similar, is last.
 - (3) In general, the superior merit of a body of men within the state can only establish its right when this body is large enough numerically to form a state of inself, or at all events to appoint the magistrates, 13 § 6. When it is a single chizen, or a few, whose preeminent endowments outweigh those of all the rest collectively, perverted forms of government resort to ortacism and other violent measures to remove such men and get rid of them, but in the best constitution norbing remains except to give them unlimited authority unfettered even by law. In such a case the best constitution would take the form of Absolute Monarchy: 13 § 81.3—36.
- ¹ [Bernays supposed cc. 12, 13 to be another version of cc. 9—11: see Introd. p. 42.]

II. THE SEPARATE POLITIES OR CONSTITUTIONS: B. III. c. 14—VIII (V).

A. Monarchy and the best constitution in the strict sense, Pure Aristocracy: III. c. 14—V (VIII).

Monarchy: III. cc. 14-18.

- (a) The questions which come under consideration in the examination of Monarchy: 14 §§ 1, 2 (διαφοράς).
- (b) The different varieties of monarchy or kingship: 14 § 2 (ῥάδιον...)
 —§ 15.
 - (a) The office of the Spartan kings; §§ 2—5-
 - (β) Despotic monarchy amongst non-Hellenic races; §§ 6, 7.
 - (γ) Alouμνητεία or elective tyranny; §§ 8—10.
 (δ) The Hellenic kingship of the heroic age; §§ 11—13.
 - (6) The Hellemic kingship of the heroic age; §§ 11—1 Recapitulation of these four varieties, § 14-
 - (e) True absolute monarchy, with full powers, § 15.
- (c) Why it is only absolute monarchy that requires fuller consideration in this place: 15
 § 1—3.
 - (d) Objections to its utility: 15

 § 3—16.
- (a) In general it is better to be governed by the best laws than by the best man: 15 § 3—§ 5 (πῶσω): 16 § 5 (ὁ μὲν οὧν)—§ 9.
- (β) It may be granted that there certainly is one province, that of particular fact, for which the decision of the laws is insufficient; yet it is always a question whether it is better that in this province the one best man or the whole body of capable citizens should have the decision in its own hands:
 - 15 § 5 (ἀλλ' ἴσως...κάλλιον): 16 § 4 (ἀλλά μήν ὄσα...)—§ 5: 15 § 6:
 - 15 \$\$ 7—10, 16 § 9 (ἀλλά μὴν οὐδέ...)—§ 10=16 § 10 (elσl δέ)—§ 13:
 - 15 § 10 (el δή)—§ 13 (δημοκρατία»).
 - (i) Many questions are more correctly decided by the great majority than
 by an individual: 15 § 5 (aW δωσ...)—§ 7, and many eyes see more than two:
 16 § 10 (clot &)—§ 12.
 - (ii) A large majority of men of comparative excellence cannot be so easily led astray by personal feelings; 15 \S 8—10.
 - (iii) As it is the custom for monarchs to associate their friends with them in ower, they themselves if the facts allow the claim of those who are equal and alike to an equal share in the government; 16 88 12, 13.

- (iv) Even a monarch cannot be sole ruler; a number of officials is always required. If so, it is better from the first not to have a monarchy but to appoint this number of ruling officials by the constitution: 16 § 10.
- (v) If the absolute rule of a single ruler can only be justified on the ground of merit, several capable men have in general more capacity than one: 16 \S 11.
- (vi) Historical appendix on the development of the remaining constitutions ont of monarchy: 15 §§ 11—13 (δημοκρατίων).
- (γ) What opinion should be held of hereditary succession to the throne? 15 §§ 13, 14.
- (8) And of the armed force or body-guard to be assigned to a king? 15 § 14 (Exet & droplar)—16 § 2 (Bastheis).
 - (i) This question can easily be settled in a monarchy limited by law: 15 §§ 14—16.
 - (ii) Here, however, we are discussing absolute, not limited, monarchy: 16
- 88 I, 2.
 (c) The unrestrained rule of one man over all the rest for his whole lifetime
- appears unnatural when these others are more or less his equals: whereas the only normal course appears to be to divide the government amongst several men under the restrictions imposed by the laws: 16 § 2 (Sonti & Tow)—§ 4.
- (e) How far these doubts and objections are well grounded: c. 17.

 (a) Monarchy not in itself unnatural any more than the rule of a master over slaves (δεστοτεία) or a normal republican government (πολιτεία); under changed con-
- ditions each of them becomes appropriate: 17 § 1. (B) In fact, however, as an actual form of government in the developed state, (kg) rule is only conceivable as an absolute monarchy under the most capable citizen; yet not actually suitable and natural save in a single exceptional case, namely, in the state of things exclaimed above $(6.1 \times 8.1 \times -8.4)$; 17 % 2.
- (v) [Monarchy, Aristocracy, Polity severally adapted to citizens of different kinds: 17 §§ 3, 4.] It is only in the single case above-mentioned that Absolute Monarchy should supersede Aristocracy: 17 §§ 5—8.
- (f) Transition from Monarchy to the best constitution in the stricter sense: c. 18.

Pure Aristocracy: the true normal form of the absolutely best constitution; B, IV (VII), V (VIII),

Preliminary Questions: IV (VII) cc, 1-3,

(a) The best form of polity is that which is auxiliary to the best and most desirable life. A definition of the latter is thus required and first obtained: 1 ≤ 1 −10. This best life or happiness is shown to be the same for the individual and for the state: 1 ≤ 11, 12 = 2 ≤ 1, 2.

Summary of the results of this investigation: 1 §§ 13, 14.

- [(β) A second preliminary question. Even if happiness is made to depend preeminently upon virtue and excellence, we may yet be in doubt whether excellence in peace or in war is the main thing for the state, whether the active life of the practical statesman or the contemplative life of the scientific enquirer is the happier for the individual: $2.8 \pm 0.8 \pm 0.8$
 - (i) Excellence of the internal administration is the main thing for the state: military excellence is only needed for self-defence and for acquiring as slaves those for whom nature intended this lot. The state should not make conquest and subjugation its aim and end: 2 §§ 8-ns.
 - (ii) For the individual it is not the tyrant's life but active employment in the service of a free and capable state that is alone a great or noble thing. Yet the scientific life is no less an active life, and is besides an activity of a higher order than the other: c. 2.1

OUTLINE OF THE ABSOLUTELY BEST CONSTITUTION: B, IV (VII) c. 4-V (VIII) c. 7.

(a) The External Conditions: IV (VII) cc. 4-12.

- (i) The natural conditions; the land and the people; cc. 4-7.
 - (A) Prefatory remarks: 4 88 1-3-

8 SS 1, 2; SS 4, 5; SS 3, 4-

- (B) Of the proper number of citizens and inhabitants: 4 88 4-14.
- (c) Of the character and extent of the territory and of its geographical form: 5 §\$ r-3.
 - (D) The position of the city, 5 § 3 (τῆε δὲ πόλοως...)—6 § 8,
 - (a) on the land side: 5 88 3, 4,
 - (b) towards the sea: 6 88 1-5.
 - Of the regulation of the naval force: 6 §§ 6-8.
 - (g) The best natural endowment and disposition for the citizens; c. 7.

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- (ii) The social or socio-political conditions : cc. 8-12.
 - (a) Exclusion of the citizens from work for a livelihood, and of all who
- work for a livelihood from citizenship: c. 8—10 § 8.

 (a) Distinction between the classes which are actual organic members of the state, and such as are merely indispensable conditions for the existence of the former:
 - (b) Enumeration of the classes indispensable to the state, 8 §§ 6—q.
- (c) It is a feature of the best policy that only the classes which are from the nature of the ease members of the state, via Eghting nean and administrators (including those who administer justice), with the addition of the priests, who form a third, peculiar element, are in fact recognised as its members, or have the citizenship. These functions are exercised by them alone, the first in their youth, the second in their mature age, and the third when they are old men. All other classes—functor, attains, tradesmore, etc.—are excluded from citizenship. Hence every-such employ-

ment, even agriculture, is prohibited to the citizens, yet so that the soil belongs to them, although it is cultivated by serfs or dependents ($\delta o i \lambda \omega \ \hat{\eta} \ \pi e \rho (o \omega \omega)$) of non-Hellenic descent: c. 9.

- [(d) Such regulations are no mere innovation; they are of old standing in Egypt and Crete, as also are public messes in Italy and Crete: 10 §§ 1—9.]
 - (a) The proper scheme for dividing the land: the right qualifications and position of those who cultivate it: 10 § 9 (περὶ δὲ...)—§ 14.
 - (a) General leading principles: 10 88 9, 10.
 - (r) No community of property, only a certain common use granted out of friendship, § 9;
 - (2) No citizen to be in want, § 9:
 - (3) The common messes to be provided at the public expense, § 10.
 - (4) So also the worship of the gods, § 10.
- (b) The territory is accordingly divided into public land and private land, and each of these again into two parts: 10

 § 11, 12.

(c) The cultivators of the soil should be either (1) serfs of different races and of docile temper (μ) θυμοκιδεί), those on the state domain to belong to the state, those on private estates to the private owners: or failing this, (2) dependent subjects (περίσικου) of similar temper and of non-Hellenic descent: 10 §§ 13, 14.

- (c) Regulations for the building of the city and the hamlets and villages: cc. 11, 12-
- (a) The city: 11 § 1-12 § 7.
- (r) Its site, on the slope of a hill, if possible, facing the east or else the south : It §§ I, 2.
 - (2) Provision for a perennial supply of sufficient wholesome water, 11 88 3-5.
 - (3) Of fortified positions inside the city: II § 5.
 - (4) Plan for laying out the streets: 11 88 6, 7.
- (5) The walls, 11 §§ 8—12. Plan of sites in the walls where the guards may hold their mess, 12 § 1.
- (6) The Upper Market-place, a public square for freemen (dγορὰ διευθέρα) with the principal temples and the gymnasia for the older men, 1 ± 88 2 − 5. The Marketplace for trade and in it the law courts and official buildings 1 z 2 88 6, 7.
 - (b) Public buildings in the country: 12 § 8.

(β) A detailed sketch of the internal working of the Best Polity: IV (VII) c. 13—V (VIII) c. 7 (incomplete).

- (i) General introductory remarks: IV (VII) c. 13.
- (A) A right knowledge of the end of the best polity is as necessary as of the means which actually conduce to it: 13 §§ 1, 2.

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- (B) Its end is the happiness or well-being of all the citizens, which mainly consists in their highest excellence, though this is impossible apart from favourable external conditions, under which alone such excellence can be fully realized: 1; 38 3, 4. These favourable conditions assumed to be at the legislator's disposal include, besides too learned to the search of the part of the citizens (66 ora), whilst the concern and principal task of the legislator is to see how this capacity can be improved into actual excellence by habituation and instruction: 1; 38 5 15.
- (ii) The Education of the citizens: IV (VII) c. 14—V (VIII) c. 7 (left incomplete).

Its unity: IV (VII): 14 \ 1-8.

Its aim and end: 14 § 9-15 § 6.

The means to be employed: iv (vii) $\$ 6—end of v (viii).

(A) Should the education of the rulers and of the ruled be different or the same, on the principles of the best constitution?

Different, in so far as the two are here different persons: the same, in so far again as they are the same persons but at different ages, and as in a government exercised for the common good of the ruled it is not possible to govern well unless one has learnt to obey well: 14 % 1-8.

- (a) At what should the education of the citizens aim? What is the distinctive end and object of a virtuous life? 14 § 9-15 § 6.
- (1) The virtues of the non-rational part of the soul (the moral virtues) are inferior to those of the rational part (the mental excellences or intellectual virtues) and have their end in the latter just as work has its end in leisure, war in peace: 14 % 9-14.
- (a) Hence appears the defectiveness of constitutions like the Spartan, which, conversely, make war and conquest the object of the state, and strive solely to educate the citizens to be good soldiers, and nothing more, instead of treating military excellence as only a means to an end: 14 §8 15, 16. Besides.
 - such principles have already been refuted by experience, namely by the sudden and lamentable collapse of the Spartan state and its power; 14 § 17.
 - (ii) Such principles aiming at the subjugation of other states imply the perverse opinion that it is nobler to rule over slaves than over freemen: 14 §§ 18, 19.
 - (iii) They are also dangerous in their influence on the behaviour of the citizens towards their own state: 14 § 10 (ξτ1)—§ 21 (ἀνθρώνων).
 - (iv) What are the ends for which alone war must be waged and citizens become good soldiers: 14 § 21 (τήν τε...δουλεύου).
 - (v) Another appeal to experience; states which have not learned to excel in the arts of peace must necessarily fall as soon as they have acquired their empire: 14 § 22.

- (3) The virtues of peace and of leisure must rather have the preeminence; all the others ought however to be precisied, since without the means the end cannot be attained and many indispensable virtues are easier to practize in war than in peace. For undisturted peace easily leads us to rank external goods above virtue. But on the other hand this same mistake is the foundation for a one-sided military tendency as, for instance, amongst the Spartans: even capacity in war, which is all they strive to attain, is only a means to an end, to the complete acquisition of external goods: 15, 88 -6.
- (c) The right educational means: 15 § 6 (<on>-...)—end of B. v (vIII).
- (a) Preliminary remarks on the right course of education in general and the order of succession of educational agencies. Bodily development must precede that of the mind; in the latter, again, the training of the irrational soul by habituation smist precede that of the rational soul through instruction; yet in such a way that the former always regards the latter as its aim and end; 2; §§ 6—10.
- (b) Means to be employed before birth; the care requisite for the procreation of children of mental and bodily vigour and of good capacity: c. 16.
 - . (1) The proper age for marriage: 16 §§ 1-10.
 - (i) The leading principles which determine it: 16 §§ 2-4, §§ 6-8.
- (a) The difference of age between the parents to be such that their powers of procreation do not cease disproportionately, § 2.
- (β) The difference in age between parents and children not to be too great or too small, § 3.
- (γ) The educational requirement above mentioned, that the children to be brought up must be physically strong, § 4 (..., βολησω). Whereas the offspring of marriages between those who are too young is usually stunted, § 6.
 - (δ) Further, young mothers invariably suffer greatly in childbirth, § 7: and
 - (e) cohabitation begun at too early an age is prejudicial to female morality: also
 - (3) it stunts the growth of the husbands, § 8.
 (ii) All these considerations may be satisfied by observing the limits of age
- within which married people are capable of having children, 16 §§ 4, 5, and thus we arrive at the proper determination, viz. 37(?) for men and 18 for women: 16 §§ 9, 10.

 (a) The season of the way and suppopulate weather for entrance woon marriage.
- (2) The season of the year and appropriate weather for entrance upon marriage and its duties: 16 §§ 10, 11.
 - (3) The right bodily condition for the parents: 16 \$\ 12, 13.
 - (4) Provision for the proper treatment of women with child: 16 § 14.
- (5) Exposure of deformed infants: procurement of abortion to be sanctioned, in order that the prescribed number of children may not be exceeded: 16 § 15.

- (6) Further a limit of age should be set beyond which parents are not to have children: this limit prescribed. Procurement of abortion when conception takes place beyond this age: 16 88 fb. 17.
 - (7) Penalty for adultery: 16 § 17 (ωστε...)-- § 18.
 - (c) Means to be employed directly after birth, 17 88 1-14.
 - (1) In infancy, §§ 1-3, § 6, § 4.
- (2) In the subsequent period to the fifth year, § 4 (την δ' ἐχομένην...)—§ 7. With a preliminary discussion of the question how far all coarseness and indecency is to be proscribed, and on the other hand how far male adults should be allowed to be spectators at comedies and the like: § 7—8 14. § 12. § 14. § 12.
 - Education from the fifth year on to the seventh: § 14 (διεξελθύντων...αὐτούς),
- (d) The course of Public Education proper from the age of seven `to that of twenty-one: IV (VII). 17 ≤ 15, 16, V (VIII).
- (1) General introductory remarks. Two grades of age distinguished. Statement of the three questions to be discussed in regard to this course of education proper: 1V (VII). 17, 82 i.5, 16.
- (2) It is more than necessary, it is most essential for the best polity, that a definite regulation of this educational course should be prescribed by law: V (VIII). I \$\$ I, z.
- - (4) The right educational course: V (VIII). cc. 2-7.
 - (i) Fundamental considerations: 2 § 1−3 § 12.
- (e) Difference of views both as to the subjects of instruction, and as to the end and aim of the training: where there is agreement as to the subjects there are divergent views as to their practical application and mode of treatment, due to the difference of orinion as to their end: 2 § 1, 2.
- (8) The pupils must indeed be taught what is indispensable for external life, yet here the right limits should be observed. The educational means usually employed should not be used (as, music alone excepted, they all map) with the idea of their conferring a purely practical external utility. They ought rather to be regarded as simply the conditions to the attainment of a linher end; z. §8.3—6.
- (γ) The list of these subjects of ordinary education: reading, writing and arithmetic, gymnastic exercises, drawing, music: 3 § 1.
- (9) The ultimate end of education is the right occupation of the highest and trust leisure, which is not merely an intended to work, but in itself the highest goal of life. Amusement and pastime serve as recreation to fill the less exalted leisure that of the highest leisure the mind requires a different kind of activity, bringing with it the enjoyment of the highest intellectual gratification. Preliminary proof that amongst the ordinary subjects taught, music even in the judgment of our ancestors tends to this end, 3 § n−8 π (40 μm); and that the other subjects should be so used as not to lead away from it, but, indirectly at least, to conduce to it; 3 g π (π R) − g π.

- (ii) Athletic exercises (учигаютия): сс. 3 § 13-4 § 9.
- (a) As was stated above, IV (VII). 15 \$\iiii 6—Io, education must begin with bodily exercises: 3 \$ 13.
- (β) But two errors should be avoided; the one, of training up the boys like athletes, as is commonly done; the other, the Spartan practice of brutalizing them by excessive exertions: 4 §§ 1--7.
- (γ) We must therefore begin with easier exercises for the first period, and wait until they have attained puberty, and have been taught the other subjects of instruction for three years, before we commence the more exhausting gymnastic training: 4 § 7 (δr. μδr οδr)—§ 9.

(iii) Music: cc. 5-7.

- (a) Statement of the question: Should music serve for pastime recreation and relaxation, or for moral training, or lastly as a purely assthetic and theoretic enjoyment, thereby ministering to the highest intellectual gratification? 5 § 1 — § 4 (elonytens).
- (β) The first and third of these ends are to all appearance foreign to the education of youth, though something may be said in favour of taking notice of them too in connexion with it. But it is still a question whether for any of these three objects it is necessary to learn to be a practical musician oneself: 5 § 4 (6m μδε σῶν 1 = 8.
- (r) Answer to the first question: Music can and should subserve each of those three aims, not only the highest intellectual grafification, but also mere recreation, since it is a thoroughly innocent enjoyment; and considering the frequent need for recreation in life this alone would suffice to justify its admission to a place in the instruction of youth. This consideration is not then to be wholly disallowed, as we supposed above (§4): yet it is not) subcriticate, §5 g → ±5: and the main point is that music is, thirdly, an excellent means for the moral training of the young: \$8 \times f − 5: \$8\$.
 - (8) From this follows the answer to the second question :
 - (1) that in general the young should in fact be taught to become practical musicians: 6 \$ 1, 2.
 - (II) and yet the adult citizens of the best state have in general to refrain from practising music themselves: \$8.3,4.
 - (III) Further this musical instruction should be regulated, §§ 5, 6, as follows:
 - (a) With regard to the degree of proficiency to be attained, the pupils should not be trained up to be professional virtuosi, but only receive the needful training of their characters and their tastes: 6 8 6 (degreed)...)—8 8.
 - (b) For this reason all musical instruments, like the flute, which are only in use with professional performers, should be excluded from the instruction of the young: 6 ≤ q−16.

(c) Lastly, as to the various modes (apportes) and rhythms:

(1) for musical performances by professional musicians all modes are permissible, since all sever to promote the homographic purification of the emotions which procures the educated the highest intellectual gratification and the multitude recreation and amusement. Hence for the sake of the public at large who are not citizens—the famers, artisans, labourers—at soch performances even the modes and pieces which gratify, their low taste must be admitted. But for the moral training of the young only those which best represent, and for that reason best train, character, the Dorian mode especially. The Phrysian mode should not be allowed: 78 §3—11. [Perhaps however the Lydian mode may be tolerated, since we have also been applied to the property of the control of the property of the modes which are appropriate to the compass of the voice in mature life may be allowed as well as those specially adapted to the young: 7 88 15—15.

(2) The elucidation of the further question stated in 7 § 2, whether the rhythm or the melody and tune is of chief importance for the instruction of the young, is altogether wenting.

B. The remaining constitutions: B. VI (IV), VII (VI), VIII (V).

Introductory remarks: B. VI (IV) cc. 1, 2,

- i. Why it belongs to political philosophy to consider not merely the absolutely bet constitution, but also the best on the average, the best in any given case, and even the best possible organization of any actually existing polity: 1 §§ 1—7.
- ii. This implies an exact acquaintance with all possible forms of government, and therefore with all the possible varieties of Democracy, Oligarchy, etc., which up till now have been left out of sight: 1 % 8.
- iii. The theory of legislation moreover is based upon this exact acquaintance with constitutions; I §§ q-II.
- iv. The department of constitutional theory which remains for treatment defined: a § 1. Order of merit of the degenerate forms of government: a §§ 2, 3. The arrangement to be followed in the succeeding exposition: a §§ 4—6.

The actual details of the theory of the established constitutions: vi (iv). c. 3-viii (v).

- i Enumeration of all possible constitutions: VI (IV) cc. 3-10.
- [(i) The difference between polities depends on the extent to which different classes take part in the government, c. 3.

- (ii) How Democracy and Oligarchy ought rightly to be defined: 4 % i—6.
- (III) The explanation of the fact that Oligarchy and Democracy come to be regarded as almost the only constitutions. Why there are more than these two and their sub-species. The classes of people necessary in the state: 4 § 7—19.]
- (IV) The different species of Democracy and Oligarchy: 4 \\$ 20-6 \\$ II.
- (a) The basis of the general difference between them, 4 §§ 20, 21 (...διαφοράν).
- (b) Enumeration of the four kinds of Democracy from the best, which resembles Polity, down to the worst or unrestrained Democracy, which resembles Tyranny: 48 22 (Binopartia)—§ 31.
- (c) Enumeration of the four kinds of Oligarchy in corresponding manner, from the most moderate to that which resembles Tyranny, viz. arbitrary dynastic government (bivarchis): < § 1.</p>
- (d) In spite of a constitution externally oligarchical a state may nevertheless bear a democratic character, and conversely: 5 S 3, 4.
- (e) Reasons assigned why there can only be these four species (a) of Democracy, 6 §§ r—6, (β) of Oligarchy, 6 §§ γ—11.
 - (v) The different species of Mixed Aristocracy and the forms of Polity: c. 7—9 § 5, 12 § 4, 12 § 6—13 § 6, 9 § 6—10, 13 § 7—11.
 - (a) Of Aristocracy and Polity in general: 7 SS 1-4-
 - (b) The species of Mixed Aristocracy: 7 88 4, 5.
 - (c) Of Polity: c. 8, 9 §§ 1—5, 12 § 4, 12 § 6—13 § 6, 9 §§ 6—10, 13 §§ 7—11.
 - (a) Justification of the arrangement by which Polity is reserved for treatment to this point and Tyranny comes last of all: 8 § 1, 2.
 (β) A further and more exact distinction between Polity and the Mixed
 - Aristocracies. Refutation of the view that those species and varieties of Polity which incline more to Oligarchy than to Democracy should be included under Mixed Aristocracies, 8 § 3—9.

 (γ) Genesis and organization of Polity: 9 § 1 − 5, 12 § 4, 12 § 6−12 § 6.
 - (γ) Genesis and organization of Pointy: 9 88 1—5, 12 8 4, 12 8 0—13 8 0,
 9 88 6—10, 13 88 7—11.
- (i) The three different ways of fasing Democracy and Oligarchy in Polity, 98: 1—5. (ii) The middle class as the proper support of Polity, 15 § 4. (iii) On the degree of success in the fasion depends the durability of the Polity. When therefore Polities or Mixed Aristoncaies are established, it is a given mistake if out of favour to the rich the claims of the poor are only satisfied in appearance, the concession made to them being in reality smulled and rendered void by all kinds of

illusory devices: Enumeration of such illusory measures and of the similar countermeasures adopted in democracies with the opposite intent: $12 \le 6-13 \le 6$. (iv) The criterion of a successful fusion in Polity, also in Mixed Aristocracy, $9 \le 6-10$. (v) The amount at which the property qualification for the fran-

9 §§ 6—10. (v) The amount at which the property qualification for the franchise should be fixed, 13 §§ 7—9 (πολεμέθ). (vi) Peculiar constitution of certain individual Polities, 13 § 9. (vii) Historical remarks: 13 §§ 10, 11.

- (v1) The different species of Tyranny, c. 10.
- The best constitution on the average (ἀρίστη ταῖε πλείσταιε πόλεσι); c, 11.
 - This is, in the main, Polity, as the rule of the well-to-do middle class: 11
 1 2.

 For (a) as in the life of the individual moral virtue and excellence consist in the

right mean between two opposite extremes of error, so the life of the state prospers best when the well-to-do middle class has the preponderance, whereas the extremes of wealth and poverty are two main sources of the two opposite kinds of crime and

- wrong-doing: 11 §§ 3—5.

 (b) Excessive wealth leads to despotic ambition, extreme poverty to service submission: 11 85 6—8 (π/δ)cor/l.
- (c) The middle class has the most assured existence; the more strongly it is represented in the state, the more the state is secured from insurrection and internal troubles and from the danger of degenerating into one of the three worst perversions or degenerate types of polity, extreme Democracy, extreme Oligarchy, or Tyranny; 18 § of ea/dynami> 13. This accounts for the fact that Democracies are ordinarily more stable than Oligarchies, because in the former the middle class is usually more numerous and influential than in the latter, it is?
 - (d) The best legislators have come from the middle class, 11 § 15.
 - (II) All this explains why Polity, although the constitution best adapted for most states, is yet of rare occurrence: 11 \$\infty\$ 16—10.
- (a) It frequently happens that the middle class in a state is not very numerous, 11 § 16.
- (b) In the frequent party conflicts between rich and poor it is invariably the practice for the victorious side to seize the government for itself, and not to come to terms with the defeated side, II § 17.
- terms with the defeated side, 11 § 17.

 (c) Of the two states that were in succession supreme in Greece, the one,
 Athens, introduced democracies and the other, Sparta, oligarchies, each in her own

interest: 11 §§ 18, 19.

(III) The nearer any one of the remaining constitutions stands to that which is the best on the average, the better it is: the further it is removed therefrom, the worse it is: 11 \\$\cdot 20, 21.

- iii What kind of polity is relatively the best for different kinds of people (ris molureia rio: kal moia moios: $\sigma v \mu \phi i \rho ei)$: 12 §§ 1—3, § 4 ($\sigma n v ei$) —§ 5.
 - General positions laid down, 12

 § 1, 2.
 - (11) Their application (a) to Democracy and its different species, 12 § 3, (b) to Oligarchy and its different species, 12 § 3 (δσυν...), (c) to Polity, 12 § 4 (δπον δλ...)—§ 5, (d) to so-called or Mixed Aristocracy (this is wanting).

Recapitulation of all the previous discussion, 13 § 12,

- iv The theory of the best possible organization of the different Democracies and Oligarchies, or of that which most corresponds to the spirit and intent of each of them respectively: VI (IV). 14—VII (VI).
 - General fundamental positions as to the ordering and organization of all possible polities: vi (iv), cc, 14-16.
- (a) Distinction of the Deliberative, Executive, and Judicial authorities in the state: 14 88 1. 2.
- (b) Organization of the Consultative or Deliberative body in accordance with the various polities: 14 SS 3-15.
- (a) The department of the Deliberative authority, and the three possibilities that either the whole body of citizens, or particular magistrates, have to decide upon all that belongs to this department, or sgain that it is divided between the one and the other: 14 § 3.
- (β) These three possible cases, the different forms under which they may appear in practical application, and the sphere of action (whether larger or smaller) assigned to the different deciding factors, how distributed amongst different polities: 14 §§ 4—10;
 - (i) amongst the different species of Democracy, 14 § 4—§ 7 (πάντες);
 - (ii) those of Oligarchy, 14 § 7 (τὸ δέ τωας...)—§ 9;
 - (iii) Mixed Aristocracy, 14 § 10;
 - (iv) Polity inclining to Aristocracy, and Polity proper, 14 § 10.
- (v) Measures by which at all events to secure that the decrees passed and the verdicts of the courts shall be good and salutary for the state, (i) in the most extreme Democracy, where all is decided by decrees of the people, through the adoption of certain oligarchical elements or of institutions related to Polity, while the democratical principle is still retained; and (iii) in an Oligarchy, through the adoption of certain democratical institutions or of others peculiar to Polity, or clue by a procedure the reverse of that usual in Politics; 14,8 §17.—16.
 - (c) Organization of the Executive power, or the magistracies: c. 15.
 - (a) Statement of the questions to be answered in regard to this subject, 15 §§ 1, 2.
- (β) What kind of officials are to be regarded as really magistrates, i.e. as ministers or authorities of the state: 15 § 2 (δστι δξ...)— § 4.

- (γ) What officials are required for every state, great or small, 15 §§ 5-8.
- (i) The distinction between different magistracies according as the nature of the department they administer involves its extension over the whole state or its division according to definite localities, 1; § 0, ...*ν airviv), and further according as the same department controls all the persons affected by it, or different classes are assigned to different magistrates, 1; § 0 (and **r*r*per*...*)
 - (e) The difference between magistracies in the various constitutions: 15 \$\ 10-13-
 - (i) Certain offices are the same under different forms of the state, only the mode of appointment to them being different, 15 § 10.
 (ii) Other the property of the p
 - (ii) Others are generically the same under different forms but specifically different: i.e. different as to the extent of their powers, \S 10.
 - (iii) Others again are peculiar to given forms of the state, S 11-13-
- (3) The different modes of appointing to magistracies and their distribution amongst the forms of government, 15 §§ 14—21.
 - (i) Each of the three questions to be considered, viz. who have the right to elect, who are eligible, and what is the mode of election, admits of three possibilities: combine each possibility under the first of these heads with each possibility under the first of these heads with each number of conceivable cases nine for each of the three, i.e. 27 in all: 15 88 1z—18.
- (ii) These modes classified under (A) Democracy § 19, (B) Polity, not only Polity proper, but also the variety which has an aristocratical, and that which has an oligarchical character, § 19, 20, (c) Oligarchy § 20, 21 and (D) Mixed Aristocracy § 21.
- (η) The duties of its department must determine what mode of appointment is advantageous for each office, 15 § 22.
 - (d) Organization of the judicial authority; c. 16.
 - (a) Statement of the questions to be answered in regard to this subject, 16 § 1.
 - (β) The different kinds of courts, 16 88 2-5.
- (γ) The possible differences between them as to who are eligible as jurors (of δικάρωτε); how they are to be appointed; whether they are to exercise all possible indicial functions or only to serve in certain courts, 16 % 56, 7.
- (8) Classification of them under the different forms of the state, Democracy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Polity, 16 § 8.
 - (II) Organization of the different species of Democracy and Oligarchy: vII (VI) cc. 1—7.
- (a) The discussion of this subject announced: the questions which remain as to the organization of other constitutions, and as to the blending of different forms when one power in the state is regulated in accordance with one form, and another in accordance with another form: 1 §§ 1-4.

(b) The species of Democracy: 1 § 5-c. 5.

- (a) Species are distinguished according to the various occupations of the different democratic populations, and the degree to which they have severally adopted democratic institutions: 1 §§ 5—10.
 - (β) The principles of Democracy enumerated: 2 §§ 1—4.
 - (γ) All the democratic institutions developed from them: 2 §§ 5-8.
- [(8) Objections to absolute Democracy and recommendation of a peculiar form of compromise between the claims of Democracy and those of Oligarchy: 2 § 0—3 § 6.]
- (e) Organization of the best and most moderate species of Democracy, 4 §§ 1—14:
 - (3) of the two intermediate species, 4 § 15: and
 - (η) of the extreme Democracy, 4 § 15 (τήν τε τελευταίαν...)-5 § 11.
 - (i) The institutions which promote the growth of this form: 4 §§ 15—20.
 - (ii) The measures which tend to neutralize its dangerous effects, and even impart to it, so far as is possible, a tolerable and durable character: c. 5.
 - (A) Preliminary remark on the urgent need for such measures: 5 \$\$ 1, 2.
 - (B) Particular instances of measures of the kind, 5 88 3-11:
 - (a) a diminution in the number of political trials, 5 §§ 3, 4:
 (i) by not distributing the fines amongst the people, (a) by imposing severe penalties upon false accusation:
 - (b) the practice of summoning few popular assemblies and allowing the courts to sit as seldom as possible in the power states, 5 §§ 5, 6; and in the richer states of bestowing large sums at rare interval upon the poor, and freeing the richer citizen from useless burdens : §§ 7-0.
 - (c) Measures taken at Carthage and Tarentum; 5 88 0-11.

(c) The species of Oligarchy: cc. 6, 7.

- (a) Organization of the best and most moderate species of Oligarchy : 6 $\S\S$ 1, 2;
- (β) of the several intermediate species, 6 § 3; and
- (γ) of the most extreme Oligarchy or Dynastic government, 6 §§ 3, 4.
 - (δ) Measures more directly affecting oligarchies at large, 6 § 5-7 § 7.
 - (i) The principal safeguard of Oligarchy, 6 § 5.
 - (ii) Arrangement as regards the military force and service in the army, 7 \$\mathbb{S}\mathbb{I} = 3.
 - (iii) Individual members of the popular party may be won over to the oligarchical government, 7 § 4.
 - (iv) To the highest posts in the government should be attached costly burdens to be defrayed for the commonwealth, 7

 5

 7.

- (III) The theory of the organization of public offices: a fuller account in detail, c. 8 (incomplete).
 - (a) The questions to be discussed, 8 §§ 1, 2.
- (b) The officials necessary in every state, 8 §§ 3...21.

Superintendents (a) of the markets (ayoparóuos), § 3, (β) of the streets, public buildings, harbours: the city police (dorumbus) 88 4, 4, (v) Police officers in the country (άγρόνομοι, ύλωροί); (δ) financial officers (ἀποδέκται, raulas), § 6. (e) Keepers of archives and registers (urhuoves, émoráras), (¿) Officers for penal administration, executioners and the like, §§ 8-§ 7. (n) Military officers (στρατηγοί, πολέμαργοι, ναύαρχοι, κτλ), §§ 13-15. 13. (θ) Board of control, for scrutiny of the accounts of retiring officials (εύθινοι, λογισταί, έξετασταί), § 16. (a) Legislative committee, to summon and direct the popular assembly, and to bring matters before it (πρόβουλοι, βουλή), \$ 17. (k) Officers to superintend public worship (lepeis κτλ), SS 18-20. (λ) Recapitulation. § 21.

(c) Magistrates peculiar to certain given constitutions, 8 § 22.

The theoretical treatment of the cases where different forms of polity are combined in one and the same state, is wanting.

- v The causes of decay in the various forms of the state and the corresponding safeguards: B. VIII (V).
 - 1 Preliminary Observations: 1 S 1−8, S 9−11, S 8: 3 S 14: 1 S 11−16.
 - (a) Statement of the whole question: 1 § 1.
- (b) The general cause of all internal political disturbances consists in dissension as to the extent to which political equality should be carried: the rich and the nobles claim special privileges over the poor, the latter on the ground of their free birth claim couality with the rich: 1:88 2—7.
 - (c) Two species of revolution, 1 §§ 8--11:
 - (a) Overthrow of the constitution, §§ 8-11: whether
 - (i) subversion of the entire polity, § 8; or simply
 - (ii) accentuation or relaxation of the same form of government, § 9; or
 - (iii) abolition of single parts of the constitution, § 10.
 - (β) Change merely in the holders of power, § 8.
- (d) Special application of the remarks in 1 §§ 2—7 to Democracy and Oligarchy. Two kinds of equality distinguished: it is necessary to pay attention to both kinds: 3 § 14, 1 § 11 (πανταχο"...)—§ 15.
 - (e) Why Democracy is in general more enduring than Oligarchy, 1 § 16-

- 11 The causes of decay inherent in all polities in common: cc. 2-4.
- (a) The three points for general consideration in this inquiry: the tendencies, the objects in view, and the external occasions which lead to political revolutions, 2 8 1.
- (b) The tendencies and claims which lead to intestine disturbances and to revolutions have been already characterized (1 §§ 2—7). How far they are justified, or not, 2 §§ 2, 3.
- (c) The objects sought to be attained in rebellions and insurrections: 2 § 3 (πω̂ς ...πόλεσω).
 - (d) The definite occasions of revolution: 2 § 4—3 § 8, 4 §§ 8—12, 3 § 9—4 § 7.
 (a) General enumeration: 2 §§ 4—6.
 - (β) Consideration of them in detail: 3 §§ 1—8, 4 §§ 8—12, 3 § 9—4 § 7.
 - (i) Insolence in the rulers, 3 § 1.
 - (ii) Their greed for aggrandisement, 3 § 1.
 - (iii) Efforts of the subject body to attain higher political honours, 3 § 2.
 - (iv) Preponderating influence of individuals, 3 § 3.
 - (v) Fear of punishment or of injustice, 3 § 4.
 - (vi) Contempt for the governing class on account of their weakness, 3 § 5-
- (viii) The establishment of an equivalence in point of numbers between opposing elements in the state.
 - (ix) Appropriation of offices by electoral intrigues (διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας), 3 § 9.
 - (x) Neglect of the dangers threatening the constitution from individuals, 3 § q.
 - (xi) Gradual introduction of slight changes unobserved, 3 § 10.
 - (xii) Any sort of difference between the inhabitants, 3 §§ 11-13, §§ 15-16.

As (A) difference in race, particularly when alien settlers have been admitted. §8 II--I3:

(ε) difference in sentiment, and especially in political sympathies, between the dwellers in different localities of one and the same state, due to α difference of character in the localities, 88 st. 16.

- (xiii) Private feuds between leading, influential citizens, 4 §§ 1-7.
- (e) The means usually employed to effect revolutions, 4 §§ 12, 13:
 - (a) force,
 (β) stratagem,
 (γ) stratagem succeeded by force.

III The causes of decay and the corresponding safeguards in the particular forms of government; cc. 5—12.

- (a) Positive or dogmatic exposition: c. 5-c, 12 § 6.
 - (a) Republics, cc. 5—9.
 - (i) THE CAUSES OF DECAY, CC. 5-7.
 - (A) In democracies, c. 5.

(a) Change to Oligarchy due to the continual persecutions of the rich by the demagogues, 5 \$\$ 1—5.

- (b) Change to Tyranny, the demagogues usurping absolute power. Why this only happened in former times, why it is no longer usual for tyrannies to arise, s % 6—0. namely, because.
 - (1) formerly demagogues were also generals, 5 §§ 6, 7.
 - (2) formerly certain officers had too large powers assigned them, 5 § 8
 (ἐγίσοντο...πρότανικ) ¹.
 - (3) The states were as yet small, and the people in former times busy with their occupations in the country, so that it was easier for military chiefs to seize absolute power, 5 88 8.0.

(c) Change from the most moderate to the most extreme form of democracy, due to the demacoric intrigues of candidates for office, 5 §\$ 10, 11,

(B) In oligarchies, c. 6.

- (a) Downfall of oligarchies through ill-treatment of the people, 6 § 1.
- (δ) Downfall through dissensions between the rich oligarchs themselves, 6 §§ 2—q, §§ 14—16, § 10.
 - If the actual members of the oligarchical government are reduced to a mere handful, so that even persons belonging to the ruling families are excluded from it by law, 6

 2-5².
 - (a) If the oligarchs themselves from mutual jealousy adopt demagogic intrigues, 6 § 5 (κυνοῦνται...)—§ 7:
 - one member of the government, or a minority, intriguing to guin over the rest to his support. 6 8 6:
 - (ii) a part of the oligarchs (or all of them) intriguing with the people, 6 § 6, 7:
 - § 6, 7: (a) where the people has the right of electing to the public offices, § 6. or if
 - (β) the law courts are constituted out of the people, § 7, or
 - (γ) in case some of the oligarchs are aiming at concentrating the power of the state in yet fewer hands, § γ.

1 Perhaps (2) should properly follow
(3).
2 If § 5, καl & Έριθραϊ...πολιτείαν, be containe we must add: "In the same way people."

2 The same way people."

2 The same way people."

- (iii) If individual oligarchs who have squandered their property attempt to make a revolution or to enrich themselves from the public means, thus embroiling themselves with the government, or raising a popular insurrection, 6 88 8. o.
- (iv) If members of the oligarchy are involved in private enmity owing to marriage relations or lawsnits, 6 88 14, 15. (v) An oligarchy may be subverted by its own members on account of the
 - too despotical character of the government, 6 § 16.

Concluding remark: an oligarchy united in itself is not easily overthrown from without, 6 § 10.

- (c) Fall of the old oligarchy by the formation of a new one within it, 6 \$ 111.
- [(d) Overthrow of oligarchies by the generals of mercenary troops enrolled for war; or in time of peace by the generals called in because of the mutual distrust of the oligarchs; or by a commander appointed on the same grounds to mediate between them, 6 88 12, 13.1
- . (e) Change from Oligarchy to Polity and from Polity to moderate Democracy due to a depreciation of money, whereby the property qualification required by law for the franchise ceases to be adequate, 6 \$\$ 16, 17.
 - (f) Change from one kind of Oligarchy to another: 6 § 18.
 - (c) In Mixed Aristocracies and Polities: c. 7 §§ 1-13.
- (a) Fall of aristocracies and revolutions in consequence of the number of those who take part in the government becoming too small. 7 88 1-4:
 - (1) especially when the large body excluded consider themselves equal in merit, 7 \$\$ 1, 2;
 - or (2) if able and distinguished men are ill-treated by men not superior to them in desert although occupying higher offices in the state, 788 2, 3;
 - or (3) are excluded from the government in spite of their merits, 7 § 3;
 - or (4) if some of the citizens are too poor and others too rich, 7 § 3,
 - or (5) an individual is so powerful that he is likely to attain supreme power. 7 8 4.
- (b) The principal danger for Aristocracies of this type and for Polities consists in the fact that the oligarchical element in them has not quite successfully blended with the democratical element, but the one of these preponderates over the other, 7 88 s. 6. [Consequently a revolution to this preponderating side may easily take place; that is, to complete Oligarchy or Democracy. Sometimes however there is a movement in the opposite direction: 7 88 7-10.]
- (c) Aristocracies of this type are subject, above all other forms of government, to dissolution brought on by unperceived gradual changes, 7 88 11-12.
 - (D) Concluding remark on the changes in republics taken in common.

Sometimes they are of internal origin, sometimes they are brought about by powerful foreign states, 7 § 14.

1 Perhaps §§ 10, 11 should also be enclosed in the square brackets. H. 9

(ii) The safeguards: cc. 8, 9.

(A) Preliminary remark.

The safeguards are implied in the statement of the causes of destruction: 8 § 1.

(B) Enumeration of the safeguards: 8 \$ 2-0 \$ 22.

- (a) In Polities and Mixed Aristocracies especial care must be taken that slight changes and deviations from the existing laws do not gradually creep in unobserved: 88 2, 2.
- (b) In the same governments precautions must be taken against those illusory measures discussed in VI (IV), 12 § 6—13 § 6: 8 § 4.
- (c) In Aristocracies and Oligarchies the government must not only treat the governed well, but must also treat its own members on a footing of democratic equality, 8 § 5: hence many democratic measures are often quite in place even under these constitutions, 8 § 6, 6, 7.
 - (d) The citizens must be kept in constant vigilance over their constitution, 8 § 8.
 (e) All disputes between the principal men must as far as possible be avoided and
- prevented; and, so far as this fails, care must be taken that no others but the original parties to the quarrel are involved in it, 8 § 9.

 (/) In Polities and Oligarchies a fresh valuation of property must be taken frequently in order that the property qualification for the franchise, if it is to retain
- its relative importance, may undergo the necessary revision at the proper time, 8 % ro, rr. (g) No citizen to be disproportionately elevated: in particular, provision
- should be made by legislation to prevent the rise of unduly powerful individuals: if this does not succeed, they should be removed from the state by ostracism: 8 § 12.

 (k) There should be a special board of magistrates to have supervision over the
- private lives of the citizens and see that they are in accord with the existing form of government, 8 § 13.

 (i) Care must be taken that one part of the citizens does not prosper at the
- expense of the rest, 8 §§ 14—21; and hence

 (1) that magisterial offices never fall exclusively into the hauds of one of
 - the two opposed classes of the population, 8 § 14:

 (2) that the antagonism between rich and poor is adjusted or else that the middle class increases, 8 8 14:
 - (3) especially that the public offices do not afford any opportunity for enriching oneself from the public property, 8 § 15—19.
 - (4) In democracies the property of the rich must be spared, 8 § 20;
 - (5) in oligarchies posts with emolument attached to them must be assigned to the poorer citizens, and the insolence of a rich man towards a poor man must be punished more severely than if it were towards another rich man, 8 § 20.
 - (6) Further in oligarchies the accumulation of landed property in the same hands must be restrained within limits fixed by law, 8 § 20.

- (7) Care must be taken in an oligarchy that the decisive authority rests in the hands of the rich, and in a democracy that it rests with the poor: but in other respects equal, nay even higher, privileges must be conceded in the former case to the poor, and in the latter case to the rich, 8 § 21.
- (e) It must always be kept in view that attachment to the established form of government, special knowledge of the subject, and lastly virtue and integrity are requisite for the highest official positions: the second qualification indeed in certain offices in a higher degree than the third, in others again the third qualification in a higher degree than the second; c. 9 § 1—4.
- (l) In a word, every measure that helps the healthy working of a constitution tends also to preserve it, 9 \S 5.
- (m) The citizens who desire the continuance of the form of government must be the numerical majority, 9 \S 5.
- (n) Even in the worse forms of Democracy and Oligarchy the mean must be preserved: it is the exaggeration of democratic and oligarchic measures which infallibly leads to the downfall of Democracy and Oligarchy respectively: Q § 6—§ 11 (δήμαν).
- (o) But the principal thing is to educate the young in the spirit of the established form of government: $9 \S 11 \{\mu \acute{e} \gamma \omega \tau \sigma \rho \vec{e} i\}$ —§ 16.
 - (β) Monarchies: c. 10—c. 12 § 6.
 - (i) THE CAUSES OF DECAY: C. 10.
 - (A) Discussion of certain fundamental points: 10 §§ 1—13 (ἀναιρεῖν).
- (a) The government of a king is closely related to Aristocracy, but Tyranny (τυρανοίs) combines the evils of the most extreme Democracy and of the most extreme Oligarchy: 10 §§ 1, 2.
- (δ) The opposite nature of kingly rule and tyranny is at once shown in their divergent and opposite origin: 10 §§ 3—8.
 - (c) A more precise statement of the antithesis between them: 10 §§ 9, 10.
- (d) The points which Tyranny has in common with Oligarchy on the one hand and with Democracy on the other: 10 § 11—§ 13 (ἀναφεῦν).
 - (B) Causes of the overthrow of monarchies and of monarchs in general: 10 88 13—28.
 - (a) General statement
 - of the motives for conspiracies and attacks upon a sole ruler, 10 §§ 13, 14, and (2) of the objects sought thereby, 10 § 14.
- (3) Some of these attacks are directed against the person of the usurper; in others the assailant desires to seize the throne for himself, or to effect a revolution in the government: 10 § 15.
 - (b) These points of view presented in detail; 10 §§ 15—28.
 - (1) Attacks in consequence of injuries received, 10 \$\ 15-20;
 - (2) from fear of punishment, 10 § 20;

- (3) from contempt for the ruler, 10 88 22-25;
- (4) from greed of gain (largely wanting), 10 § 25;
- (5) from ambition, 10 \$\ 26-28.
- (c) Special causes of the downfall of (a) tyrants and tyrannies, (b) of kings and kingships: 10 §§ 29—38.
 - (a) Tyrants and tyrannies: 10 S 29-34.
- A tyranny is destroyed from without by more powerful foreign states not tyrannies whether (1) under a royal or aristocratical, or (II) under a democratical government, 10
 § 29, 30.
- (a) It is ruined from within by the members of the ruling family quarreling amongst themselves, 10 § 31.
- (3) Most tyrants make themselves despised and this most frequently brings about their fall, 10 § 33, 33.
 (a) Ayain, every tyrant is necessarily hated; hatred and righteous indignation
- against him often accomplish his overthrow, 10 \$\ 33, 34
 (5) The same causes which threaten Extreme Democracy and Extreme Oligarchy
- are also dangerous to Tyranny: 10 § 35.

 (b) The government of a king (as distinct from a tyrant) is mostly destroyed
- from within.

 Either (1) fends break out between members of the royal family, 10 § 26; or
- Either (1) feuds break out between members of the royal family, 10 § 30: or (2) the kings overstep the legitimate limits of their authority and aim at making
- (a) Under an hereditary monarchy it is often impossible to prevent the succession
- to the throne of princes who render themselves contemptible, 10 § 38, or (4) to exclude others who behave with insolence and violence, forgetting that they are not tryants but kings, 10 § 38.
- (5) Why it is that even in recent times tyrannies have sprung up, but no new monarchies arise, 10 § 37.

(ii) The safeguards: c. 11, c. 12 § 1—6.

- (A) The office of king is best preserved by the gradual diminution of its absolute authority in keeping with the spirit of the times, 11 §§ 1—3.
 - (B) The tyrant can only secure his throne, 11

 § 4—34,
- (a) by employing the most extreme measures of force and corruption, 11 § 4—16:
 (1) by getting rid of all the principal men, entirely forbidding the common pursuit of culture, and putting down all messes and culture, 11 § 4, 5:
 - (2) by compelling all the citizens to live in public, 11 § 6,
- and (3) by imitating all the other regulations of Persian and other oriental despotisms, $\pi\pi~\S~6:$
 - (4) by sending secret spies and detectives amongst the citizens, 11 § 7;
 (5) by setting all classes of the population against one another, 11 § 8;
 - (0)

- (6) draining the means of all his subjects, 11 §§ 9, 10,
- and (7) perpetually creating wars, 11 § 10,
- (8) by suspecting his own friends most of all, 11 § 10,
- (9) by allowing families to be governed by women and by giving slaves license to indulge all their caprices, just as in the most extreme democracy, 11 §§ 11, 12;
- (10) by permitting no dignified or free-minded character to remain near him, 11 § 13;
 - (11) by being more intimate with strangers than with his own townsmen, 11 § 14.
 - (12) The three leading points of view in this policy, 11 88 15, 16.
- Or (b) by demagogic devices joined with activity in war, when the tyrant poses as the friend of the people and makes his usurped power approximate to that of a king, 11 88 17—24.
- Careful management of the state funds; avoidance of lavish grants to mistresses, foreigners, or artists; a statement of accounts presented; no treasures accumulated for himself, 11; 8; 67—21.
- (2) He should endeavour to create the impression that all taxes paid and services rendered are not for him but for the state, 11 § 21.
- (3) He must inspire reverence by a dignified bearing and by capacity in war, instead of inspiring fear by severity and rough treatment. 11 \$ 22.
- (4) He should not merely himself avoid crimes and offences against his subjects, but he should not allow them to be committed by any of his family or court, especially those who are of the female sex, 11 § 22, 32.
- (5) He should be moderate in his indulgences, or at least should conceal his excesses from the world, 11 \$\mathbb{S}\$ 23, 24.
- (6) In his care for the adornment of the capital he must not seem to have any ulterior object, 11 § 24.
- (7) He should create the impression that though he is free from childish superstition yet he is very specially concerned to honour the gods, II § 25.
- (8) He must award, to those who show themselves deserving, higher honours and distinctions than they could hope for in a free state, and he must always bestow distinctions and rewards himself, but have punishments inflicted and executed by others, 11 § 26.
- (9) On the other hand, like monarchs generally, he should especially avoid raising individuals to greatness, least of all a man of bold and enterprising character, 11 8 27.
- (10) Of all deeds of violence, personal insults or ill treatment, and seduction accomplished by force are the most dangerous. If he cannot altogether avoid them, he should give to the former the colour of paternal chastisement, and seek to succeed in his intrigues by dint of impassioned persuasion alone, 11 § 28, 29.
- (11) He should especially be on his guard against people who imagine that they, or some one whom they love, have been so deeply wronged by him that they are ready to hazard their lives in opposing him, 11 § 30.
- (12) While he should seek to please rich and poor alike, he should yet prefer to rest his rule upon the poor where they are the stronger, but where the rich have the upper hand, upon the rich, 11 §§ 31, 32.

- (13) The leading points in this whole policy, and the great advantages which attend on it, 11 §§ 33, 34-
- [(c) Oligarchy and Tyranny the least enduring forms of government. Historical survey of the tyrannies which lasted the longest, with the reasons why this was the case: 12 §8. 1–6.]

(b) Criticism of Plato's doctrine

of the successive changes from one form of the state to the other: 12 % 7—18.

- (a) His theory of the transition from the best form of polity to the remaining forms: 12
 № 7—10.
- It takes the right point of view for the cause of the decline in the best form;
 but the explanation given of the appearance of this cause is
 - (A) not peculiar to the best form of the state, but applies to all human affairs in common, $12 \S 8$, and
 - (B) supposing the best form of government to have been introduced into different states at different times before the period which Plato assumes for the universal decline, it is scarcely conceivable that, on the approach of this period, it would be subverted at one and the same time in them all. 12 \$8 0, 10.
- (ii) No reason can be given why the best form of state should invariably pass over into that which stands next to it, 12 § 10.
- (β) The case stands no better with his account of the transitions from the remaining forms of the state, to one another or to the best form: 12 § 10 (δ δ αὐτὸς)—§ 18.
- (i) Plato adheres to the same principle that every form of polity is changed into the form nearest to it, whereas the change to the opposite form is quite as frequent or even more so, 12 88 to, 11.
- (ii) As to the second point, Vlato has said nothing definitely about the change to the best form of the state; but if the omission is to be supplied in accordance with his exposition there is nothing for it but to assume that the sole transition from Tyranny or into the best state is the change when the former passes into the latter: which would be incorrect, 12 8 II 1, 2 1.
- (iii) Further, in regard to the first point, the change from Oligarchy to Tyranny does take place, 12 $\$ 13.
- (iv) Nor is the reason assigned by Plato for the change from Mixed Aristocracy to Olirarchy the true one. For
 - (r) the true motive is different;
 - (2) what Plato takes to be the true ground for the transition to Oligarchy is not present in many oligarchies; and
 - (3) where it is found in Mixed Aristocracies experience shows that no such transition takes place, 12 § 14.

- (v) As regards the transition from Oligarchy,
 - (a) that the state is divided into two states, one of the rich, the other of the poor, is not more true of Oligarchy than of the Mixed Aristocracy at Sparta or of other forms of government: 12 § 15.
 - (b) The change from Oligarchy to Democracy is really due to several causes, but Plato (1) only cites one of them, which does not hold except under strict limitations, 12 § 17, while (2) this cause is not altogether necessary to a revolution from Oligarchy to Democracy, provided there are other causes: 12 § 16, § 18.
- (vi) Again, the transition from Democracy to Tyranny is not adequately explained, 12 § 18. (This is almost entirely wanting.)
- (vii) Plato speaks throughout as if there were only one species of Democracy and of Oligarchy, 12 $\$ 18-
- PART III. The third main division of the work, treating of Legislation, is entirely wanting.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

Γ=codex Graecus deperditus ex quo originem deduxit vetusta translatio latina Guilelmi de Moerbeka. Ms=cod. Mediolanensis Ambrosianus B. 105 ord. sup. P1=cod. Parisinus 2023.

P1(corr.1)=correctiones eiusdem cum codicis textu coloris-

p1 = correctiones pallidiores et luteolae. II = the agreement of I'M*P1 in a reading, presumably that of their archetype.

P2=cod. Parisinus Coislinianus 161.

P2(corr.1) = correctiones eiusdem cum codicis textu coloris.

P²(corr.²) = correctiones nigriores.

P2(corr.3) = correctiones pallidiores et luteolac.

p2= correctiones rubrae. P3=cod. Parisinus 2026.

Sb=cod. Laurentianus 81, 21. Tb=cod, Urbinas 46.

P4=cod. Parisinus 2025.

P6=cod. Parisinus 1858. Ub=cod. Marcianus Ven. append. IV, 3.

P6=cod. Parisinus 1857. Vb=cod. Vaticano-Palatinus 160. Q=cod. Marcianus Venetus 200. Wb=cod. Reginensis 125.

Mb=cod. Marcianus Venetus 213.

Cc=cod. Camerarii deperditus. Ob=cod. Laurentianus 81, 5. Ar. = cod. Aretini deperditus. Ald.=editio princeps Aldina.

Rb=cod. Laurentianus 81, 6.

Π2=the agreement of Ald, and all existing Mss. except M*P1P6 in a reading. except M8 P1 P2 P8 P5 in a reading. II=codex archetypus deperditus superstitum librorum et Aldinac.

Bas. 1=Basel ed. of 1531, Bas. 2=Basel ed. of 1539. Bas. 3=Basel ed. of 1550.

Bk.1=the Berlin Aristotle in quarto edited by Imm. Bekker in 1831. Bk. = the Politics reprinted in octavo (and edition in 1855; 4th, unaltered, in 1878). Susem.1=Susemihl's critical edition, 1872. Susem.2=his edition of 1879.

Note that P4.6(corr.)=the corrector of P4 and the corrector of P6: but

Susem.4=the present work.

P2 and P4(corr.)=the first hand of P2 and the corrector of P4. [dρχων] Bernays = Bernays proposes to omit dρχων from the text,

< καl οlκονομικώ> Rassow = Rassow proposes to insert καl οlκονομικώ in the text. ? Susem. = Susemihl conjectures: but

 $\Gamma(?) = \Gamma$ may have had the reading in question.

Susem.3=his ed. in Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1882.

έστω · · · denotes a lacuna; that after έστω some word, or words, has been lost,

The passages conjectured to be out of place in our authorities are, as a rule, printed twice over: where they occur in the MSS. in thick Clarendon type; again, in ordinary type, but between angular brackets < >, in the place to which the editor would transpose them.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

1 Έπαιδη πάσαν πόλω όρφιεν κοιρουίκαν τινά οδασι καὶ πάσαν κοινουίαν ἀγαθού τινος ἔνεκεν συνεστηκείαν (τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουι πάντες), ὅδη λου ώς πάσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δὲ ξκαὶ τοῦ κοιρωτάτου πάντρι νή πασῶν κυρωτάτη καὶ πάσας

1252 a I [έπειδη...? πολιτική] Schmidt \parallel 5 καl before τοῦ is omitted by $\Pi^1 R^b Ar$. \parallel κυριωτάτη before πασών M^*P^1

Introduction, ec. 1, 2: περὶ οἰκονο-μίας, ec. 3-13 (the latter a necessary preliminary to the rest of the work, $\pi \hat{a} \sigma a$ γάρ σύγκειται πόλις έξ οίκιῶν). The prevailing tone is dialectical, and the contents of Bk. I, are nearly exhausted by a list of the problems (amoplas) started for discussion: (1) the difference between a city-state and a family, between wohersκὸs and οἰκονομικόs, (2) the elements of the state, πόλις έξ ὧν σύγκειται, c. 2, (3) the natural basis of slavery, ὅτι εἰσὶ φύσει τινές οι μέν έλεύθεροι, οι δέ δούλοι, cc. 4-6, (4) the relation of xonuariorist to Economic, πότερων ή χρηματιστική ή αὐτή τῆ οἰκονομικῆ κτλ, cc. 8-11, (5) the capacity of the slave (and the artizan) for moral virtue, πότερου έστιν άρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς δργανικάς, 13 § 2 ff. See further the Analysis and Introd. pp. 23-31. c. 1 The city is the highest form of association, having the highest good for its end: § 1. The city not an enlarged

its end: § 1. The city not an enlarged family, but an essentially distinct organization, as is evident when it is analysed into its simplest elements: 88 2

 objects in which they have common interests (views, Jorfs, so obbayr) and enquaging nonemery, in, as it is stonetimene put, grant nonemery, in, as it is not an interest put, advantages (typieres pit deput/poi beau; Xipo). Hence by a material transition, Xipo). Hence by a material transition that it notwer to the property of the commonthy, it is not to the property of the commonthy, it not (p. 1). It is not to the commonthy, it not (p. 1). It is not to the part of the property of the property of the commonthy, it notes (p. 1). It is not to the part of the property of

by a Secordwere dyadroll accenting good, which may not really be the agent's the true interest, although the thinks so, on riverly, i.e., a. (See this case fully chief-the column of the column of th

τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐφίενται), the highest and most comprehensive aims especially at the highest good.² 5 κυρωτάτου] Cp. III, 12. 1 and note SUSEM. (1)

Aristotle's proof, if we assume ή πολι-

περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας, αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις (I) καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική.

82 ὅσοι μὰν οὖν οἶνται πολετικὸν καὶ βασιλικόν καὶ οἰκονομικόν ε καὶ δεσποτικόν [εἰνα] τόν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς Αθγουσιν (πλήθει γἰριο το καὶ διλυήτεν νομίζουσι διαφόρευς κλλ οἰκ είδει τοὐτον ἔκαστον, οἰου ἀν μὰν ολέγων, δεσπότην, ἀν δὲ πλειόνον, οἰκονόμου, ἀν δὲ ἔτι πλειόνον, πολετικόν ἢ βασιλικόν, ἀς οἰὸδεν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίων ἡ μικρὰν πόλιν καὶ πολετικόν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὰν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὰν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν τὸ ἐὲ κατῶλ τοὸς λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης κατὰ μέρος ἀρχων καὶ ἀρχώμενος, πολετικών ταίτα δὲ οἰκε ἐστιμ ἀληθή?

9 evan omitted by Π^1 (added after rdv by a later hand in M^0) || 14 departury M^1 (1st hand), deforture M^1 (corrector), defortures $P^{LG}Q \otimes R^2S^*TVU^*V^*W^*L^1$ Addinc || 15 rolv is omitted by Π^3 Ek. || 16 [dexino] and dexidence of Bernays (cp. 111. 17. 7) needlessly

run) to be the 'art' concerned with ή κουνονία ή πολ., is given N'ν. Ε.δ. 1. 2. §§ 5-7; cp. el γάρ καl ταιδτά έστα έπὶ καl πόλει μεζίδο για το τολιστορο πό της πόλειση, sc. πό αθορίστων ἀγαδός: which is more precisely described in the case of the 'city' as justice and the interest of the community, π' ονωη συμφότειο

η πασών...πάσας περιέχουσα] See n. on II. 2 § 7, where is explained, from Nic. Eth. VIII. 9 §§ 4—6, how this supreme society embraces all the inferior as 'parts' ludger! of itself.

(μόμομ) of itself.
§ 2 8 δτος μέν κτλ] Plato Paliticus
28 E H, τρ. c. 3 § 4, γ § 1, ε μπ.
28 E H, τρ. c. 3 § 4, γ § 1, ε μπ.
28 E H, τρ. c. 3 § 4, γ § 1, ε μπ.
28 Ε H, τρ. c. 2 ξ μπ.
29 ξ 1 ξ γ η μπ.
29 ξ 1 ξ γ η μπ.
20 ξ μπ.
20 μπ.

theoretical statesman, student of pointers in [viril. 4, 3, viiiv]. 1 § 3, viiiv]. 9, 9, 9 πληθει κτλ] They assume that a king differs from e.g. a householder only in having more numerous, not more heterogeneous, dependents. πληθοι = numbers: 8 § 15, Refet. 1, 4, 10 (τὸ

πλήθος της φιλακής=the strength of the defensive force), cp. Metaph. I. 9. 24 $ap_1\theta\mu ds = \tau d$ πολύ καὶ δλίγον.

10 είδει] οι κατά τὸ είδοι, 'specifically, 'in kind'; είδει διαφέρεω = to be essentially different, because division into species takes account only of essential qualities. 11 ἄν μὲν ολίγων] Schneider sup-

plies gogy here, and scholer before bearstrap, but requirement (educ) would do just as well in the latter case, and in line 14, while either dogn or épecration must be understood to follow from 80 in line 15. 12 de obble km3 Whereas the state is composed & obble with 11.2.3

is composed et elbei διαφερόντων, II. 2. 3, where see n. Susem. (2 b) Plato Polit. 259 Β μεγάλης σχήμα οικήσεως ή σμικράς αὖ πόλεως όγκος μῶν τι

σεων ή σμικράι αὐ πόλεων δηκοι μών τι πρό ε άρχην διοθετον ; ΝΕ. ΣΩ. οδόδι. ΕΕ. οδικοῦν, ὁ νινθή διακοποτόμεδα, φαικρόν ών διαντήμη μία περί πάντ ἐστὶ ταιλικτ τα το το διακομικήν είτα πολιτικήν είτα οδικοφωικήν τι διοφιάξα, μηθόν αὐτή διαφερόμεθα. 13 καὶ πολιτικόν δὲ καὶ βασιλικό)!

sc. οὐκ είδει νομίζουσι διαφέρειν. 15 τῆς ἐπ. τῆς τοιαύτης] i.e. τῆς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, not τῆς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, the regal

Bασιλικοῦ, not τῆς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, the regal science of government (Rassow Bemerkungen p. 3). Susem. (3)

Cp. π. on roadrup c. 8 § η. The one man supreme over the state is called a king; the ruler who follows out the principles of the same kingly science (when in office), but takes his turn (κατὰ μφογ). at governing and being governed, is a republican magistrate.

§ 3 δήλου δ' έσται τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑφη- 8 γημένην μέθοδον. ώσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέγρι των ασυνθέτων ανάγκη διαιρείν (ταθτα γαρ έλά-20 χιστα μόρια τοῦ παντός), οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται

σκοπούντες όψομεθα καὶ περὶ τούτων μάλλον, τί τε διαφέρουσιν άλλήλων, καὶ εἴ τι τεχνικὸν ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν περὶ έκαστον τῶν ἡηθέντων.

2 Γεί δή τις έξ άρχης τὰ πράγματα φυόμενα βλέψειεν (Βk. 8vo.p.e) 25 ώσπερ έν τοις άλλοις καὶ έν τούτοις, κάλλιστ' άν ούτω § 2 θεωρήσειεν. άνάγκη δή πρώτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ 4

§ 3 17 το λεγόμενον] sc. 9 δτι οὐ καλῶs λέγουσιν, all between being parenthetical. When such side-notes are imbedded in the text the construction of the main sentence is often difficult to follow: e.g. 2 § 2, § 9, 4 §§ 1, 2, 5 §§ 4-6, perhaps c.g. 2 8 2-8 9.4 88 1, 2, 5 88 4—0, Pernaps 13 88 6—8: II. 10, 7—9: IV(VIII), 3 \$\frac{1}{8}\$, 13 \$\frac{8}{8}\$ 2—4: V(VIII), 5 \$\frac{8}{8}\$ 2—4: V(VIII), 5 \$\frac{8}{8}\$ 2—4: Perhaps 6 \$\frac{1}{8}\$ 15—7 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 9 and perhaps in III. 12 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 12 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 9 and perhaps in III. 12 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 12 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 12 \$\frac{8}{8}\$, 13 \$\frac{8}{8}\$ tion almost amounts to anacoluthia. See Bonitz Aristotelische Studien 11. 111.

κατά την ύφηγημένην μέθοδον] in accordance with the method of inquiry which has previously been 'started' or 'traced out' or 'followed,' and so the usual method of inquiry (Bonitz): De Gener. Anim. 111. 9. 1, 758 a 28 ff.: τὰν ὑφηγημένον τρόπον Pol. 1. 8. 1, Nic. Eth. υφηγημενώ τροπου Γεε. 1. ο. 1, IVI. ΕΙΝ. 11. 7. 9. Τhe participle is passive, as is υφηγείται (υφήγηται Βk.) Fel. 1. 13. 6. Sec 3 § 1, 8 § 1. π. (66), III. 1. 2 with π. (434) (Schneider). Suzem. (4) 18 βσπερ γαρ κτλ] "As in other

subjects a compound has to be resolved into its ultimate elements, these being the smallest parts of the whole, so here by inquiring of what elements a city, which is a compound III. 1. 2, "is composed, we shall better discover the difference between the four types above-men-tioned (πολιτικός, βαστλικός, etc.) and whether systematic knowledge can be attained about them severally." Although he did not apply the mathematical method of pure deduction to biological or political sciences Aristotle derived both the processes of Analysis and Synthesis and the terms (ἀναλύειν, σύνθετον διαιρείν) from geometry: see the instructive passages Nic. Eth. 111. 3 §§ 11, 12 ζητέν και άναλύειν τον είρημένον τρέπον ώσπερ διάvoquua (a geometrical problem), Metaph.

VIII (Θ). 9. 4 1051 a 21—29 εἰρίσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα ἐνεργεία, διαιροῦντες γάρ εύρίσκουσα.

21 τούτων and 23 τῶν ῥηθέντων should be taken as above and not referred to έξ ών σύγκειται (πόλιε) as the grammatical antecedent.

c. 2 Origin of the city from the family through the village-community; S 1-8. The city a natural institution §§ 8-12, prior in the intention of nature to the family and individual §§ 13, 14,

and of incalculable satility §§ 15, 16.
We have here the Patriarchal Theory, as it is called by Sir H. Maine, applied to the origin of society. The family living under the headship of the father is taken as the ultimate social unit. Until quite recently this was the accepted view; see Maine Ancient Law c. 5 esp. 122—135, Early History of Institutions c. 3, Early Law and Custom cc. 7, 8. There are certain difficulties of this derivation of the state which Aristotle avoids 'by making the combination of families of different stocks (yém) depend on contiguity of residence and on convenience.' See J. F. McLennan's criticisms Studies in Ancient History, esp. 213-227, 235-309. On the origin of civil society there is

On the origin of CVII Secrety times as something in Plato Reft. 13.69 & Hf. Laraw III. 676—682, Polyhios VI.cc. 4.—7, Cicero De Reft. 1. 25, 26 §§ 39—42 (with Lactantius Instit. VI. 10), De Off. 1. 17 §§ 55, 54, De Fin. III. §§ 62—67. A. C. Bradley Hellenia 190—212 gives the best commentary on cc. 1, 2; Oncken Staats-Univer VI.—27 is also helding. lehre II. 3-27 is also helpful.

1 3 - γ Is also firman φνόμενα!
 1 1 4 το πρόμματα φνόμενα!
 (things in their growth or origin.)
 (Shilleto): Pieto Kep. 369 A. Lowe 757 C.
 2 26 συνδυαζεσθαί] Νῖε. Εἐλ. VIII.
 1 2. 7 ἄνθρωποι γλο τῆ φύσει σωνδυαστικόν μάλλου ἡ πολιτικόν.

άλλήλων μή δυναμένους είναι, οίον θήλυ μέν καὶ ἄρρεν τής (1) γενέσεως ένεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν τὸ ἐφίεσθαι, 30 οίου αὐτό, τοιοῦτου καταλιπεῖυ ἔτερου), ἄρχου δὲ καὶ αρχόμενον φύσει δια την σωτηρίαν (τὸ μεν γάρ δυνάμενον τή διανοία προοράν άρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπόζον [φύσει], τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον ταθτα τῷ σώματι ποιείν ἀρχόμενον φύσει καὶ § 3 δούλον διό δεσπότη καὶ δούλω ταὐτό συμφέρει). φύσει μέν ε 1252 δ οὖν διώρισται τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δοῦλον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ή φύσις ποιεί τοιούτου οίου οί χαλκοτύποι την Δελφικήν μάχαιραν πε-

28 γεννήσεως Stobaeus (p. 324) Susem. 1.2 | 32 διανοία < τὰ δέοντα > ? Susem. || δεσπόζον [φύσει] Thurot 📗 33 ταθτα after τῷ σώματι Η⁹ Βk, 📗 φύσει καὶ Αr., καὶ φύσει Γ Π Βk., άρχόμενον, [καί] φόσει Bernays

1252 b 2 of is omitted by II2 Bk.

27 olov] "namely," introducing the two relationships (each of which needs a long parenthetical explanation) into which the family can be analysed, § 5. 28 και τούτο κτλ] Cp. Zeller Philosophie der Griechen II ii 511, who

Γκικουρικέ αετ Griccien II il 511, Who quotes De Anima II 4. 2, 415 2 26 φυσικότατον γάρ των έργων τοῦς ζώτυ όσα τέλεια...το ποιήσαι έτερον οδον αὐτό, ζώον μὲν ζώον, φυτόν δὲ φυτόν, Ινα τοῦ del sal rol belov μετέχωσι» ή δύνανται. Individuals perish but the species, the kind, is immortal. So first Plato Sympos. 206 E, 207 C-208 B. SUSEM. (5) ούκ έκ προαιρέσεως] not by design, or

of deliberate purpose, η γδρ προαίρεσις μετὰ λόγου καὶ διανοίας: instinctively.

30 ἀρχον κτλ] "governor and governed by nature" clearly = "master and slave" not as 1 § 2 'political ruler and

snbject. 31 On Aristotle's conception of poors in general Zeller Ph. der Gr. 11 ii 384-389, 422—431; Grant Ethics I. 279—285. Various senses of the term Metaph. V(Δ). c. 4.

δια την σωτηρίαν] "for preservation": i.e. to secure the means of subsistence. How far this is true of the 'slave by birth' on Aristotle's view is explained 5 §§ 6—ro, as Fülleborn has correctly observed: in the case of the master it should be remembered that without slaves in his household he can procure at best but a poor and uncertain subsistence: see § 5 n. (15), 4 §§ 1—4. SUSEM. (6) το μον γαρ κτλ] Cp. 5 88 8—10, 11 § 6 π. (103). Susem. (6 b)

33 ταθτα=ά τὸ άρχον προορά.

§ 3 34. διὸ δεσπότη κτλ] 'It is not simply, as Fülleborn (II. 75) sup-poses, that both master and slave are alike interested in the establishment of this relationship: Aristotle really means that the master's interest is advantageous for the slave, and conversely': cp. 6 § 10 2. (57). Only the advantage to the slave π. (57). Only the advanage to the save comes indirectly, κατὰ συμβεβηκόs, III. 6. 6 π. (I. Schiller). SUSEM. (7) Cp. 5§ 2. 1252 b 1 σοδέν γαρ κτλ] "For nature never fashions things niggardly,

for various and dissimilar purposes, as Delphic cutlers do their knife" (Shilleto).

2 τὴν Δελφικήν μάχαιραν] "According to Hesychios, s. v., the Delphian knife had the upper part only of iron, λαμβάνουσα ξμπροσθεν μέρος σιδηρούν; the handle, perhaps also the back, was of wood. Göttling De m. D. quae est apud Aristotelem (Jenne 1856. 4) maintains it was a knife and spoon combined, for sacrificial purposes" Spool Community for Section 1 purposes (Schnitzer). Hence Göttling proposes μύστρον for μέροι in Hesychios, as above. Oncken, II. 25—27, dismisses the obscure words of Hesychios in favour of Oresme's explanation: "suppose a piece of iron with a thick end and a pointed end, with the back left rough and the other side sharpened to a blade. Then you have a knife for cutting, you can file with the rough back, and by turning it round use the thick end for a hammer. Such a rough sort of tool would certainly be cheap enough." Cp. δβελισκολύχνια vI(IV). 15. 8 n. Susem. (8) Δελφική μάχαιρα έπι τών φιλοκερδών Makarios ap. Walzium Arsen. 179: with which agrees the explanation

νιχρώς, ἀλλ' ἐν πρὸς ἔν' οὕτω γὰρ ἀν ἀποτελοῖτο κάλλιστα (1) 4 τῶν ὀργίανων ἔκαστον, μὴ πολλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δουλεῦον): § 4 ἐν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δοῦλον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει

5 $\tau\delta$ after $\kappa\alpha l$ is omitted by Π^2 Bk.

in append. prov. 1. 94 (tom. 1. p. 393 of the Corpus Paroemiograph., Gotting. 1839) Δελφική μάχαιρα: επί τῶν φιλοκερδών και άπὸ παντός λαμβάνειν προαιρουμένων, παρόσον οι Δελφοί το μέν τι τών lepelus έλάμβανου, τὸ δέτι ὑπερτῆς μαχαίρας (? for the use of the knife) ἐπράττοντο. Athenaeus IV. 74 p. 173: 'Αχαιδε δ' δ Έρετριεδε δε 'Αλκμαίωνι τῷ σατυρικῷ καρυκοποιούς καλεί τους Δελφούς διά τούτων: Καρυκοποιούς προσβλέπων βδελύττομαι: παρόσον τὰ Ιερεία περιτέμνοντες δήλον ώς έμαγείρευον αύτα και έκαρύκευον, είς ταθτα δέ άποβλέπων καὶ "Αριστοφάνης έφη: "Αλλ ω Δελφών πλείστας άκονών Ι Φοέβε μαχαίρας καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόhour. It was from Thomas Aquinas ad locum that Oresme derived the explanation cited above. See Von Hertling Rhein. Mus. XXXIX. p. 447. Mr W. Ridgeway thinks the name given to "a large kind of knife, which could be used for either fighting or carving, from the sacrificial knife having been used as a weapon to slay Pyrrhus, Pindar Nem. vii. 42."

3 εν πρὸς εν] There are of course exceptions to this rule, as Aristotle himself

3 êw πρὸs № There are of course coccptions to this rule, as Aristotte himself allows Let Part. Arims, 1v. 6, 15, 683 and 10 elevant of the control of th

3 μ) πολλούε θργοες τολ) "if restricted in use to a single function." Full-born asserts that the conclusion does not follow from the premises, even supposing preceding note). But surely the propagation and the preservation of the species are two different ends. At the same ine Aristotle should have complexitient of the preservation of the preservation of the preservation of the species are two different ends. At the same Aristotle should have complexitient of the preservation o

§ 4 5 èv δè τοῦς βαρβάροις κτλ]
'Whereas in Greece wife and slave are
distinct, in barbaria they are not, because all—men and women—are slaves'
(Jackson). In Thrace e.g. the women
did farm-work μηδὲν διαφερίντως τῶν

δοδων Plato Law 805 E. Fülleborn (11-84) objects that this is an unsatisfactory reason to assign for the servitude of women outside Greece, since where all of both sexes are slaves we should rather infor that they are all equal. (In this last sense indeed Congreve seriously takes the words, supplying τψυ αντήν έχει τάξυ 8c. τοῦς άλλοις τοῦ κορει καὶ τοῦ δεστέγους.)

άλλοις τοις άρσεσι και τοις δεσπόταις.) "Fülleborn's objections arise from his having been misled by the omission mentioned above, in n. (10), and so having misunderstood the real sense of the passage. Aristotle's meaning is this: because the barbarian nations are slaves by nature, the men are not capable of respecting the freedom of the female sex in the women, and of according to them the position which by nature belongs to the woman in relation to the man; but treat them as slaves. And hence necessarily arises the perversion of nature, that in the marriage relation you have one slave ruling despotically over another. To the same cause, the servile character of these nations, or at least of the Asiatics (1. 6. 8 m.), Aristotle attributes the fact that they themselves are ruled by their kings as slaves; or in other words that the form under which the state exists amongst them is despotism, III. 14. 6 n., which in reality cannot be considered to constitute a state at all, a state consisting of free citizens but not of slaves, 7 § 1, III. 9 § 6, 12 § 8; cp. VI(IV). 4 § 11, a passage which is probably not genuine. passage which is proudly not gentum-Such a despotism is only an abnormally expanded family: ('non civitas erit sed magna familia,' Grotius De ture belli ac facis III. 8. 2). It is a species of that which Aristotle denotes by \$0pos, i.e. a mere aggregate of men of the same race, a tribe population or nationality, as con-trasted with πόλις, a city-state: § 6; IL. 1 § 3; III. 3 § 5, 13 § 19, 14 § 15; IV(VII). 4 § 11; VIII(V). 10 § 8 with nn.; Nic. Eth. 1. 2. 8, 1094 b 10; Rhet. 1. 5. 5 1360 b 31: cp. Schlosser 1. 278. [Cp. ₹6ros = federation in Polybios and Diodoros, esp. of the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues: δι' ἐθνικὰς χρείας 'for federal purposes' Diod. XVIII. 13.] See further n. (13): 5 § 8, 6 §§ 4—6 with nn. (47), (54), (56): 7 § 5, 8 § 12; IV(VII). 2 § 15, 14 § 21 with nn." SUSEM. (11)

1. 2. 5]

6 τάξιν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸ φύσει ἄρχον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ γίνεται (Ι) ή κοινωνία αὐτών δούλης καὶ δούλου. διό φασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ βαρβάρων δ' Ελληνας ἄρχειν εἰκός,

§ 5 ως ταυτό φύσει βάρβαρου καὶ δοῦλου ὄυ. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων τῶν 6 το δύο κοινωνιών ολεία πρώτη, καλ δοθώς Ἡσίοδος είπε ποιήσας

οίκου μέν πρώτιστα γυναϊκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτήρα

δ γάρ βους άντ' οἰκέτου τοις πένησω έστίν.

ή μέν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ήμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατά φύσιν ολκός έστιν, οθς ό μεν Χαρώνδας καλεί όμοσιπύους, Έπι-15 μενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρης όμοκάπους ή δ' ἐκ πλειόνων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία 7

Q or before ταύτὸ Γ, omitted by MaP1 | 12 dorfer * * Susem. 1 wrongly, see Dittenberger Gött. gel. Anz. 1874 p. 1372 ff. | 15 duondarrous II1 P4 L4 Susem. I and Mb (corr.), perhaps rightly, but see Dittenberger p. 1357 ff. and Commentary n. (17): όμοκάπους = όμοκήπους Ridgeway (also Shilleto in unpublished Adversaria: 'si Epimenides epica poesi utebatur, certe όμοκάπρους. Nisi forte όμοκάπους = όμοκήπους')

8 Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis 1400 Nauck. The words following are άλλ' οὐ βαρβάρουν, μήτερ, Ἑλλήνων τὸ μέν γὰρ δοῦλον, οἱ ὁ ἐλευθέρου. SUSEM. (12) ŷ ὡς ταὐτὸ κτλ] In this Aristotle

only expresses the view which had gradually become universal among the Greeks, and was not combated until a late period and then by but few: 3 § 4 n. (31). This view is explained by the justifiable consciousness they had of their mental superiority; it was especially fostered by the Persian war, and found external confirmation in the fact that the vast majority of Greek slaves were of barbarian origin, while in itself again it tended to hinder the enslavement of Greeks (L. Schiller). See also n. (47) on I. 5 § 10. That slaves are non-Hellenes is assumed quite as an understood thing in Xenoph. Memor. II. 7. 6, Demosth. XXI (c. Mid.). 48. See however n. (64) on i. 7 § 5. SUSEM. (13)

§ δ 10 πρώτη] predicatively, "from these two relationships,"—man and wife, master and slave,—"arises primarily the family." For the sense, πρότερου καί αναγκαιότερον olkla πόλεως Nic. Eth. VIII. 12. 7. The three stages, ολεία κώμη

πόλιs, are given by Plato Laws I. 626 Cff. 'Horlosos] Works and Days 405. Clearly Aristotle did not know of the δ' ού γαμετήν, ήτις και βουσίν έποιτο. Susem. (14)

12 ο γαρ βους κτλ] "the ox sup-

plies the place of a servant." Cp. 5 § 9

n, (46). If with both these passages we compare 4 \$\$ 1-4, it is evident that Varro's division De re rústica 1. 17, which Grotius mentions op. c. I. 5. 3. is quite in the sense and spirit of Aristotle: alii in tres partes (sc. dividunt) instrumenti genus: vocale et semivocale et mutum. vocale in quo sunt servi : semivocale in quo sunt boves : mutum, in quo sunt plaustra. (L. Schiller.) SUSEM. (15)

12 ή μέν ούν κτλ] μέν ούν, not δέ, repeating after the quotation from Hesiod the clause 9 ἐκ μὲν οὖν κτλ. Take κατά φύσω with συνεστηκυία: "thus then the society which in the order of nature has arisen to meet every-day needs is the household: sharers in one meal-iar as Charondas calls them; joint-holders of a piece of land in the phrase of Epimenides the Cretan. The union of a number of families first formed with a view to needs beyond those which are of daily recurrence is the village." Elsewhere in Aristotle ἐφήμερος = lasting for a day; so Bernays here, "for intercourse

of less transitory duration."

14 Kapówbas II. 12 § 7, § 11 n.

(416); v1(iv). 11 § 15, 13 § 2 nn. Holm
Geschichte Sielliens im Alterthum (Leip-

Tig 18γο) 1. p. 153 ff., 401. SUSEM. (16)

Eπιμενίδης] See Excursus 1 at the end of this book, p. 204. SUSEM. (17)

15 διοκάπους] The reading is doubtful. (1) The MSs. of the better family give δμοκάπνους. (2) If Aristotle is quoting from a collection of oracles (Xono uol)

§ 6 πρώτη χρήσεως ένεκεν μη έφημέρου κώμη. μάλιστα δ' έοικε (I) 17 κατά φύσιν ή κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι, οὓς καλοῦσί τινες

16 δοικε after 17 κατά φόσω P1 Π2 Bk. | 17 dm' folkfal Heitland, but see the Comm.

ascribed to Epimenides, then, as these would be written in hexameters, the text requires a word capable of standing in an hexameter verse and διισκάπνους, which satisfies this condition, appears to possess a decided advantage. For ouccurrons of the inferior MSS. is usually taken to be a compound with kann a trough, crib; hence any feeding-place; and if this ety-mology be correct nothing but arbitrary lengthening of the first syllable in arri could adapt the word to an hexameter verse. (3) Göttling, again, thinks that Epimenides could not possibly have called the families of the Cretans 'mess-mates because the συσσίτια were established amongst them. But, even assuming that Epimenides actually wrote the line in question, there was, as Dittenberger remarks, no absolute necessity that he should confine himself in this oracle to the circumstances of Crete, especially as his influence was actively felt far beyond the island.

In favour of δμοκάπους Dittenberger urges that 'it is like Aristotle to support the results of his own inquiries by a subsequent appeal to the language of common life, to proverbs, passages in the poets, or specially significant sayings and expressions of prose writers. In this place Charondas and Epimenides are evidently quoted for this same purpose, in connexion with the definition of the family as a society existing for the whole of daily life. Consequently it is the satisfaction of daily recurring needs which brings individuals together in a household. The expression of Charondas (and that of Epimenides also, if we read outκάπους) fits in perfectly with this, by making common participation in food, which is the most important daily need, characteristic of the household. But δμο-κάπνους = smoke-fellows could only be taken as alluding to the common sacrificial fire, which would not suit the present context, although it is true that from the point of view of the Greek the family was a society for worship.

διιοκάπγουs should be understood of sharers in the smoke of the common hearth, just as we might speak of 'hearths' meaning homes or families*; thus the same idea of a common participation in food would be denoted but in a different form. All these difficulties Ridgeway (Camb. Philological Soc. Transactions Feb. 23,

1882) seeks to avoid by retaining the reading δμοκάπους (with ā), Doric for δμοκάπους (κήπος) = with a common plot of ground. Susem. (17)

"The Cretan poet used a Doric form, for the retention of the dialectic form in Aristotle cp. Θάλεω Ι. 11. 12: κῆπος is he common plot of ground that furnishes the common food supply (σιπύη): cp. II.
5. 2 (γήπεδον and καρπόs). The scale of social development here indicated seems to be (1) original olsía: (2) olsos=joint family of Hindus or Slavonic house-community, where the proceeds of the undivided prowhere the process of the analysis pro-perty (κηποι) must be brought into a common chest or purse: vide Sir H. Maine" (Early Law 237—255): after that, "(3) the okeo breaks up into separate olsías forming the κώμη (- the Russian village community): all are sprung or believe themselves to be sprung from a common ancestor (όμογάλακτες)" (Ridgeway). For the undivided family property comp. E. de Laveleye La propriété primitive cc. 13—15 (Engl. tr. pp. 175—214), Hearn Aryan Household 176—191, and the criti-cism by D. Mc Lennan Patriarchal Theory c. 8: also Caillemer Droit de succession p. 34 ff.; Jannet Les institutions sociales et le droit civil à Sparte (Paris 1880)

ή δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κτλ] Instances of services needed from time to time for which members of a village community unite (as distinct from the daily wants which originate the family) are, to repel a common enemy or to execute a great work of common utility (Fülleborn II. 95, 96). Add the exchange of commodi-ties, which is unnecessary in the household: 9 § 5 with note. Susem. (18)
16 πρώτη=simplicissima, quae tam-

p. 88.

quam pars inest aliis (Bonitz).

§ 6 17 ή κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας] i.e. all the rest of the village except the original

So Grote, "each society having its separate meal-bin and fireplace." Cp. Gaelic teadhloch and coediche, J. F. McLennan p. 123.

όμογάλακτας [παϊδός τε καὶ παίδων παΐδας]. διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον (1) ἐ<u>βασιλεύοντο</u> αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη· ἐκ βασιλευομένων το γάρ [συνῆλθον]· πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου,

household may be most naturally regarded as a colony or offshoot of the original household. Susem. (18b)

original household. SUSEM. (BB)

6 opcylearces) According to Physical

6 opcylearces) According to Physical

in Harpoleution and Suidas (a. ve. ye
give, dopolylaces, dyspikers) the members of each of the glot ancient Attic
frey who were afterwards called yearly

dopolylace and the contract of the glot on the con
lings (J. G. Schneier Adelmed H. 471).

Folhac VI. 33, VIII. 9 of purfyerers will

rea, yielen also de sportberrys, it it frey

from the colory resurgua and imperiban
rea, yielen also de sportberrys, it it frey

SSSM. (199).

Thus only is the yévos hinted at here. "The identity of the κώμη and the γένος is apparently indicated III. 9 88 12, 14 where we have the moles defined as (a) ή του εὐ ζήν κοινωνία και ταῖς οἰκίαις και τοίς γένεσι, and (b) ή γενών καί κωμών κοινωρία" (Heitland Notes 8). Even then no place in the development is found for φρατρίαι, φυλαί, or Aristotle's 'associations for common sacrifices and religious festivals' Nic. Eth. vIII. 9-5; cp. Pol. III. 9. 13 (Oncken). Apparently they are held to be of later origin than the state. Nor is there any explicit reference to συνοικισμός, although, as Stein suggests, Aristotle has doubtless been influenced by the history of Attica-As to the meaning of δμογάλακτες,

As to the meaning of depreherenrationed unquestionally understood in Artistode unquestionally understood in even if valids re call walker radius berejected as a gloss. And this may well have been the sense in which it was anciently applied to the channess (powerthrough males in Athems,—indeed bl., kalarches (Fr. 9, Miller) appears to denote by welpes what is usually called the power of the control of the control of the power of the control of the control of the they may have come to believe the contrary. (See Minine Early Lurs p. 27 at 18) Or the word may have first meant 'those of kin by descent through femiles only.' Could be a seen of the seen of kin by descent through femiles only. I controlled the seen of the seen of

Another meaning proposed is: "those who offer the same milk", from a comparison of Sanskrit sspinda, saminodaka = those who offer the same cake, the same water: i.e. 'near kin', 'distant kin' respectively (Hearn op. c. 1711): but for this there is no evidence.

διό = hence: viz. because the 'city' arose through the village from the family. Thus Plate argues Laws III 680 D fi.: e' ols τ'ο πρεσβύτατον άρχει διά τ'ο τ'ρι άρχιο αίτοις εκ πατρός καὶ μυγρό γεγονέναι... βασιλιέων πατών διαιιοτάτη βασιλιέων πατών διαιιοτάτη βαθιλιέων του 19 αὶ πόλως = Hellenic city-states,

§ 7 ώστε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ λέγει (x-s)
 "Ομηρος, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἔκαστος

παίδων ήδ' άλόχων.

σποράδες γάρ καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀρχαῖου ῷκουν. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
5 δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασι Βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μέν
ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖου ἐβασιλεύοντο, ὅσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξι
ἔαντοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τοῦν θέῶν.

§ 8 ή δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κωμών κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις ήδη, πάσης ε ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, γινομένη μὲν 30 οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἔνεκεν, οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. διὸ πάσα πόλις φύσει

21 of is omitted by M°P, whether rightly, is very doubtful. 1 24 στομάδει γιλ από στον - Δηγορόντον = Schmidt clifts, στομάδει η ηλε από στος 14 Αρχωίου] and 65 ώτεις γιλς Schmidt formerly (now withdrawn) 1 - 28 § § Μ. Γ²⁴⁻²⁴ C. Q. M. Q. P. S. T. T. V. M. Addine Bis, § 4 Ω. U. 1 1 § 7 - 1.283 z. 1 β. Δηνετικ transposed by Schmidt to follow 18 ταϊδει. See his arrangement and attentions Introd. p. 60 27 στομάγης Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11), 10 § 1, 13 μβ 15 28 για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11), 10 § 1, 13 μβ 15 28 για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11), 10 § 1, 13 μβ 15 29 για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11), 10 § 1, 13 μβ 15 21 για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11), 10 για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11) για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is wanting in M°P, but cp. 17 (11) για γραφής Schmidtel 1 g. σού is γρ

21 Serve sad ad dm.] "Wherefore likewise the colonies" [i.e. the villages] because of their kinship' so Bendadowra. Se § 11 ders et al "of Branco (Shilleton. Se § 22 The quotation from Homer Colyst. XI. 14, E SUSBA. (20) Cited N. E. X. X. 3. Plato has it Lance 680. E. Cp.

Udyss, IX.114 I. SUSEM. (20) Cited IV. E. X. 9. 13. Plato has it Law 680 B. Cp. Maine Ancient Law pp. 4—6, 125—24 τό άρχαΐον] With the adverbial use comp. Xen. Hellen, V. 2. 7 καθάπερ

7δ dρχαϊον έκουν. 24 ff. "Å reminiscence of the famous saying of Xenophanes given by Clem.

saying of Xenophanes given by Clem. Alex. VII p. 7II B: Έλληνε δὲ ἀσπεραφοριμόρφους οίτο καὶ ἀνθρουσοπαθείς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑποτίθενται καὶ καθάπερ τὰς μορφάς αὐτῶν ὑμοιὰς ἐαυτοῖς ἐκαστοι διαξωγραφοῦσων (Ridgeway).

ζωγραφοῦσω" (Ridgeway).
See still stronger statements about the popular religion in Maaph. XII(A). 8

Σο—21 1074 h 2 ff.

15 — 11, 1074 b 3 ff.

2 8 3 th 8 ft senhatour srhl, Cp. II.
2 8 with note and references, also, no.
2 8 with note and references, also, no.
3 8 with note and references, also, no.
3 8 with note and references, also, no.
3 1 ft. 10 ft.
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man's nature, external or spiritual, unsatisfied. In N. E. L. 7, 7 το αύταρκε: = δ μονοθμενος αίρετδυ ποιεί του βίου και μηδενδε ἐνδεά, the sole condition of a life that is desirable and lacks nothing. Cp. N.E. x. 6, 2 οὐδουὸ ἐνδεὸτ, ... (λλ) αύταρκη.

ness or well-being (obtaquote): Qv. m. (88) on 10, 95. SUSSM. (95.) of 10. (18) on 10. (18

De part. animal. III. 7. 18, 67c b 23.
30 6tb krh] Two proofs that the city' is natural. (1) It is the outcome and realization, the final cause, of the previous societies: they are natural, so also is the 'city'. (2) It alone is fully self-sufficing;

έστίν, είπερ καὶ αἱ πρώται κοινωνίαι. τέλος γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνων, (Ι) ή δὲ φύσις τέλος ἐστίν: οἷον γὰο ἔκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως

τελεσθείσης, ταύτην φαμέν την φύσιν είναι έκάστου, ώσπερ 8 9 ανθρώπου ἵππου οἰκίας, ἔτι τὸ οὖ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλτι-53 ο στου ή δ' αυτάρκεια [καὶ] τέλος καὶ βέλτιστου, έκ τούτων οὐν φα- 0

νεοὸν ὅτι τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἄνθοωπος φύσει πολιτικου ζώου ἐστί, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ήτοι φαῦλός

32 [\$\delta \delta \delta \cdots \cdots \delta \de

1253 a 1 καl before τέλος omitted by Π1 Bk. Bernays | τέλος, καl <γάρ> Bernays, αδτάσκεια * * Bücheler; but see Comm. | καὶ before βέλτιστον omitted by Wb Ald. | ήβελτιστον omitted by Q Mb Tb | ** έκ Schmidt, quoting 1278 b 10-28 | 2 [δτι.....πόλις έστί] and δτι φύσει πολιτικόν ζώου άνθρωπός έστι Schmidt | 3 cort Mo, omitted by P1 II2 Bk. perhaps rightly | δ omitted by II2 Bk. | φαυλότερος ? Oncken wrongly | ήτοι κρείττων ή άνθ. ή φαϊλός έστω άνθ. Schmidt

but to be self-sufficing is end and highest good (and end = fully developed nature). Against whom, we may ask, is this directed? No doubt there were Sophists who criticized political institutions, of whom Hippias and Thrasymachus may serve as opposite types. But perhaps Antisthenes was the first deliberately to oppose the outcome of civilization and to life: Zeller Socrates and Socratics p. 322-5. The anti-social theories of Plato's Callicles in the Gorgias, of Thrasymachus and the speakers in Republic B. II, are not directly subversive of the state: like Hobbism, they are conservative in their

32 ή δὲ φύστις τέλος] Physics II. 1. 8 103 a 30 f. φύσις in first sense=ύλη mere potence; in second sense=ή μορφή και τὸ είδος τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόγου. ὧσπερ γὰρ τέννη λένεται τὸ κατά την τέχνην καὶ τὸ τεχνικόν, σύτω και φύσις το κατά φύσιν λέγεται και το φυσικόν: ΙΙ. 2 § 8, 1942 28 f. ή δε φύσις τέλος και ου ένεκα ων γάρ συνεχούς τής κινήσεως ούσης έστι τι Εσχατον, τούτο τέλος και τὸ οῦ ἔνεκα... βούλεται γάρ οὐ πᾶν είναι τὸ έσχατον τέλος, άλλά τὸ βέλτιστου. De assima 111. 12. 3. 434 a 32 f. (Eaton). "Is it the bud, or the blossom, or the ripe fruit that is natural to a tree? All three: only it is unnatural and contrary to the design of the tree that the bud should wither before coming into bloom and bearing fruit" (Fülleborn). SUSEM. (22)
§ 9 34 f. ετι...βέλτιστον] The whole connexion requires that this should be a

second proof (or at least an amplification of the first proof) ὅτι πῶσα πόλιε φύσει ecriv. And so in fact it is, only it must

be supplemented from what precedes. It runs thus: 'the final cause, that is, the end, of a thing is best. Now self-sufficiency is the end and the best' (thus including under one both the subject and the predicate of the former premiss). With this must be mentally supplied from the foregoing; 'the end discloses the true nature of the thing', and 'political society alone' (i.e. no society short of the state) 'affords to its members true self-sufficience'. Then the conclusion follows that the state is by nature. Similar abbreviations of the steps in an argument are found elsewhere in Aristotle, so concise sometimes as to be almost unintelligible: e.g. Metaph. XII(A). 1 § 2, § 5, 1069 a 24, b 5 (Freudenthal). Su-SEM. (23)

1253 a 1 'From this then it appears that the city is part of the order of nature and man a social being'. N.E. IX. 9. 3: no one would choose the possession of ενετή good to be by himself, πολετικόν γάρ δ άνθρωπος καὶ συξήν πεφυκός. See also ib. 1. 7. 6. "The dogma τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ δ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολετικόν ζώρν, as interpreted by Aristotle, implies (1) that social organization is not a violation of nature, (2) that the πόλις differs from the olsia in something more than size, (3) that existing institutions are capable of improvement, (4) that there is a form or type or end towards which they may be improved. It is plain that the exposition of this dogma appropriately holds a prominent place in the introduction to a work which has for its main purpose the development of a scheme of the normal πόλις" (Jackson). 3 ὁ ἄπολις κτλ] "He who is cut

έστιν ή κρείττων ή ἄνθρωπος (ώσπερ καὶ ὁ ὑφ' 'Ομήρου λοιδορηθεὶς (I) άφρήτωρ άθέμιστος άνέστιος

§ 10 αμα γὰρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιθυμητής), ατε περ άζυξ ῶν ὥσπερ ἐν πεττοῖς. διότι δὲ πολιτικὸν ζώον δ ἄν-10 θρωπος πάσης μελίττης καὶ παυτός άγελαίου ζώου μάλλου, ο δήλου. οὐδὲν γάρ, ώς φαμέν, μάτην ή φύσις ποιεί λόγον § 11 δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζώων· ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνή τοῦ

6 [γὰρ] Schmidt | [καl] Spengel partly recognising the fault in the ordinary construction: that ώσπερ...ἐπιθυμητής is parenthetical was first shown by Jackson (Journal of Philology VII. 1877, p. 236 ff.); see Comm. | ατε περ omitted by L*, erased in Uh | are wep... 7 werrois transposed to follow 29 θebs Schmidt || 7 agus de omitted by Ub Wb Le; with vacant space left, by Ps.6. Q Mb Ald. and 1st hand of Pa Qb Sb Tb Vb; αζυξ......πεττοις omitted by Ar., ω by Rb and Pa (1st hand); άζυξ ών was inserted by Pt (corr.3), άζυξ by a later hand in Qb St and by a later hand in the margin of Tb, άνευ ζυγού τυγχάνων Vb (a later hand), άνευ ζύγου τυγχάνων C4 also, ανευ ζεύγους Bas.2 | πετοίς Mb, πετεινοίς Γ and pl in the margin, γρ. πετεινοίς P4 (corrector) in the margin, and a later hand in the margin of Sb | Gov after & άνθοωπος Π² Bk.

off from civil society by nature, and not by chance, is either low in the scale of humanity, or above it -- (as is also he whom Homer reproachfully described as 'clanless lawless hearthless'; for he", not the απολις, but ο υφ 'Ομήρου λοιδορηθείς, "is at once naturally unsociable and pugna-

cious)—being in fact solitary, like the blot at backgammon" (Jackson). § 10 7 aut | From an epigram of Agathias (Anthol. Pal. IX. 482, esp. 20-28) Göttling De loco quodam Aris, (Jena 1858) showed that dout nearly resembles the 'blot' of our backgammon-an exposed piece as contrasted with pieces guarded or supported, i.e. standing close together*. Bernays in his translation and Mahaffy (Academy Jan. 8, 1876) take die to mean a 'rover', i.e. a piece with special powers of aggression; but this is inconsistent with Agathias' epigram. Moreover they mistake the sense of the quotation from Itiad IX. 63, 64, where excures δς πολέμου έραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυύεντος is the subject of which ἀφρήτωρ ἀθεματος ἀνέστιος are predicates. What Homer really says is, as Spengel rightly saw

* Whether molves was a name for this game or not, there since Man silvage of Plate Legis and (ep., the scholion) makes it likely they a compact body of pieces was called whole; if an isolated piece was called smoke, Aristotle's allusion would be specially appropriate. Oncken, it. or I, has dissertation no less than the present passage (Jackson).

(Arist. Studien III. 5), that the lover of domestic strife is clanless lawless hearthless; not, that the outlaw or broken man or 'rover' is pugnacious and aggressive. The right sense can be secured by a mere change of punctuation. The parenthetical sentence refers by way of illustration to Homer's πολέμου έπιθυμοτής έπιδημίου who is a poores rosoiros, i.e. an awokes poores, in whom to the unsociable character is superadded an inclination to war, Aristotle does not say that the awokes is always or commonly aggressive; thus there is no reason for regarding aggression as a characteristic of the acut (Tackson). Su-SEM. (24) (25)

διότι here, like ότι, "that." διότι δὲ πολιτικόν] De hist. anim. 1. 1. 12: πολιτικά δ' έστι ζώα ών έν τι καὶ κοινόν γίνεται πάντων τὸ έργον, ὅπερ οὐ πάντα ποιεί άγελαῖα. Not all gregarious animals form a community, but those which, like bees, wasps, ants, cranes, and lastly man, are engaged upon some com-mon work (Eaton). Susem. (25 b)

For parallel passages consult Zeller II ii 424 n. (3); for Aristotle's teleology,

ib. 422—428, 488—407. § 11 On the physiological distinction between \$\psi_{\text{orf}}\$ mere voice, articulate speech, and Myos rational language, see De hist. anim. 10. 9. 536 a 20, b 8 ff., Probl. X. 39, 895 a 7 ff., Pat. 20 § 2, 1456 b 22 ff. στοιχεΐον=φωνή άδιαίρετος, ού πάσα δὲ ἀλλ' ἐξ ἦς πέφυκε συνετή ήδεος καὶ λυπηροῦ ἐστι σημεῖου, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρ-(1) χει ζώνις (μέχρι γὰρ το/ἐτου ή φέσει ἀντῶν ἐληλιοίς, τοῦ ἔχειν αἰσθησίν λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος καὶ ταῖτα σημαίνειν 14 ἀλληλοις), ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστι τὸ συμφέρου καὶ 12 τὸ βλαβερόν, ὅστε καὶ τὸ ἐἐκαιον καὶ τὸ ἀἔκοιν τοῦτο γὰρ τι πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζώα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τδιον, τὸ μόνου ἀγαθοῦ

πρός το άλλα ξώα το υκαίου και το ακικου τουτο γισο πρός το άλλα ξώα τος αυθρώποις ίδιου, το μόνου όγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ αδίκου καὶ τών άλλων αἰσθησιν ἔχειν ἡ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεί οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν.

19 καὶ πρότερου δὲ τῆ φύσει πόλις ἡ οἰκία καὶ ἔκαστος ἡμῶν 13 ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον ἀναγκαῖου εἶναι τοῦ μέρους ἀναι-(α-ι) ρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται ποὺς οὐδὲ χείρ, εἰ μὴ ὁμω-

11 Norrgoß auf höhes (höhes P^{*}Uⁿ and 1st hand U.) IP Bk. I fors cyndem...15 höhes. These words are wanting in Q Qⁿ Rⁿ (where *t stands in the margin S P^{*}D and Vⁿ (est hand; added by a later hand) II is döhjeder WⁿAld. Bk. προβλέν P^{‡+Al} UⁿU. II is döhes p^{‡+Al} Mⁿ UⁿU. II is döhes p^{‡+Al} Mⁿ UⁿU. II is döhes p^{‡+Al} Dⁿ UⁿU. II is döhes p^{‡+Al} Dⁿ UⁿU. II is döhes p^{‡+Al} Dⁿ UⁿU. II is döhes p[†]D is höhes p[†]D is döhes Schmidt. See his arrangement hirtod. p g II II is Schmidte, n[‡]J II Bk.

γίγνοσθαι φωνή. και γὰρ τῶν θηρίων εἰσὶν αδαίρετοι φωναί. SUSEM. (26) 15 το δικαιον governed by δηλοῦν: and therefore also (for the purpose of

signifying) justice.'

\$12 16 mpds=when compared with.
dyadoù kal kakoù alordrowi moral perception, N. Ele. II. 9, 8; IV. 5. 13, et rÿ
alordroen hepton: not to mention passages
in Bk. vI; as II § 4 rotrow où èxeo del
alordrou, d'ury ô' etri sois.

18 ή δε τούτων κ.] An objective genitive with κουωνία as in III. 9, 12 κ. τότου, "fellowship in goodness and justice'. The 'city is regarded as a moral or spiritual society, church and state in one.

State in Golden engroups 28 m j deven 1 it. in the not in order of time yearles (in which sense Nr. Eth. VIII. 12.7, quoted on § 3 above, assests the direct contrary), but in order of thought and of real existence the state is prior to the finnily and to the individual. On this distinction see early and the state is prior to the finnily and to the individual. On this distinction see the state is prior to the finnily and to the contract to the state is prior to the finnily and to the individual. On this distinction see early 25 are 10 a

velopment appears imperfect, δλωτ δὲ φαίνεται τὸ γινόμενον ἀτολεί καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχήν ἰδν, ὥστε τὸ τῆ γενέσει ἔστερον τῆ φόσει πρότερον εἶναι. See below III. 1. 9, normal constitutions are prior to the di-

The property of the property of the property of the passage in Grant Ethica 1. 290.

Other passages in Grant Ethica 1. 290.

If the "whole body" except the foot or I had supposed to the property of the passage in Grant Ethica 1. 290.

If the "whole body" except the foot or I had, except in an equivocal sense such as that in which we call the had of a statute a hard; because a hand dense such as that in which we call the struction of the test of the body, "will be spoil for use," or 5 § 5 * role sard folious fixed all things are defined by a property of the property o

planation, in which Hayduck and Jackplanation, in which Hayduck and Jackindependently agree, must be

 "Such as they were before, when they formed part of the whole and fulfilled their functions" (Cope). See the quotations n. (28). νύμως, άσπερ εί τις λέγει την λιθίνην διαφθαρείτα γόρι έσται (1) τοιαύτη, πάντα δὲ τῷ ἔργφ ὅρισται καὶ τῆ δυνάμει, άστε 24 μημέτι τοιαύτα ὅντα οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ εἰναι ἀλλὶ ὁμώ-834 νιμα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις καὶ φύσει [καὶ] πρότερον ἡ ἐκαι-1 στος, δῆλον : εἰ γὰρ ψὶ αὐτάρκης ἐκαιστος χωρισθείς, ὁμοίως

τοις άλλοις μέρεστυ έξει πρός το όλου, ό δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνείν ἡ μηδὲν δεόμενος δι αὐτάρκειαν οὐδὲν μέρος 29 πόλεως, ώστε ἡ θηρίου ἡ θεός.

§16 φύσει μὲν οὖν ἡ ὁρμ) ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν ὁ δὲ πρῶτος συστήσας μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος. ὡσπερ γὰρ

accepted: διαφθαρείσα must be, as Hayduck thinks, equivalent to τοῦ έργου ἐστερημένη καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως: "in such a case the hand and the foot are really deprived of their force. But the essential nature of an object consists in its function and in its capacity to execute that func-tion; so that where it no longer possesses tion, so that where it no tanger possesses the appropriate quality it can no longer be said to be the same, but only to bear the same name". But the parallel passages De gener. anim. 1. 19, 7 pc6 b 22 ft. obto 74p in xelp obs Abon 74m unplease observations of the worker propriate the parallel passages and the parallel passages and passages an έστι χείρ οὐδέ μόριον οὐθέν, άλλά μόνον όμων νιων: Π. Ι. 42, 734 b 24 ff. οδ γάρ έστι πρόσωπου μή έχου ψυχήν, οδδέ σάρξ, άλλὰ φθαρέντα όμων όμως λεχθήσεται το μέν φθιαρέντα όμωνόμως λεχθήσεται το μέν είναι πρόσωπον το δε σάρξ, ώσπερ κάν el εγέγνετο λίθινα ή ξύλινα; De anima II. 1. 9 412 b 18 fi. δψους ής άπολεαπούσης ούκ έστιν όφθαλμός, πλήν όμωνόμως, καθάπερ ο λίθινος καὶ ο γεγραμμένος: Meteor.
IV. 12. 3, 390 8 10 ff. άπαντα δ' έστιν ώρισμένα τῷ ἔργῳ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δινάμενα ποιείν τὸ αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἔκαστα, οΐον ο όφθαλμος el ορά, το δὲ μὴ δυνάμενου όμωνύμως, οΐου ο τεθνεώς ή ο λίθυνος lead to the conclusion that διαφθαρείσα is subject and roading is predicate. If so, and if rotalrn=a true hand, the sense requires the insertion of the negative, although

we about then expect abble store rather than size on k^* from him thus rendered uncless con longers has the qualities of a hand, whereas the definition of every object is contained in its function." $\theta_{\rm total} = \theta_{\rm tota$

όμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ξεα κτλ] 'will be related to the state as any other part to the whole of which it is a part': i. e., § 13, will be relative and subordinate to it,

will be very not reference.

30 ft The properties of the second of the s

Schery : 10. VII. 1. 2 wares one empowers warfa old apert, of ores old feed.
§ 15 31 6 8k πρώτος κτλ] Cp. Introd. 24, and notes on II. 9 § 8 (288), § 12 (290), § 14 (300). SUSEM. (28 b)
warms γάρ κτλ] "Both the grammar and the sense of reheafty and xusuafty

καὶ τελεωθέν βέλτιστον τών ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ (Ι) §16 χωρισθέν νόμου καὶ δίκης χείριστον πάντων. χαλεπωτάτη γάρ άδικία έχουσα οπλα ό δὲ ἄνθρωπος οπλα έχων φύεται φρονή-

35 σει καὶ ἀρετή, οἶς ἐπὶ τάναντία ἔστι χρήσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατου καὶ αγριώτατου άνευ άρετης καὶ πρὸς άφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδήν χείριστον, ή δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν ή γὰρ δίκη πολιτικής κοινωνίας τάξις έστιν [ή δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις]. 3 επεὶ δὲ φανερον εξ ων μορίων ή πόλις συνέστηκεν, ΙΙ

32 [τελεωθέν] and 33 [χωρισθέν νόμου καὶ δίκης] Jackson | τελεωθείς and 33 χωρισθείs Spengel | δ wanting in H2 Bk., but inserted in the margin of P4 | 35 άρετη ? due to 36 άρετης, having displaced a word like τέχνη Freudenthal (cp. Met. 1. 1. 6 p. 980 b 27 f.) or καρτερία-Susem.; not έριστι Lindau, δρέξει Hampke, nor δργή Schmidt: hardly κράτει Schnitzer. [φρονήσει και άρετή] Conring Madvig. [καὶ ἀρετή] Schneider, <ἐπὶ> φρανήσει καὶ ἀρετή Welldon, * * φρονήσει Thurot, φρίνησιν και άρετ ην Reiske (this makes bad worse, Montecatino protested against it). χρήσει κατ' άρετην Oncken. See Susem. Quaest. Crit. II. 5 f., IV. 5 f. | 38 [ή... ... κρίσις Hampke, [δίκη] Spengel | δίκη] δικαιοσύνη Reiske Thurot

νόμου και δίκης appear strange, and 26 χωρισθείs is used in a different connexion" (Jackson). Spengel (and lately Ridgeway) would make the participles masculine. But the concord is not too harsh; 'at fortasse, ut saepius, liberiore constructione utitur Aristoteles' (Susem.). For the thought, Plato Laws 765 E, παντός γάρ δή φυτού ή πρώτη βλάστη καλώς όρμηθείσα πρός άρετην της αυτού φύστως κυριωτάτη τέλος έπιθείναι το πρόσφορου...καὶ ανθρώπων. ἄνθρωπος δέ, ως φαμέν, ημερον...μη Ικανώς δέ η μη καλώς τραφέν αγριώτατον

όπόσα φύει γή § 16 34 δ 82 κτλ] 'Man is born with weapons to be used by (i.e. to subserve) wisdom and virtue; weapons which are, however, especially liable to abuse' (Montecatino): φρονήσει the dative of reference (Jackson). Most editors make it causal or instrumental. "But (1) what can weapons for practical wisdom and virtue' mean? Hardly weapons for the exercise, but rather such as serve for the attainment, of these qualities. Yet abuta έχουσα όπλα shows that the former are meant. (2) It is essential to the thought that we should learn whence man, of all creatures, gets these dangerous doubleedged weapons, so eminently adapted for purposes mutually opposed (rasarria), for good and for evil. Whereas that they are for good needs not be stated: Aristotle's teleological standpoint implies it." Susem. Cp. Rhet. 1. 1 § 13 (Spengel). 37 ή δὶ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν κτλ] ΙΙΙ. 10. 2 σύδὲ τὸ δίκαιον πόλεως φθαρτικόν. SUSEM. (28 c)

Jackson keeping the last clause n be δίκη κτλ (which he holds to be a parenthetical explanation of δίκη in ή γάρ δίκη κτλ, rightly placed last in a Greek sen-tence) would translate: "now justice be-

longs to a state", i.e. can be found only in a πόλιε, " δίκη or the administration of law-which is the determination of what is just-being a regulation of the political community." Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 6. 4 h community." Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 6. 4 ή γὰρ δίκη κρίσιε τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ἀδίκου ff. with Jackson's notes.

c. 3 Economic has three parts treating of the relationships which make up the household, (1) δεσποτική (2) γαμική (3) πατρική: §§ 1, 2. The relation of (4) χρηματιστική to economic is obscure: § 3. Upon δεσκοτική, which we take first, there are widely divergent views § 4. Roughly speaking the rest of the book

treats of (1) degratury in cc. 4-7, (4) χοηματιστική in cc. 8-11, (2) and (3) in

cc. 12, 13.
c. 4 The household needs implements which may be animate or inanimate: such an implement is called a chattel (κτημα), and is πρακτικόν, for use not for production: \$\$ 1-4. The thrall (κτημα ξμψυχον) defined §§ 5, 6.

c. 5 But are there any persons answering to this definition, φύσει δούλοι? § 1 As it is advantageous to both and to each, and therefore just and natural that body should be subject to soul, appetite to reason,

αναγκαῖον πρώτον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν πάσα γὰρ σύγ-(II) κειται πόλις έξ οἰκιῶν. οἰκονομίας δὲ μέρη, έξ ὧν πάλιν ή οἰκία συνέστηκεν οίκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ 5 δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλαγίστοις πρώτον ἔκαστον ζητητέον, πρώτα δὲ καὶ ελάνιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δούλος καὶ πόσις καὶ άλογος καὶ πατήρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν τούτων σκε-§ 2 πτέου ἀυ εἴη τί ἕκαστου καὶ ποῖου δεῖ εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ 2 δεσποτική καὶ γαμική (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ή γυναικὸς καὶ ἀντο δρός σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτου πατρική (καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ωνόμασται ίδιω ονόματι). ἔστωσαν δη αὐται τρεῦς ας εἶπο-

ε 3 μεν. ἔστι δέ τι [μέρος] δ δοκεί τοῖς μὲν είναι οἰκονομία,

1253 b 2 ἀνάγκη P4-6 · Q Mb Ub Wb Ls Ald., while Qb Rb (which has however † in the margin) Sb Tb and Vb (1st hand) omit douyealor ... 4 συνέστηκεν (a later hand has inserted the words in the margin of Vb) | wepl olsopoulas (olsias Bk.2 following the mss. used by Accoromboni and Sepulveda) elmein mpbrepon P4.6- O Mb Ub Wb L4 Ald. Bk. in place of πρώτου......elπεῖν | σύγκειται after 3 ολειῶν P4-6- Q Mb Ub La Ald. Bk. | 3 οΙκονομίας | οίκίας Γ P4-6- Q Mb Ub L* Bk. Bernays | πάλιν ή οίκία Γ apparently, πάλω ολεία P2-3- C4 and a later hand in Vb, η oleia πάλω Mt P1, αδθις oleia P4.6. Q Mb Ub Wb L. Ald. Bk. # 4 owelowner oweloward P4.6. Q Mb Ub Wb L. Ald. Bk. | 5 πρώτου] < καl> πρώτοις Bender | 7 τούτων σκεπτέου after 8 αν Π² Bk. | o καl is wanting before γαμική in M^a M^b | | 10 πατοική Ar. apparently (cp. ... 12 § 1), τεκνοποιητική Bk. following Γ and the mss. (We Ald. omit ἀνώνυμαν.....τεκνοποιητική), τεκνοποιική Dindorf (Steph, Thes.): πατρική was abbreviated πρική; this became ποιική or ποιητική, and was then wrongly emended | 11 δη Susem.2, δ' Γ Π Ar. Bk. | 12 δ' έτι or δέ τι <έτι> Susem., δὲ <δ'> τι: i.e. δὲ <τέταρτόν> τι (after first suggesting δ' έτι <τέταρτόν> τι) Schmidt, probably right | [μέρος] Zeller (Phil. d. Gr. II ii 693 n. 4, ed. 3)

§§ 5, 6, beasts to man, female to male, § 7, so it is better (i.e. § 11 advantageous and just) that a man whose function is bedily service, who is a mere adjunct of another, should be subject to his superior in excellence of soul, §§ 8, 9. Nature designs to mark this distinction upon the bodies of the two, but does not always succeed: §§ 10, 11.
On the question of slavery cc. 3-7,

consult Introd. pp. 24—26, the excellent dissertation of L. Schiller Die Lehre des Aris, von der Sklaverei (Erlangen 1847. 4), Hildenbrand op.c.395—406, Oncken II. 29—74, Becker and Hermann Charikles III. 1—12, Eng. tr. 356—373. Susem. c, 3 §1 1253 b 3 окомориаз 8è кта] In his lax manner Aristotle means "the parts of Economic" or household-manage-

ment "correspond to those of which the household consists". This at least gives better sense than to read olelas : see 12 § 1.

The oldas µέρη, as enumerated just afterwards, are the three 'pairs' of relation-ships συζεύξεις (or, 2 § 5, κοινωνίαι). 4 ἐπὲὶ δ' ἐν τοῦς ἐλ. κτλ] by the

method noticed : § 3 n., 8 § 1 n., 111. 1. 2

n. (434). SUSEM. (29)
5 πρώτα] The ἀπίνθετα of 1 § 3.
§ 2 9 γαμική= 'conjugal', πατρική=
'paternal' relationship: senses obviously more precise than the ordinary use of the terms warranted. Thus η γαμκη ομλία, the marriage union, IV(VII). 16 § I= simply cohabitation. Schneider thinks ανδρική, Göttling ποσιακή (sic) would better express the former relation from the side of the stronger analogously to δεσποτική, or Latin maritalis. Strictly πατρικόs=hereditary, as e.g. in 111. 14. 6: but in Nic. Eth. v. 6. 8, VIII. 10. 4 it is used, as here, for 'paternal'.

τοις δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτής ὅπως δ΄ ἔχει, θεωρητέον. (II) λ έγω δὲ περὶ τής καλουμένης χρηματιστικής.

15 πρώτου δὲ περί δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἶπωμεν, ἵνα τὰ τε πρὸς τὴν ἀνακαίαν χρείαν Ιδομεν, κὰν εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι περὶ αὐτάν δυναμικό λαβέν βὲλτιον τῶν νὰν ὑπολαμβανο-8 μένων. τοῦς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τὰ τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκουφμα καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική καὶ βα-20 σίλική, καθάπερ εἴπομεν ἀρχόμενοι: τοῦς δὲ παρὰ φότου τὸ δεσπόζειν. νόμω γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δὲ δικόθρου, φύσει ἔ οὐδὲν διαφέρενο. δἰστορ οὐδὲ δικαιον βιλαιον γάρ.

§ 3 13 705 8l µfyartov µfoo] 8 § 1, 9 № 12—18, 11 § 13. SUSEM. (29 b) 15 ½wa κτλ] ¹first in order to observe what has a direct bearing upon practical use, and secondly for our theory, to ascertain any facts which may enable us to improve upon the views at present held¹.

Zeller Socrates p. 322 n. 3 is inclined to attribute this view to the Cynics.
21 vóµo...óral On this famous antithesis of the 'conventional' and the 'natural' see Soph. Elench. 12 § 6 173 a 7 ft.,

Grant Ethics 1. 149—151, and esp. Sidgwick Journal of Philology V. 73—77.
22 διόπερ κτλ] Wherefore slavery (τὸ δεστόζεω) is unjust also, as resting on

mere force (Wyse). ... 4 § 1 23 ή ктηтин = the theory of the acquisition of property. Göttling and Bernays in a more general sense, 'the theory of property'; and certainly with this rendering the words in brackets would fit better into the context. But in what follows κτητική everywhere denotes the same thing as xonpariorism in the wider sense, the 'science' or 'art' of whose sense, the science of art of acquiring wealth, first introduced 3 § 3, see 8 § 1 n. Property, as being indispensable for living, belongs to the household: hence by analogy it follows that every chattel is an instrument for the householder's use, and that the slave is an animate instrument of this kind. But from the fact that the theory of acquisition or even the theory of property is a part of the science of household management, no such conclusion follows, even when taken in connexion with the first premiss, which is sufficient of itself to prove it in the manner indicated above. Besides, the words bracketed anticipate the decision which at 3 § 3 is distinctly postponed to c. 8, and the way in which the question is raised 8 § 1 presupposes that no such decision by anticipation has yet been given. The statement made here does not agree with the results of cc. 8-11; for not the whole theory of property and its acquisition,

μέρος τής οἰκονομίας] (ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον (II)
25 καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν): ὥσπερ δὴ ταῖς ἀρισμέναις τέχναις
ἀνογκαίων ἀν εὖν ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα δργανα, εἰ μέλλει
ἐδ ἀποτελειδήνοστθαι τὸ δεοπει, ἱῶντω καὶ τῷ οἰκουμικῶὶ τῶν

§ 2 ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, [οὕτω καὶ τῷ οἰκονομικῷ] τῶν δ ὁργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψιγχα τὰ δὲ ἔμψηχα (οἰον τῷ κυβερνήτη ὁ μὲν οἰαξ ἀψιγχω τὸ ὁ προρεῖς ἔμψηχων ὁ ὁ ηλο 3ο ὑπηρέτης ἐν ὀργάνου είδει ταῖς τέχνοις ἐστιψ, οῦτω καὶ ἡ κτῆσις οἰκονομικῷ> τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ἔμπήν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτῆσις ες ωὶ ἐι ἔγὸ wanting in Γλλ απὰ θὰ ἔχὸ wanting in The and P (first hand, added in the margin) ‖ ὁς

but only as much of it as relates to the 'natural' part concerns obserputs', and that only indirectly. My defence of the words, Rhein. Mus. XX. 510, is exposed to objections not then foreseen: it would seem that this is an un-Aristotelian in-

terpolation. Susas. (29) $_{-2}$ & m, (21). Mere life, bare existence, βp , is of course the immediate and of the brounded and the brounded in the immediate and of the brounded in an existence, βp , is the end which the state has in view - but indirectly the state has not view as the brounded, and so towards the brounded, and so towards the brounded has do towards the state of the brounded has do towards the which is directed to mere living, 3 § 1m.

Sussin. (33)

25 ruis desorphous rhyousge-the arts which form distinct professions: *as the which form distinct professions: *as the profession of the provided with satisfiable took for. Bernays. In any case the phrase means 'the proprised with satisfiable took for the provided with satisfiable took for the provided with satisfiable took of the profession of the profess

arts, in certain definite special products, figse, distinct from the activities which growed in the control of the control of

would be excluded trom it. Q. also VI. VIII. 3.5 nr. SUREZ. (3) (6) 11 classed 18 nr. Surez. (4) (6) 11 classed 18 nr. Surez. (4) (6) 12 classed 18 nr. Surez. (4) (6) 12 classed 18 nr. Surez. (4) 12 classed 18 nr. Surez

πλήθος ὀργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δούλος κτήμά τι ἔμψυχον. καὶ (ΙΙ)

§ 3 ώσπερ ὅργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων πᾶς [ὁ] ὑπηρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύ- τ νατο ἔκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευσθὲν ἡ προαισθανόμενον ἀπο-

35 τελεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ἄσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ή τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὕς φησιν ὁ ποιητής αὐτομάτους θεῖον [ὑπο]δύεσθαι ἀγώνα, οὕτως αἰ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ

πλήκτρα ἐκιθάριζευ, οὐδὲυ ἀν ἔδει οὕτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτοσιν § 4 ὖπηρετῶν οὕτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. τὰ μὲν οῦν λεγόμενα -54 α ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν ἀπὸ

32 [anl] before δ $\delta \delta \delta h \sigma$ s o that the apodosis begins here Thurot \parallel 33 δ wanting in M's erased in P's \parallel 34 $\pi possable posses Kornes <math>\parallel$ 35 $\alpha b r \sigma$ II \parallel 37 $\delta b c \sigma b \sigma$ P's P's Els. \parallel $\sigma b r \sigma \sigma c \sigma b$ Suema's following William's translation sic si, $\sigma b r \sigma \sigma$ Schmidt \parallel $\alpha b r \sigma$ only Γ and a later hand in C's the rest have $\alpha b r \sigma \omega$.

1254 8 1 [76] 1187 ... 4 116909 | Schmidt

living." But it is not true conversely that every instrument of use for living is a piece of property or chattel. The analogy of the distinctive crafts is against this; for the helmsnam's assistant is not his property, and the difference between the ends for which instruments are used the contractive of the contractive contract

spå opplesse. For tim remiste seemarip opplesse. For tim remiste seematic field of the spanning of the spanning of the \$3 \$2 Δασίδλον] Not a real historical personage, but only the legendary personification of the first promisent asterial personage, but only the legendary personification of the spanning of the human figure had been represented with the first together, the arms joined to the the man figure had been represented with the first together, the arms joined to the the test took as if open, deteated the arms from the sides, and aboved the first stepping part (acholisat on Pitzo Mono gy, Smidas a. to. Δudokae redejam-). With figures came to be presided for their list which fillerses, and this, or rather his choice of attitudes of notion and this personal to the spanning of the spanning that the spanning of the spanning of the spanning that the spanning of the spanning that the spanning the spanning of the spanning that the spanning th 36 δ ποιητής] Homer Iliad XVIII. 376 δφρα οΙ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγεῶνα. SUSEM. (36 b) There is a similar ingenious fancy in Lytton's Coming Race.

§ 8. 1264.2 π ποιμτικά—for production (of fresh utilities embodied in material objects), πραπτωύ for action 1—merely for use, i.e. as we see from 8 § a the consumption or utilization of commodities. In Political Economy consumption is either productive or unproductive, and the definition of wealth will vary according as we consider it from the producers' or the consumers' point of view: Mill 1.

c. 3, Sifgwick, Principle I. v. 3 § 7.

On the distinction her made between relevos and rpills ep. mr. (34, 40) and Edler 95. c. 11 in 164, 171 ft., 186, 286. dec. 187. dec. 18

μεν γάρ της κερκίδος έτερου τι γίνεται παρά την χρήσιν (ΙΙ) αὐτής, ἀπὸ δὲ τής ἐσθήτος καὶ τής κλίνης ή χρήσις μό-5 νου. έτι δ' έπεὶ διαφέρει ή ποίησις είδει καὶ ή πράξις, ε καὶ δέουται ἀμφότεραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα την § τ αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, οὐ ποίησις ἐστίν'

διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὑπηρέτης τῶν πρὸς τὴν πράξιν. τὸ δὲ κτήμα λέγεται ώσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριου. τό τε γάρ μότο ριου οὐ μόνου ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄλλου. όμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, εκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν' ὁ δε δοῦλος οὐ μόνον δεσπότου δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου.

τίς μέν οὖν ή φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ή δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων τ 15 δήλου (ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου ἄνθρωπος ὤν, οὖτος φύσει δούλος έστίν, άλλου δ' έστιν άνθρωπος, ος άν κτημα ή [δού-

5 δ' wanting in Mo and perhaps also in Γ, hence [δ'] Snsem. 1 | 6 καὶ δέονται Π1 P2-3- C4 Wb Ar. Ald., δέονται δ' P4-6. Q Mb Qb Rb Sb Tb Ub Vb La Bk. | 10 άπλως Γ and p² (but έρμήνεια [sic] ἐστὶ τοῦ ἔλως mg.³ P², i.e. a marginal note in dark yellow ink), άπλῶς δλως M°P1, δλως all other sources Bk. Susem.1.2. || The clause 15 ό... 16 ἐστίν is noticed by Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Metaphys. p. 15, 6 ed. Bonitz | 15 av II1 Paris. 963 Alex. (apparently) and P4 (corrector in margin), 8è Pa-6. O Mb Ob Rb Sb Tb Ub Vb Wb L. Ar. Ald. Bk. and the 1st hand in P4C4: no doubt also in P³ (an erasure here), γρ. δέ p¹ in margin, έστω a later hand in C⁴ 16 άλλ' οὐδ' Pl·6· Wb L* Ald., άλλ' οὐδέν M* | ή Γ M° | δούλος έστιν οι δούλος ή Γ apparently, δούλος ων MoC4 and P1.4.3. O Mo (1st hand), δυθρωσιος ων δούλος ων P4, δυθρω-

production of fresh utilities was performed exclusively by slaves, and thus the slave in the great workshops and manufactories was not merely an aid to the use or enjoyment of the goods of life but indirectly a producer of new commodities, at least in the sense in which this is true of the

weaver's shuttle." SUSEM. (37) § 5 9 κτήμα. μόριου] Eaton compares Nic. Eth. v. 6. 8, το δὲ κτήμα καὶ τὸ τέκνον, έως ἀν ἢ πηλίκον και χωρισθη, ῶσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ; a chattel and a child, until he reaches a certain age and becomes independent, are as it were parts of one-

10 άπλως άλλου] "belongs absolutely to another". To express relation to and dependence upon something else we find (1) the genitive with elvas, as here and Pl. Rep. IV. 433 B τοιαθτα ola eliral του, or (2) been with the genitive, as in Metaph. I. 2. 19 quoted in n. on 14, or (3) πρὸς with the accusative, as in the technical term for the category mpos TI, and Rhet. 1. 0. 27 έλευθέρου το μη προς

§ 6 14 Sivajus] essential quality, at-tribute: a sense the word acquires because the real nature of a thing is denoted by that which it zéque noisir eal nángeu': Bonitz Ind. Ar. s. v. Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 2. 6 έν τῷ πρὸς ἔτερον ἔχουσι τῆν δύναμων, Pol. IV (VII). 1. 12 την αὐτήν έχει δύναμων και μορφήν, also IV (VII). 4 10; Plato Parm. 134 D την δύναμιν ξχειν ήν έχει, Rep. IX. 588 Β τό τε αδικεῦν καl τὸ δίκαια πράττειν ήν ἐκάτερον

15 ό γάρ μη αύτου κτλ] Conversely in Metaph. 1. 2. 19 982 b 25 we have a definition of the free man ανθρωπος, φαμέν, Ελεύθερος ο αύτου ενεκα και μή άλλου (L. Schiller). Susem. (38)

5 λος ἐστίν], κτήμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωριστόν)· πότερον (ΙΙ) δ' έστί τις φύσει τοιούτος ή ού, καὶ πότερον βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν η ού, άλλὰ πάσα δουλεία παρὰ φύσιν έστί, μετὰ

20 ταῦτα σκεπτέου, οὐ γαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῶ λόγω θεωρήσαι καὶ ε §2 ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οῦ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετής ἔνια διέστηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ εἴδη πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ 25 αρχομένων έστιν (καὶ ἀεὶ βελτίων ή ἀρχή ή τῶν βελτιόνων § 3 ἀρχομένων, οξον ἀνθρώπου ἡ θηρίου· τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελούμενον άπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον ἔργον ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄργει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἔστι τι τούτων ἔργον) ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ πλειόνων 9

wos ων D1P6 Ob Rb Sb Tb Ub Vb Wb L. Ar. Ald. Bk. and, with γρ. before these words, corr.1 in the margin of Pas, a correction in red ink on the margin of Q, and Mb (corr. in margin); [ανθρωπος ών] Koraes. Dittographia, whichever of the two-δούλος έστιν or ανθρωπος ων-gave rise to all the other readings | 23 και είθίς.....24 αρχευ Susem.1 transposed to immediately precede 28 δσα, but see Dittenberger op. c. p. 1375 f. who has now been followed in punctuation. Cp. Comm. 1 24 [καl είδη ...28 Epyar | Schmidt who thinks the proper context is before φανερών 1250 b 18, and if so conjectures έπει δὲ είδη | 25 [ή] ἀρχή Koraes | 26 ἀνθρώπων ή θηρίων Schmidt | 27 ônd Bk.2 instead of dend

17 χωριστόν] Hereby opposed to μόριον which when separated can do no work, as we saw, 2 § 13 (Shilleto).

Thus the definition of a diore δούλος is δργανον ξμψυχον πρακτικόν καl χωριστόν, δλως άλλου όν, and this exactly corresponds to the limited meaning of κτήμα chattel', 'thrall', as for instance in

N. E. v. 6. 8 quoted above. c. 5. To whom then does this definition apply? Are there any φύσει δούλοι, for whom a slave's estate is greater good and just?

§ 1 20 τῷ λόγῳ...ἐκ τῶν γινομένων] Aristotle emphasized the distinction between the abstract and concrete treatment of a subject. The former is hopeness or διαλεκτικώς ζητέν as opposed (a) to δυαλυτικώς οτ έκ τών κειμένων, (δ) to φυσι-κώς ζητέν οτ έπισκοπείν: Waitz Organon 1. 354, Zeller Phil. II ii 171 n. 2. Eaton rightly compares IV (VII). 1. 6. § 2 22 τῶν συμφερόντων] Under the limitation laid down III. 6. 6, see n. (7).

24 είδη πολλά] Cp. Nic. Eth. VIII. 10 §§ 4, 5: Plato Laws III. 690 A. The

variety implies a gradation.
25 καὶ ἀεὶ βελτίων κτλ] This passage is referred to IV (VII). 3. 2, see the note: cp. IV (VII). 14. 19 τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικώς άρχειν ή τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρετῆς. Susem. (38 b)

Cp. also VIII (V). 11. 34. § 3 26 το γάρ άποτ. κτλ] Cp. Νίε. Είλ. ΙΙ. 6. 4 πάσα άρετή, οὐ ἀν ἢ ἀρετή, αὐτό τε εὐ έχου ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὸ έργον εὐ

28 τούτων έργον] The function pro-per to them, the work which they exclusively perform in their relation of government and governed, lies in the mere exercise of command and tender of obedience. See Plato Rep. I. 353 A: τούτο ἐκάστου ἔργον, δ ἄν ἢ μόνον τι ἢ κάλ-

αποδίδωσιν (Éaton).

λιστα τών άλλων άπεργάζηται. δσα γάρ] This argument only applies to the general proposition και είδη πολλά και άρχόντων και άρχομένων έστι, not to the particular explanation attached to it saldel βελνίων...εργον. Susem. (39)
The sentence is parenthetical as in

I. I. 3, where see note. "For wherever several parts, whether continuous or discrete, combine to form a single composite whole, in all such cases may be discerned a principal or ruling part and one subor-dinate which is ruled. This follows from the whole order of nature (ex causal, as e.g. ἐκ προαφέσεως, 2 § 2) and is seen to hold good of living things." συνέστηκε καὶ ηίνεται εν τι κοινόμ, είτε εἰκ σιυκχών είτε ἐκ (II) 3 εἰκρημένουν, ἐν ἄπασιν εἰμφαίκεται τὸ ἀρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχό- 3 εἰμουν, καὶ τοῦτ ἐκ τῆς ἀπάσης φόσεως ἐυνπάρχει τοῖς ἐμνήνχοις καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ μετέχουσι ξωῆς ἔστι τις ἀρχής ὁιον ἀρμονίας. ἀλλαὶ ταῖτα μεν ἱσος ἔξοντεμκατέ ρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως τὸ ἐδ ἔξουν πρώτου συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς ιο 3ς καὶ σώματος, ἀν τὸ μὲν ἀρχον ἐστὶ φύσει τὸ δ' ἀρχό- 3 μενου — δεί δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσει ἔχουσι μάλλου τὸ φύσει, καὶ μη ἐν τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις. διὸ καὶ τὸν βέλ τιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατὰ σύμα καὶ κατὰ τήνχὴν ἄν-

θρωπου θεωρητέου, ἐν ὧ τοῦτο δῆλου' τῶν γὰρ μοχθηρῶν ἡ $_{31}$ [καὶ τοῦτ'... $_{32}$ ἐμψύχοι] Schmidt \parallel $_{33}$ < ἐν> ἀρμονία ? Susem. \parallel $_{35}$ ἀρχύμοις (το mark a break in the construction) Bonitz \parallel $_{39}$ μοχθρῶν $_{19}$ μοχθρῶν] μονον-(tionstine et proxe William; apparently Γ had Φαίλου which Bitcheler approves,

8 4 21 le vija desfaren ĝe forma) The conclusionis is bused upos the whole order of nature: it is a universal natural law, not a special law applying to living organisms (Bernays). SUSEM, (88 c) iii. It is not probable the conclusionis (18 c) iii. It is not probable the conclusionis (18 c) iii. It is not probable the control of the conclusionis (18 c) iii. It is not probable the control of the conclusionis (18 c) iii. It is not probable the control of the conclusionis (18 c) iii. It is special to the conclusionis (18 c) ii. It would be an opposition (18 c) ii. It would be an opposition (18 c) ii. It would be an oppositionis (18 c) ii.

32 τοις μή μετέχουσι κτλ] alei τὸ χείρου τοῦ βελτίονός έστιν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὁμοίως ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην

* The term 'dominant' for the fifth above the key-note in a modern scale is quite different. much as some are open, others wrongly take of the hands and others wrongly take against as qualifying doyn-dominance in the sense, that is, of a blending or sub-ordination of parts. Op. De Anima 1. 4. 17th dependent sparse and others them of the sense of the dependent of the sense of the se

συμφωνία, rather than of ἀρμονία, in music: Probl. XIX. 38 021 a 2.

Harraguarigus levi ordiyess] "would perhaps involve a discussion somewhat outside the subject". Obviously the simple meaning here as in \$\frac{\epsilon}{e}\$ rope deal to \$\frac{\epsilon}{e}\$ very levil. 3. 8: not to be pressed (as by Thurot Extude 216, I. Uebruve fitti. 6) Phil. Eng. tr. 1. 143) to signify those parts of Aristotle's strictly scientific works which are "dialectical" i.e. controversial, rather than "apodectical" i.e.

purely scientific.'

34 ** või li feo sril). The enumeration is interrupted at dephaseo by the qualifying phrase in parenthesis bet be avoortime. Segos in such a way that even the first division in the such as the second subdivision into such and bedy, while the second subdivision into such and bedy, while the second subdivision into such and irrational parts of the soul is not added until the enumeration is resumed, § 6. correspond with polives, in place of them we find rubu and ter slit in § 7. SUSSEM.

(39 b) §5 This does not help us to determine what is κατά φόσω. But Aristotle's meaning is the same as in 28 δόον γιὰ ἐκαντόν ἐκτι τῆς γενέτους τελατθείνης ταύτη φαμέν τῆν φόσω αναι ἐκάντου. Ch. Μ. Εξ.Μ. Χ. ο. 8. (ic. Thes. 18 32 (Enton.). ιδ μοχθηρώς έχόντων δόξειεν ἃν ἄρχειν πολλάκις το σώμα (Δ.)

§ τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ το φαίλως καὶ παρά φύσιν ἔχειν. ἔστι 11

δ΄ οὖν, ἄσπερ λέγομεν, πρώτον ἐν ξώφ θεωρῆσαι καὶ δεσποτικήν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτικήν ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώ
ς ματος ἀρχει δεαποτικήν ἀρχὴν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὁρξεως πολιτικήν καὶ βααιλικήν ἐν οἰς φαικρόν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ φύ
σιν καὶ συμφέρου τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυ
χῆς καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίφ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ μορίου τοῦ

ολόγου ἔγοντος, τὸ ἔ ἔ ἴσου ἡ ἀνάπαλιν βλαξερὸν πάτυ.

erasing φαύλως καl just afterwards; μοχθηρώς, due to a mistaken correction written over μοχθηρώς, may have displaced φαύλως, as Schmidt once suggested: now he suspects μοχθηρώς ἢ: [ἡ μοχθηρώς ἀχτίντω] Studemung.

t254 b 2 and π apa ϕ 60 ν 0 wanting in M* and P¹ (1st hand), but added in the margin by p¹ || P** have π epl for π apa || 6 [and β a ν 0 ν 0 ν 0]. Oncken, perhaps rightly

86 i sa, b 3 f. This analogy is carried out in Nine Like V, 11 g 9, 1; B 38, B11. 3 g 18, 11 s 26, C p. also Plato Phace 8 so, ferredde v is quive gos special estimates of the control of

5.1. § 4. § 9. Will Justice 18 week. 18 years of the process o

falls short of true knowledge, and more especially the practical reason with its poculiar faculty of tableg counsel or despectable for tableg counsel or despectable faculty of tableg counsel or despectable faculty of the faculty o

f. Philol. CXIX. 1879. 737 ff.

If we combine with the above the results stated in the note on I. 13. 6 we obtain the following scheme of the rational soul according to Aristotle:

* In the Foliatio bower rigers generally denoted () As it were control () As it would not control () as it was control () as it will not control () as it will not control () as it will not control () and () as it will not control () and () as it will not control () and () as it will not control () as it will not control (). This is the sense in , 4 it above, where the case is not control () as it will not control (). The control () are control () as it will not control () as it will not control () as it will not control (). It is not () in 1 if we will not (). It is not () in 1 if we will not () in 1 if we wil

πᾶσι βέλτιον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρευ πρὸς τὸ θήλυ φύσει τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δὲ ἀρχόμενον.

15 τον αὐτον δὲ τρόπου ἀναγκαῖου εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώ-§8 πων. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχη σώματος 13 καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὄσων

13 δστι Ar. (?) est igitur, Susem.* (a misprint) 1 14 IP Ek. omit καl 1 16 διεστάει τουότου Μ*, διεστάει τουότου Ρ* 1 1 ψυχής σόμα καl δυβρότου θήμου? Thurot, more correctly; but perhaps an improvement upon Aristotle himself 1 17 δε wanting in M*P1*-C, P*T Ar. Ald. and P* (1st hand, supplied by corr.*)

έπιστημονικόν		λογιστικόν (δοξαστικόν)	
pols.	έπιστήμη νούς θεωρητικός	ύπόληψις και δόξα θεωρητική	διάνοια πρακτική (in the wider sense) = νοῦς πρακτικός
		διάνοια πρακτική (in the strict sense)	διάνοια ποιητική

Now in the Politics we have to deal throughout with the supremacy of practical reason (in the strict sense of the term) over the second part of the sood, the elebrates or descrates (eq. Dr. Anisne III. 7, 2 cc), tropes of bearrable and events and of the control of the control of the control deal of the control of the control deal of the control of the conprenacy constitutes moral or ethical properties of the control of the con-

\$7 to make...13 fer &1] See on \$42 as 4 above. documents of the aimabs we see the same thing: clearly, from what follows, the difference between ruler and ruled and the advantage derived by the one from the rule of the other. SUSEM. (41, 42)

Cp. 2 § 2 δά τὴν συτηβαία (Congreve).

11 τὰ ἡμερα τῶν ἀγρίων) Ρίαιο Ρείτιου τὰ ἡμερα τῶν ἀγρίων) Ρίαιο Ρείτιου 26, Α, ἀρφηνο τὸ ζώον τῷ τθασὰ καὶ ἀγρίω, τὰ μέν γὰν ξεχυτα τιθασέσεθαι φέναν ἡμερα προσέτρητα, τὰ δὲ μη ξεχυτα το θένας το κοιτοιοπίτο. Εν στιν επικοιοπίτο δεν στιν επικοιοπίτο δεν στιν επικοιοπίτου δεν στιν το δεν στιν επικοιοπίτου δεν στικοιοπίτου δεν στ

ημερα, και άγρια τυγχάνει όντα. 13 το άρρεν κτλ] Cp. 12 § 1 ππ. (108, 109), 13 § 9 ff. (117, 120). Susem. (42 b) 14 **poirton...x(door) Elsewhere rôôphu is declared to be doore door energepeyelron, or drample. This is Plato's doctrine of the natural inferiority of the
sex: Reb. v. 455 E th' radio understerregue
yard adopts, Lawa VI. 361 B boyd & thhea
njur bloss tent mos darrier yetpur rift
via doptum, Timense 42 A, B: rô kpeitrow routine eth yeton. Arin, 50 E E.

15 έπὶ πάντων ἀνθ. sc. in relation to

one another.
§ 8 16 Sero...17 beglow) Cp. 111. 11.
§ andror 18 badd-power flows two buglow, but
for the collection of the collection of such
server describ. How is the existence of such
server describ. How is the existence of such
logy? There is a difference of kind
between man and the brates, the latter not
having a rational part of the soul (see n.
§ 6 shows); but between the most
as if the soul fee n.
§ 6 shows); but between the most
is at most but a difference of degree, ever
when in the latter this rational part is
reduced to the minimum immediately
described, in (4.6). We must undernand
Greek ideas and the usage of language
when "he regards bestall limitation to
sensual enjoyments, callocasses to insult,
difference to knowledge, coarsenses and
valigarily in sact or speech in general as a
data. "(Schiller, who quotes Ortili Artidata." (Schiller, who quotes Ortili Arti-

έστιν έργον ή τοῦ σώματος χρήσις, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν(11)
9 βίλτιστον), οὐτοι μέν εἰσι ψόσει δοϊλιο, οἰς βίλτισο ἐστιν δ ἐρχεσθαι ταὐτην τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰπορ καὶ τος εἰρημένος. ἔστι γὰρ ψόσει δοϊλιος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου εἶναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτου ὅσον αἰσθώνεθαι ἀλλὰ ψὴ ἔχειν' τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ἔβα οὐ λόγο αἰσθωύμενα ἀλλὰ

18 feru M*, for P²⁴⁻⁴ QMT-Ald, lik., feru S* 1 oo forep Bichlet for freep, but tee Ditterbegger φt. p. 196f. 1 feru φt. 28 cm. since not θ corresponds to the preceding μb of and μb Thurst suspects some deeper corruption. I alcuma, it may be, before for 196 1 ≥ 1 of δισιέμουα... ≥ nd suspected by Schmidt II 33 Myos II An. Bl. Schmidter Spengel, perhaps rightly 1 [ale/δισιέμονα] Bender földM3 Scened defiderary 2 Schmidt.

toteles Pädagogik 69). The passages to consult are III. 4 § 11, 19(vII). 17 § 7, 89; also V(vIII). 6 § 8, 11(vIII). 15 § 5 with the notes: Nic. Eth. 1, 5 § 3; III. 10 § 7, 13; 17. 5 § 6; and the further references under darbarroblogy Bonitz Ind. Ar. 54 b so 6. Susean (43)

Ar. 54 b 30 f. Sueem. (43)

19 ofs BOATON eth.] Plato Rep. IX.
590 D on dueurs on rearl are offered and opportune dependent published are offered a strip, et de un, Euder describtors: a passage which contains something more than the germ of Artsottle's whole

doctrine of natural slavery.

20 τοῖς εἰρημένοις] τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθητικῷ μορίω, τῷ θηρίφ, τῷ θήλα (Con-

greve).

§ 9 21 8th kal allow lotin] As a general rule slavery is due to a natural inferiority. But this must not be pressed too far: from c. 6 an unjust slavery is possible, cum hi sunt alterins qui sui possunt esse, Cic. De Rep. III. § 37 (Congreve). Susem. (44)

22 όσον αἰσθάνισθαι άλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν] In c. 13 § 14 the capacity to admit reason or understand its commands (αίσθάνεσ- $\theta a \iota$) is ascribed to these natural slaves in a higher degree than to children (see note), for children, while their reason is still undeveloped, attend too much to the mere suggestions of the instincts and passions of sense; Nic. Eth. 1. 3. 6, III. 12. 6. Moreover Aristotle is here asserting more than his own psychology justi-fies: for what he here leaves to the slave's practical reason is more correctly attributed to the irrational soul, that is, to speak accurately (see n. on § 6), the appetitive soul, in IV (VII). 14 § 9, cp. Nic. Eth. I. 13. 15 f.: namely, the capacity of allowing itself to be guided by

practical reason. As the power to reflect to Asirotle amongst the most seemial peculiarities of the practical reason—see (a) on $\S 6$ —this cannot with any consistency be wholly denied to the slave as it is here and c, 13 $\S 7$ (where see note) if it be once granted that the slave's soul has a rational part under which is included the possession of practical reason. At the most there can be merely an approximation to the state here described. See further on c, 13 \S 1 s. Afyor, See further on c, 13 \S 1 s.

which here=reason, is the βουλευτικόν of 13 § 7 (see n.): more precisely, δρθός λόγος in the Ethics, right or sound understanding as the law and criterion of human action in the sphere of practice and morals. Preëminent skill in the exercise of this λόγος is φρόνησις=insight, prudence: see Zeller op. c. II ii 652 f., Walter op. c. 353-503. Aristotle is consistent when he allows opportures to none but the φίσει δεσπότης: I. 13. 8 n. (115), III. 4. 17 n. (497). But if the φύσει contor were wholly devoid of practical reason of his own he would, by Aristotle's own definition, cease to be a human being and to possess even the scanty remains of capacity for human and moral virtue which is left him according to c. 13 §§ 1-14: cp. Poetics c. 15 § 1 with my note (19 b). He would then be reduced to the level of the brute, in himself

unable to resist the promptings of sensual desires. See n. p. 211. Susem. (45) 23 Myw adrel.] On adrebyus, alebda-werbus see n. (570) upon III. 11. 9. Susem. (45 b) If Myou is the right reading, then the copula is omitted as if alebda-busw were an adjective: "the other animals (are) not attentive to reason, but

obey their passions."

παθήμασιν ύπηρετεί. καὶ ή χρεία δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν 16 15 ή γὰρ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι Βοήθεια γίνεται παρ ἀμφοίν, παρά τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμέρων ξόνων. 81 βοίλιζεται μὲν οὖν ἡ ψόσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ

πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρήσιν, τὰ δ' ὁρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς 30 τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον (οδιτος δὲ καὶ ἠένεται διρηριώνος είς τε τὴν πολεμικὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκες καὶ του ναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σόματα ἔχειν ἐλευθέρον τοὺς δὲ τὰς 6:0 ψυχάς ἐπεὶ τοῦτό σγε φιακερόν, ός εὶ τοοῦτόν γένοιντο διά-18

35 φοροι τὸ σώμα μόνου ὅσον αἶ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τολε ὑτολευτομένους πάμτες φαῖεν ὧι ἀξίους εἶναι τούτοις δουλεύευ. ¾11 ἀι δ΄ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ ἀλληθές, πολλ δικαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχής τοῦτο διωρίσθαι ἀλλλ οὐχ ὑριοίως ῥάδιον ἰδάν τὸ τε τῆς ἐνμης καλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος.

is sometimes thwarted. See 6 § 8 n. (56).

32 Xpe(av) "including services in war as well as in peace."

war as well as in Peace."

24. Seri order by a False compare
Herod. V. 47. This remark has a truly
Hellenic ring. To the Greek, mental
worth is necessarily and naturally presented in a harmonious external form;
and in the very beauty of the race, of
which he was the broughly conscious, Artito the barbarians. What a complete justification this for the slavery of the black.

and coloured races! Zeller op. c. II is

Got m. (e). See on 1. 2 § 4. m. (7.3).

Lang blowveer from another point of view justly remarks of a. Europe 60: we must remember no one would have the negro-flavery on plantations of modern days. To turn the servants of the noble life into tools of limitless moneymaking would have been, in his view. The contract of the noble life into tools of limitless moneymaking would have been, in his view. The contract of the contract of

slaves." Susem. (47) § 11 38 στζ φισιος ήςθεον Ιδείν κτλ] Enton compares Nic. Eth. 1, 13, 16 dλλ' to role σέμασε μέν δρώμεν το παραφερό, μενω, έπὶ δὲ τῆς ψογής σόχ δρώμεν. Should we not rather think of Plat. Phaedr. 250 D R, Xen. Mem. III. 10. 3? Ότι μεν τοίνυν εἰελ φύσει τωνς οῦ μεν ελεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦ-(11) λοι, φανερόν, οῖς καὶ στυμφέρει τὸ δουλεύεων καὶ δίκαιου ἐστῶν ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τάναιντία φάσκοντες τρόπου τινο λέγου-1ο στι ὁρθάς, οὐ χαλεπόν ἰδεῖυ. διχώς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δουλεύεων καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ἐστι γὰρ τις καὶ κατὰ ψόμου δοῦλος καὶ δουλκεύουν ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιι, ἐν ῷ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμου κρατούμεωι τῶν κρατούντων εἰναι φασίν. τοῦνο δὴ τὸ διεαιου πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὁστερ ἡίγησα γρά-

1255 a.l. 571.... b 3 56verau is eited by Pseudo-Pintarch de nobil. c. 6, p. 932 B sq. 5 sal before sará omitted in IP Mº Ar. Ald. Plut. and in P³ (1st hand—added by a later hand) || 6 tr p Bas.³, èç p omitting the following φacir Bernays; Hampke punctuates δουλείων (6...rs δετίν), tr φ ετλ, cp. Hermes XIX. 577 n.

c. 6. There is then one species of intercey, which is natureal. But there is another species, conventional slavery: 8 ls. The justice of the convention which we princers taken in user to be said for intercept to the said species of the said species of the said species of the said species of the said species, and depended by others (15): 8.1. The record way there are these conflicting count, and why searchitates they have a various, and why searchitates in they have a virtue and superior force. The instance of the said public the said species of the said specie

See Excursus 11.; Hampke in Philogus XXIV. 866. 179—175, who compares 1V(VII). 2 § 17—18. in Theoremselves of Camb. As Experies in Theoremselves of Camb. 18. in Theoremselves i

§ 1 1255 a r ft. "It is thus plain that in certain cases there are natural freemen and natural slaves, for the latter of whom the estate of slavery is both advantageous and just. And yet it is easy to see that those who maintain the opposite" viz. of

the doctrine of natural slavery (against Ridgeway 129 f) "do, to a certain extent, ague correctly. For the terms slavery and slave are used in two senses. - Essistes the natural's there is also the conventional slave and conventional slavery; this convention being a species of agreement whereby the conquered in war are declared the property of their war are declared the property of their slavers.

conqueron."

6 δ γξιν γέρος..., γάστθη Χεπορίπο Cyr. τιι., ε η ε κέρος γέρ θε τόπου διόρλι.

6 δ γξιν γέρ δε τόπου διόρλι.

11, ε η ε κέρος γέρ θε τόπου διόρλι.

12, ε η ε κέρος γέρ θε τόπου διόρλι.

13 το ε πολιτικό το ε πολιτικό το ε πολιτικό το ε ποι πολιτικό το ε πολιτικό το

Rationalism It. 254.

8 yaddowra mapuopuon 'This indictment was laid against any private citizen who had proposed or carried an anconstitutional law or popular decree, i.e. one which contravened laws or decrees in force at the time and not previously

φοιται παρανόμων, όκ δεικών εί τοῦ Βιάσασθαι διναμένου (Ι 1ο καὶ κατὰ δύναμεν κρείττουος ἔσται δοῦλον καὶ ἀρχάμενου τό βιασθέν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὕτων δοικεί τοῖς δὲ ἐκείωνς, καὶ §3 τῶν σοφῶν. αἶτιου δὲ ταὐτης τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως, καὶ ὁ 11 ποιεί τοὺς λόγους ἔπαλλώτεκει δει τοώπον τινά ἀρετὴ τυτό

11 ἐκείνως [καί] Koraes, wrongly

repealed. Proceedings had to be commenced within a year from the day when the proposal was made or adopted; otherwise the form of the fore of the form of

9 sie δωών κτλ] "on the ground that its monstrous if more ability to subdue by force, and superiority in might alone, shall give ownership and rule over that which it subdues." The representatives of this view are no doubt the same as those who declare all slawery to be compared to mature cos § 4, ros μρ edwar ray to nature: cos § 4, ros μρ edwar ray to mature: cos § 4, ros μρ edwar ray to edwar row been force to the cost of the c

again take the former view contents again take the former view (Bostows): namely, that prescribed by the convention or positive law mentioned in § 1: 8000 declared to the position of the position of the position of the opponents (row µsb), and by (B) the defenders of conventional slavery (row 2b); the view of the latter is shared, though on other grounds, by a third though on other grounds, by a third

is a state of commons. It is a state of commons of the conflict. It is the tween (a) and (b) "and what" at the same time "makes the (two opposed) views overlap." The general sense, as explained p. 206, is that (i) the views of (a) and (b) stand sharply opposed (op. 19 & dearthers way 20,96), and yet (ii) they have a common point of contact, the two distinct facts (b) contact the contact of the

Bernays differently, see p. 209. SUSEM.

13 Adyovs, often taken as=arguments, or again as=propositions, should be explained more widely as "the propositions (conventional slavery is just, is unjust) together with the arguments supporting them and the conclusions adopted in consequence of them," thus nearly=views or reasonings [Fostgate op.c. 121, 123 n.), 'platforms' (Heitland), thories.

έπαλλάτταν, as in 1. 9. 15, VI(IV). 10. 2, VII(VI). 1. 3; see Heitland's examination of these passages Notes 11-13, and the passages collected by Jackson op. .. 114 n. Bonitz Index s.v. compares évapφοτερίζει» and explains that from the sense of "to alternate" it comes to be applied ad ea quae inter duo genera ita sunt interposita ut cum utroque cohaereant. "Said of two different, or even opposite, things or views which yet have something in common and again approximate or meet or even cross or run into each other or are in inseparable connexion" (Susem.). Oncken took it of 'arguments crossed or traversed by counter arguments.' Heitland and Jackson of *propositions overlapping': but the former thinks these are the sub-contraries (a) some slavery is just, (b) some slavery is unjust the latter holds that it is the λόγοι of (A) and (B)-all slavery is unjust, all slavery is just-which 'overlap': because the "slaveries which (A) pronounces unjust,
(B) pronounces just." (See by all means
the context of this remark, Ex. II. p. 208.)

spórme vad exh] "in a sena vitue, provide it finds proper appliances, is in fact best able to subole by force, and the conspecting side always has all-to subole by force, and the conspecting side always has always and the collection (14, foreign early part the same thing in a different form. Jackson 114, foreignt era), they part the same thing in a different form. Contractive with it days'; this is the common ground where the two contending parties much and the relation of the common ground where the two contending parties much and the subole parties with the subole parties with the common ground where the two contending parties much and the subole parties with the subole parties where the subole parties with the subole parties and the subole parties where the subole parties are not parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the subole parties are not opposed to provide a parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the parties are not opposed to provide a parties and the parties are not opposed to provide a parties are not oppo

χάνουσα χορηγίας καὶ βιάζεσθαι δύναται μάλιστα, καὶ (II) ἱ έστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχρὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινός, ἄστε δοκεῦν μὴ ἀνευ ἀρετῆς εἰναι τὴν βίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ εἰκαίου μό ἱνον εἰναι τὴν ἀμφιαβήτησειν (εἰὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦς μὲν εὖνοια δοκεῖ τὸ ἐἰκαιον εἰναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁἰκαιον, τὸ τὰν κρείττονα ἄρχευ)' ἐπεὶ ἐἰαστάντων γε χαρὶς τούτων τῶν λό- 18 ১ γων οὕτε ἰσχυρὸν οὐδὸν ἔχουσει οὖτε πεθανὸι ἄτεροι λόγοι, ὡς

17 elvoula Lambin, wrongly: < uer'> elvolas? Schneider

14. χορηγία=means, resources: ἡ ἐκ-τὸς χ. favourable external circumstances, external goods Nɨz. Edɨ. x. 8 § 4; so of the individual Pəl. rv(vɪɪ]. 13 § 3. In a wider sense, anything with which the state requires to be furnished, even population, territory. V(vɪɪ]. 8 § 3.

territory 19/11]. § 2, § 3.

Ty-16 fer., [Man] Fülleborn remarks with truth that the qualifications necessive that the properties of the p

that force to coerce is never independent of virtue, but that the dispute turns on the nature of right and justice."

the nature of right and justice."
§ 4 17. ("For this reason some take
the mutual goodwill" of governors and
opverned "to constitute right, others stand
on the naked right of the stronger to
rule.") The parenthesis is the to Ridgeway; Heithand saw that "this remarkrule." The grounds for the view of [16],
which had not been stated above \$\$1, 2,
are now given by δά rνόγο.

rose new Clearly again the unqualified opponents of slavery. SUSEM. (80 b) Jackson, 115 m, first proved that one meaning of evoca is 'loyalty: the will-

* [And no less by the scientific doctrine of the survival of the fittest.] reper lesson (* Sciencier stop delicer superior ; Totale ti solely to mean "the goodwill of governors to governor to governor

18 τhe spokroson Agyan) C. Thuc, v. 10-5, Plato Gorgius Agyan) C. Thuc, v. 10-5, Plato Gorgius Ag, C. Irrac, v. 10-5, Plato Gorgius Ag, C. Irrac, v. 11 however these two view standors, v. "If however these two view standors of the post of the po

of arguments advanced, that of (A).
Postgate (9A. . 123) thinks freep hopes
would be cleare. Schneider took ite
neutra ratio: to which Hampke rejcined
that this sense requires offergoo. Jackson
however still maintains that it is a true
planal "as in 23 volo 3/500", but then
we should have dupdragon: his novel
and ingenious interpretation, 9A. 2.115 f.,

8 ο οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατ' ἀρετὴν ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν. ὅλως (II δ' ἀντεγόμενοί τινες, οἱς οἰονται, δικαίου τωθς (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιούν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δεουλείαν τιθέσι δικαίαν, ἄμα δὲ οὐ φασιν. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐνδέχεται μὴ δι-25 καίαν εἶναι τῶν πολέμον, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δουλεύειν οὐδαμώς ὰν φαίη τις δοῦλον εἶναι εἰ δὲ μή, συμβήσεται τοὺς ινετίγενεστάτους εἶναι δοκούντας δούλους εἶναι ἐκ δοῦλον, ἐἐν

8ε συμβή πραθήναι ληφθέντας. διόπερ αιτούς ού βούλουται λέγεω δούλους, άλλιὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους, καίτοι δταν τούτο λέ-3ο γρανι, ούδὲν άλλο ζητούσιν ή τὸ φύσει δούλου δπερ έξ άρχής εἴπομεν ἀνάγκη γιὰρ εἶναί τυνας φάναι τοὺς μὲν 8 ππανταγοῦ δούλους τοὺς δὲ ούδαμοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπου καὶν

24 dies John II P M The L γρ. dies p in the magini, derhot apparently Ar. 1 2 γα die bolwe transposed to follow 125 b 2 dyndio Schmidt 1 28 derbot Montecation and perhaps P. Over this word p has the gloss role dyneric and samplement which M has in the text after λαρθένται 1 32 πανταχού ξέ ἀρχής II', γρ. άπανταχού ρ' in the magin

departs widely from that here given. Hampke also takes 19 τούτων τῶν λόγω as a singular of one view and hence infers that ἄτροι λόγω denotes one view also: M. Croiset, 'les opinions de nos adver-

saires". But Jacksen fall of the property of t

supersiste on right to written to the conmonths of the control o

sistencies. Due was taken by Hampke
"embracing both the former views",
"Angelle was good given that id
"Angelle was emmediating another theory
here, he would have used #n &'. It
will be found upon comparison of De
#

of the clauses being indifferent. § 6 28 Shorme pxA]. "Hence they refuse to call their own countrymen slaves, and only apply the term to barbarians": abrobe used absolutely for abrobe < robe" (Fabyers > which comes to the same thing as 33 abrobs. Eaton compares the noble conduct of Callicratidas, Ken. Hdl. 1. 6, 14. 30 of 80% dAbs pxA] In making this

Acen. 1441.1.0, 14430 co88b Abbe erAl In making this
qualification they are really on their was to
the principle of natural slavery laid
down by us at the first: they are compelled
to the com

Anstotle has no need to relute at length the extreme views of (4) and [8].

§ 7 32 marrayou No. Eth. V. 7. 1, 1134 b 19, 70 μεν φίσει «δίκαιον» ακίνητον καί πανταχού την ακίνητον έχει δύφαμαν [Congreve). τον ακίνον κτλ] Cp. III. 13. 2 η είνενεια που έκατονοι δίκατον τίμου. SUSEM.(62)

περί εὐγενείας αὐτοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτοὺς εὐγε- (II) νεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἰκοι μό-35 νου, ὁς ὅν τι τὸ μὲν ἀπλῶς εὐγενὲς καὶ ἐλεύθρου τὸ δ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἄσπερ καὶ ἡ Θεοδέκτου Ἑλλένη ἀποὶ

θείων δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ῥιζωμάτων τίς ἃν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;

§ 8 όταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐδενὶ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀρετῆ καὶ κακία διο-40 ρίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς 255 δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκ

33 arrele III Pi Pitt., afreke PS ST and 1st hand of P (emended by core?) |

"" afrek afrek PI Pitt. and perhaps Pi | 3 see of united in PS -0 (MP ST Add. and
P' (est hand), Ar. leaves at Oxfolipse untranslated | 3 de and before it is omitted by
BK. | Oxfolips for Exlory IN "| 3 freyes ext., teprone P, dexfour IN"|
Pittle Add. Pitt. de yfucus PQ M, dexfore ST | 3 déjáreze M Pt-5-4 Add.
Pitt. and P' (a later hand) | 3 co dévis II" Ar. IN. III. M., object III.

35 ώς ὄν τι] "which implies the existence of an absolute, as well as a relative, nobility and freedom".

nobulty and freedom." Thouchets of Phaselie, a contemporary and fried of Aristolic who is rather fond of quoting from him, see Sussembl's note (rea) on the property of CL and Survey Philot. The Trans. In 1609 ft. [labe Cope Fournal of CL and Survey Philot. The MALL 11.3 g. 3 [Incel lines are fing. 1 in Nanck 7 frag. Graze. Frag. Sussas. (8) 8, 3 g. see 30 From 17(1) 8. g. ve learn that true noblity is a combination of wealth with high excellence hereditary in a family, depris and shorter of the property o

we learn that true wolding is a combine into of wealth with high excellence hereditary in a family, deep' all rhofers Appains. How far this third or intermediate view of always and the Appains of the state of the state of the natural agrees with that of Aristotle himself, is more clearly seen from the discussion in 1 (vml. 7 §8 1-3, where see mr. (986, 981). The question there conflowments and 'vitrae' which distinguish the Greeks from other-mees and make the latter their born always? Only Aristotle there more precisely restricts its relation to the Asiatic portion of the hefore III. 14, 6, 8, 80-basineyear 18 (gra q. 18). 'Aσίαν τῶν περί τὴν Ἐυρώπην. The other references are L. 2 § 4, 5 § 8 f., 6 § 4, 7 § 3 f., 8 § 12: IV (VII). 2 §§ 15, 16, 9 § 18, 14 § 21 with the notes.

In his whole doctrine Aristotle follows, in the main, the indications of his master. Plato in like manner condemns the enslavement of Hellenes by Hellenes; Rep. v. 469 b f., 471 A f. Ideas which Plato only suggested, Rep. viii. 460 A, its 590 c. Politicus 200 A, Aristotle works out systematically: see on 1. 5 § 9 n. (46) and the next note: Introd. p. 42 f.; Zeller op. c. Ii i 755 [Eng. tr. Plato

14.5 (1) Stuppe. [69] . Long. 1. June 14. [18] St. 14. [1

θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίων, οδτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ ἐξ ψί-(II)
στε βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πολλάκει μέντοι οὐ δύναται.
§ ὁ ὅτι μὲν οδυ ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφαβήτηστε, καὶ το
ε οὐν εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν ψύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δὲ ἐλεὐθεροι, ὅηλον,
καὶ ὅτι ἐτ τισι διώρνσται τὸ τοιοῦτοιν, ὡν συγμάρει τῷ μὲν τὸ
δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπίζειν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν
αρχεσθαι τὸ δ΄ ἄρχειν, ἡν ποψένασιν ἀρχην ἀρχειν, ὡστε
ξιο καὶ δεσπόζειν, τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῦν (τὸ
το γὰρ αὐτὸ συγμόρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ δλφ καὶ σώματι καὶ
γιχῆ, ὁ ἐδ ὁδιδικο μέρος τι τοῦ ἐσπότου, οἰο ἔμψιγχὸν τι
τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένου δὲ μέρος διὸ καὶ συμφόρονο το
τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένου δὲ μέρος διὸ καὶ συμφόρονο τὸ
τοτι τα αὶ ἀκλὶα δούλω καὶ δεσπότη πρὸς ἀλλγλονς τοῦς

1856 b 3 yerfelte MF Ph-4° QTP | 4 perfels , ceal & te follow bellow > Schmidt, cp. a y | 1 a 7 nefer after zerois MF | 1 works perfect of Mr. robbies, of perfer NT III Phat. Bk. which, though unsatisfactory, might perhaps be defended: see Dittenberge ϕ_t , α_t , γ_t yar; f. | 1 S The text can hardly be sound: cell-robbies of text can be robbies of the control, Bk.', perhaps the best suggestion; ϕ_t < calt > Susem.', ϕ_t < c_{dev} papergraph γ_t work < c_{dev} papergraph > Schmidt from termity: c_t > Segmen, ϕ_t is control by W* Ald. Lambin Göttling, of for ϵ_t and m_t < c_{dev} = c_{dev} | c_{dev} < c_{dev} = c_{dev} < c_{dev} = c_{dev} < c_{dev} = c_{dev} < c_{dev} < c_{dev} < c_{dev} = c_{dev} < c_{de

2 § 8 \$\phi\text{orns}\$ er\hl\text{1}\$ So above \$ \$ \$ \$ \text{in}\$ over \$\frac{1}{2}\$ or \$\text{updates}\$. Absolebor. Fulleborn remarks with truth that this admission quite invalidates all practical application of Aristotle's theory. It is even possible for a foresk to be a natural slave, for a barbarian, though an Asiatic (see on 1. 2, 4 and above n. \$2\text{4}\$ to the a tattral free-barbarian, though an Asiatic (see on 1. 2, 4 and above n. \$2\text{4}\$ to the actural free-barbarian though the see on 1. 2, 12. Hence the non-Hellene may even prove to be the non-Hellene may even prove to be the natural master of the Hellene. Sussis.

§ 9 5 ow devely Fortunately we can check the text (see Crit. Notes) by the directly opposed statement with which c. 6 opens, by § 6, § 10, and the next words, line 6, & vior with "in certain cases there is a clearly marked distinction of this sort, where namely....."

ο τό δὲ κακῶς] sc. ἄρχειν. § 10 τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ κτλ] See 1 § 3 π. (7). 11 ὁ δὲ δοῦλος...12 κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος] This is said of property (κτῆμα) generally and of the child Nic. Eth. v. 6. 8 quoted on 4 § 5 above. SUSEM. (57) See bowever Jackson's note ad loc.

 φύνει τούτων ήξεωμένοις, τοῦς δὲ με) τοῦτου του τρόπου, (II) 7 ἀλλά κατά νόμου καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοῦναιτίου)· φανερόν δὲ 16 καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πάσαι ἀλλήλων αὶ ἀρχαί, ἀσπερ τυὰ φαι ων σίν, ἡ μὲ ν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φότει ἡ δὲ δοῦλων ἐστίν, καὶ 19 ἡ μὲυ οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἶκος), 12 ἡ δὲ πολιτική ἐλευθέρων καὶ Γοων ἀρχή. ὁ μὲν οῦν δεσπό-22 της οὐ λόγεται κατά ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλά τῆ τοὐσδε ἐυνα,

would perhaps come better after those words Eudemian Ethics, VII. q. 2 1241 b 17 ff., withdraws the concession: since there is the same relation between soul and body, craftsman and tools, master and slave, in these cases there is no association (KODWνία) possible. οὐ γὰρ δύ ἐστίν, ἀλλά τὸ μεν εν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐνός (the two members of such a relation are not independent). out? διαιρετόν τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐκατέρῷ, ἀλλά ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐνὸς οῦ ἔνεκά ἐστιν (the good of the one is not separable from the good of the other, the good of both is the good of that one of the two for whose sake the other exists). τό τε γὰρ σῶμά ἐστιν δργανον σύμφυτον, καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ὁ δοῦλος ώσπερ μόριον καὶ δργανον άφαι-ρετόν. That even a slave is a man is emphasized in another fragment of Philemon, besides the one quoted on 3 § 4, viz. Έξοικιζόμενος 28: καν δούλος ή τις, volt: η του, δέστοτα, [δυθρωπο οὐτός δοτω, δυ δυθρωπος η. Cp. Becket Chari-klet III. 12 (ed. 2), Eng. tr. p. 357. Con-sult further Pol. Iv (VII). 8 §§ 1—4 n. (801); I. 2. 3 n. (7); III. 6. 6. SUSEM. (57 b) Comp. F. A. Paley's Euripides, Pref. to vol. I. pp. xiii f. with reff. there given, esp. Hel. 728, Melanippe fr. 506 (515), Phrixus fr. 823 (828): also Oncken 11. 33 ff.

C. 7 Aserwords then, or rule overstane, is not the same as statecraft; § 1. Nor does the relation of bearwing depend upon science; § 2. In what same three may be a science of the duties (1) of slaves (a) of devorancer (the duties (1) of slaves from η cryruch; sc. bolkwa): §§ 3—5. § 1 17 rules | Plato. See on 1 § 1 n. (a). Sussen. (68)

 Susem. (58)
 It is plain that here and 1 § 1 Aristotle is thinking of Plat. Polit. 258 E sq. esp. 250 B. It is however a mistake to attribe the doctrine, without qualification, to Plats, who at \$60 introduces a long and shakeness may with the could be also and shakeness may be at the could be shepherd-king of the theoretic period certained all regulative functions indictininately, this state of things model accretion and regulative functions indictininately, the state of things model of the country of the control of the country of the country

Memoral, III. 4 § 12. Octov. 13 § 5, to Socrates?" [In. 4 § 12. Octov. 13 § 5, to Socrates?" [Association of the Apyth Compare 19 (111). § 8 4 (E duelou), 11 (10). 11 § 8 (E four not duelou), also II. 2 § 6, III. 16 § 5, 17 § 1 and m. (13) on II. 2 § 6, On the other hans so e III. 4 § with m.

As is asserted in the passage of the 245rily moderic slowal But does this latter at once exclude the former? As was shown in m. (64) on c. 68 k. Hato is very late from denying the one because the very late from denying the one because the regards the more capable as the natural ruler, but for that very reason assigns the perfect ant of ruling, of whatever kind, to the result of the companies of the contraction of the control of the con-of the control of the control of the con-of the conόμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος ἐπιστήμη δ' ἄν (II) εἴη καὶ δεσποτική καὶ δουλική, δουλική μὲν οἵαν περ ὁ ἐν

²⁴ Συρακούσαις ἐπαίδευσευ (ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν § 3 ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παίδας), εἶη ὅ ἄν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείου τούτων μάθησις, οἰου ἐνδοποιντικὸ καὶ τάλλα τὰ

§ \$ 6010ασκε τα εγκυκλια οιακουηματά τους παιοας), ειθ ο αν και έπὶ πλείου τούτων μάθησις, οἶου δψοποιητική καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαίπα γένη τῆς διακουίας. ἐστι γὰρ ἔτερα ἐτέρων τὰ μέν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ΄ ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

29 δούλος πρό δούλου, δεσπότης πρό δεσπότου.

8 al μὸ οὖν τοιαῦται πάσια δουλικαὶ ἐπιστήμια ἐεἰτ' δεστο-κιτική δ΄ επιστήμι ἐειτὶ ἡ χορστική δούλουν, ὁ γρὰ δεστό-της οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτῶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλους, ὁτι ὁ ἄτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδεν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ 3 σεμνὰ ἢ γὰρ τὸν δούλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιῶτ, ἐκείνον δεί 3 τοῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττευ. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὸς κακοπαθείν, ἐπίτροσου λαμβάνει τούτην τὴν τιώτη, αὐτο τιώτ

23 de raïs M° P¹ Susem.\(\subsection \) strongly, see Dittenberger φt. c. p. 1362, de [rañ] Susem.\(\frac{1}{2}\) = 4 draillenes Π° Bt.\(\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\texit{\text{\text{\texictex{\text{\texi}\text{\text{\text{\text{\texit{\texict{\texi{\texi{\

philosophers have in his eyes the highest excellence in every respect. A visatole has not taken pains enough over his refutation here. In the Ethics he is more accurate, beginning with a successful attack upon the Socratic principle which Plato accepted: see Zeller opt. 1. Il if 627 f. Susem. (69, 60) xar4 = in vitue of, as in xa66. The

excellence (doern) arises from knowledge.

 κ arå=in virtue of, as in κ a θ b. The term 'master' is not applied to any one because of his knowledge, but from his being of a given character.

§ 3 27 τα μιν ἐντιμότερα κτλ] The latter are the conditions for bare existence, the former for the ennobling refinement and perfecting of existence. SUSEM. (61) 20 A verse of the Pankratiast. a

29 of Verse. Of the Patherminals, as 20 of Verse. Of the Patherminals of Company Patherms, frag. (Cl. C. Schneider). But if one master thus differs from another, it is implied that in the activities of freemen there is a similar difference; that thus all human occupations exhibit an ascending scale from the lowest and most mechanical work up to lowest and most mechanical work up to Aristotle calls (δαγργγ) employment of leisure, as distinct from work or occupation (Ludw. Schneider). See τν (v11). c. 8.f. c. 1.4 § 1.2 ff. SUSEM. (62) § 4 32 σίκε ἐν τῷ κτῶσθαι] Below c. 8 § 2 τίς τὸρὲ βέται χρη σομ ἐνη τοῖε κατὰ τὴν ὁιὰιον παρά τὴν ὁικ.; 111. 4.1 τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα - ἀρχὴν δεεποτικήν >, ά ποιεῖν ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἀρχοντ όκα ἀ ποιεῖν ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἀρχοντ όκα ἀ τοιεῖν ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἀρχοντ όκα ἐκτίκου ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἀρχοντ όκα ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἀρχοντ όκα ἐκτίσταθαι τὸ ἐκτίστα

SEM. (63)
33 σύδθη μέγα έχουστα] IV (VII). 3, 2
σύδθη γάρ τό γε δούλφ, β δούλος, χρήσθαι
εκμέφ, VI (V). 15, 3 al δ' ὑπηρετικαί
<πών ἐπτωκινων καὶ πρὸι ἀς, βν εἰπορώκη τάττουτ δούλους. But see I. 13, 14
and π. (123). SUSEM. (64)

§ 5 36 The overseer, έπίτροτος, or house-steward, raμίας, was himself a slave: Feach-Arist. Jecon. 1. § 8 1244 a 26. 6 § 5 1345 a 8 ff., Xen. Jecon. 12. 2, Aristoph. Krightgay f. 1: Becket Charikles III. 23 (cd. 2), Eng. tr. p. 363. Yet no doubt Greeks by birth were readily taken for this office, as well as for that of παιδεγισγός. SUSIAM. (64)

Translate: hence all who have the means of escaping personal discomfort employ an overseer to take this charge and themselves the while engage in pub-

lic affairs or in study.

δὲ πολιτεύονται ἡ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητική ἐτέρα ἀμ-(ΙΙ) φοτέρων τούτων, οἶον [ή] δικαία πολεμική τις οὖσα [ή θηρευτική].

περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν ΙΙΙ 2256 2 Τρόπου όλως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικής θεω-

38 [ή] Susem., ή Schnitzer wrongly: ?[δικαία] or ?[τις οὖσα] Susem. || [ή θηρευτική] Susem.2, [ή] Jackson || Conring and Spengel suspect the whole sentence 37 ή δὲ κτητική...38 θηρευτική, Schmidt all from 37 ή δὲ κτητική...1256 a 3 μέρος τι ήν

37 η δέ κτλ] With κτητική supply δούλων. But it may be inferred from c. 8 § 12, διδ και ή πολεμική φύσει κτητική πως όσται (ή γὰρ θηρευτική μέρος αὐτῆς), ἢ δεῖ χρήσθαι πρός τε τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰρ ἀθθρώπας όσοι πεφικότες ἄρχεσθαι μὴ θέλουσω, that under the one genus 'offensive war' Aristotle includes two species: (1) the chase, a war against wild animals, (2) war conducted for the capture of slaves.

πολεμική

πρός τὰ θηρία (θηρευτική) πρός τοὺς φύσει δούλους

If this be so, he knows nothing of an art of 'man-hunting': and the words at the end, 38 ή θηρευτική, must be an interpolation. Cp. further 1. 2 § 4 n. (11), 6 § 8 nn. (54, 56), IV (VII). 2 § 15 οῦ δεί πάντων πειρᾶσθαι δεσπόζειν, ἄλλὰ τῶν δεσποστῶν, ἄσπερ οὐδὲ θηρεύειν ἐπὶ θοίνην ή θυσίαν ανθρώπους άλλα τό πρός τοῦτο θηρευτόν nn. (727, 728): IV (VII). I4 § 21, where one object of military training is το δεσπόζειν των άξεων δου-λεύειν. Susem. (65)

This view, that $\theta_{\eta\rho\epsilon\nu\tau\nu\kappa}$ is a species of πολεμική. Tackson cannot accept. On the contrary, from 8 § 12 (just quoted) he infers that to Aristotle (as to Plato Soph. 222 B, Laws 823 B) wokepuch is a species of $\theta \eta \rho e \nu \tau i \kappa \eta$: see his note on that passage. He translates here, "the art of acquiring slaves, that is, the just art of acquiring slaves, is distinct from both of these," from δουλική and δεσποτική, "being a species of the art of war or the art of

hunting." cc. 8-11 περί πάσης κτήσεως καί χρηματιστικής.

c. 8 In what relation does χρηματι-στική stand to Economic? Is it (1) the same science, or (2) a branch of it, or (3) a subsidiary science? It is not the same, for it serves a different purpose, accumulation: §§ 1, 2. Whether it is a branch or not is disputed, and must be decided for each of the various stecies of vonuariorish

separately: § 3 Review of the various natural modes of subsistence: SS 4-12. The natural art of production (κτητική), which has for its object the accumulation

of natural wealth within due limits, is a branch of Economic: §§ 13-15.

For this section of the work consult Ludw. Schneider Die staatswirthschaft-Ludw. Schneider Die staatswirkschaft-lichen Lehren zuw (The theceies of Fo-litical Economy in the Politich), pt. 1 Deutsch-Knon, 1868, pt. 11, Neu-Rup-pin, 1973: Glaser De Arristoliti dei-trina de dividii (Königsberg 1896. 4) with Bendisen's review in Philologue XVI. 498 E. Hample Bemerkengen (Re-marks on P.W. I.) Lyck, 1863: Schnitzer Zu Arristotter Politis in Be 1. 1864. 499-516: Susemill on Pol. 1. cc. 8-11 in Rhein. Mus. xx. 1865. 504-517: Büchsenschütz Zu Aristoteles Politik I. cc. 8—11 in Jahrb. für Philol. XCV. 1867. 477-482, 713—6. SUSEM. (66) There can be little doubt that Ari-

stotle wrote with especial reference to Plato: Rep. II. 370 B-372 A, Laus XI. 918 A-920 C (Cp. VIII. 831 E, 849 D), Soph. 219 Af., 222 Bff., 223 C, D, Politicus 287 C-290 A, etc.

§ 1 1256 a 1 Xphmatictikn is applied (1) to the whole art of acquisition, being thus completely identical with κτητική. In this sense the term was introduced at 3 § 3 (cp. 4 § 1 n.) and this holds throughout c. 8, and in 9 § 4. In a narrower sense it is used (2) for the acquisition by exchange, μεταβλητική, of the kind of wealth which in Aristotle's view is unnatural, i.e. not for use, but to exchange again at a profit. In this sense young τιστική 'money-making, profit-making' =καπηλική 'trade.' So from c. q § 1 onwards. Again in q § 12, 10 § 2 it is used (3) for that part of the art of acquisition which, as opposed to (2), is directed solely to natural wealth and is intimately connected with Economic. Plainly (3) = ή ἀναγκαία χρηματιστική,

οήσομεν κατά τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπου, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦ-(ΙΙΙ) λος της κτήσεως μέρος τι ην. πρώτον μεν οθν απορήσειεν αν τις πότερον ή χρηματιστική ή αὐτή τῆ οἰκονομική ἐστιν 5 ή μέρος τι ή ύπηρετική, καὶ εἰ ύπηρετική, πότερον ώς ή κερκιδοποιητική τη ύφαντική ή ώς ή χαλκουργική τη άνδριαντοποιία (οὐ γὰρ ώσαύτως ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὅρ-§ 2 γανα παρέχει, ή δὲ τὴν ὕλην λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον, έξ ου τι αποτελείται έργον, οιον υφάντη μεν έρια 10 ἀνδριαντοποιώ δὲ γαλκόν). (p. 11)

ότι μέν ουν ουν ή αυτή τη οικονομική ή χρηματιστική, 2 δήλου (της μέν γάρ το πορίσασθαι, της δέ το χρήσασθαι τίς ναο έσται ή γρησομένη τοις κατά την οίκιαν παρά την οίκονοια μικήν:) πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτης ἐστί τι ἡ ἔτερον είδος, ἔνει διαμ-

1256 a 5 [ή] ὑνηρετικὸν, καὶ εἰ ὑνηρετικὸν Bender, certainly not right. That Ma omits π is quite unimportant | 6 κερκιδοπομεύ Pa-4- O Sb Tb Ald. Bk. and a later hand in P8, κερκιδονοική P8 (1st hand) | g ξριον Γ P1 Susem1-2- | 10 χαλκός Γ P1 Susem.1.3, χαλκ' M* | 11 τη οίκονομική ή χρηματιστική Sylburg for οίκονομική (ή οίκονομική corr.9 of P⁸ and Bk.) τῆ χρηματιστικῆ | 13 παρὰ] περί M*P⁸ S^b T^b

(2) = ή μὴ ἀναγκαία of c. q § 18; and (1) the widest range of the term includes

both, the getting of goods as well as the getting of gain. Susem. (69)

2 κατά τον ὑφηγημένον τρόπον] "in accordance with the procedure adopted," namely, that from part to whole. See 1 § 3 n. (4); 3 § 1 n. (29): III. 1 § 2 n.

(434). SUSEM. (66) ἐπείπερ...ήν] "since the slave is, as we saw, included under the head of property,'

being defined as κτήμα, a chattel.

5 καl el ὑπηρ. κτλ] The more precise way in which this third possibility is expressed leads us to anticipate a decision in its favour (Hampke). However when the decision comes to be made, 10 88 1- it only has a preference given it; it is not exclusively adopted, as Hampke thinks. That the question, in which of the two senses χ₀μ₀. is auxiliary to Economic, is never taken up is most surprising. We can only conjecture the answer from passing hints: see on 10 § 2. SUSEM. (67) 7 μlν δργανα... f) δt την θλην) The one provides tools to work with, the other raw material to work up (Oncken). SUSEM. (67 b)

This distinction comes from Plato Politicus 287 C, δπόσαι <τέχναι> παρείχοντο δργανα περί την υφαντικήν... έτίθεμεν ώς συναιτίους: 288 D, Ε τὸ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις σώματα παρέχον έξ ών καὶ έν οῖς δημιουργούσιν όπόσαι των τεχνών νύν εξιηνται (Tackson). So too the conception of ψπηρετικαί τέχραι comes from the Politicus 281 Ε: δσαι μέν το πράγμα αύτο μη δημιουργούσι, ταις δε δημιουργούσαις δργανα παρασκευάζουσεν ... ταύτας μέν ξυναιτίους <τέχρας>. The Eleate quotes τὰς μές περί τε άτράκτους και κερκίδας as the

first examples of ξυναίτιαι τέχ. (Eaton). § 2 8 ύλην το ύποκείμενον κτλ] Plato denotes this by το πρωτογενές άνθρώπου κτήμα Politicus 288 E: but ΰλη occurs in Phil. 54 C φημί δη γενέσεως μέν ένεκα... πάντ' δργανα καί πάσαν θλην παρατίθεσθαι πασι.

12 τίς γαρ κτλ] See n. (63) on c. 7 § 4. SUSEM. (68) is to use the household goods if it be not

Economic (παρὰ = except)?

14 Two alternatives are given in § 1, η μέρος τι η ὑπηρετική, and it is not easy to see what has become of the latter in the statement here wbrepov u ép os auris i Erepor eldos and in § 3, 17 i γεωργική πότερον μέρος τι ή έτερον γένος. For reasons given in Excursus III. on Bk. p. 209 q. v., both alternatives of § I should be supposed included under μέρος, that term being so loosely used as to include even an auxiliary science. Susem. (69)

- 8 φισβήτησιν, εἰ γίρι ἐστι τοῦ χοριματιστικοῦ θεορήσια πόθευ χρή- (III) ματα καὶ κτήσιε ἔσται, ἡ ἐδ κτήσις πολλά περιεληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, ὅστε πρώτου ἡ γεωργική πότερου μέρος τι τῆς οἰκουρικής ἡ ἔτερόν τι γένος, καὶ καθόλου ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφήν ἐτιμέλεια [καὶ κτήσις].
- 84 Δλλά μήν είδη γε πολλά τροφής, διό και βίοι πολλοί και ε τών ξώων και τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν οὐ γὰρ οἰόν τε ξην ἀνευ τροφής, ώστε αἱ διαφοραὶ τῆς τροφής τούς βίους πεποιήκασι δια-ξε φθρουτας τῶν ζώων. τῶν τε γὰρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν ἀγελαῖα τὰ δὲ σπο-χε
 - 15 of γλρ] efrep Montecatino needlessly, since Vallen (Petric p. 128 f. et. 3) has shown that of γλρ can be used in the same sense. Even then Vallen's comma after 16 efren must be a full stop. But perhaps διωρισβήσησεν. οι γλρ...κτίραι δεττω, "* with the punctuation of previous celd, is right ! 10 ferm, «β » privas Bernay»! 17 ** «δνετ Coming Sussen." 'The lacuna began with so co δυτερ. Hamples Schnitzer. Other proposals fruitless: see my large critical californ, ad loc. and Addends | ολουσμούρ Carrey, χημιαστατική Γ.Π. Ατ. Ελε. | 19 [cal κτίξοι]? Sussen.: καὶ επόρειο? Staht | 12 π reconsidered by M*P.*

§ 3 15 Vahlen (see critical notes) takes el yap to mean "if namely" as in Alkidamas De soph. 11, 12 do' obe einfles ήμας άλλην τινά ποιείσθαι μελέτην λόγων; el γάρ οι τοις δυόμασω έξειργασμένοι... άπιστίας και φθόνου τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων γνώμας εμπιπλάσι, and Aris. Rhet, III, 17τι εί ναο Αγιλλέα λένων Πηλέα έπαινεί. είτα Αλακόν, είτα του θεόν, όμολως δέ καλ ἀνδρίαν, ή (ms. ή) τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖ ή τοιόνδε έστίν. Elsewhere γὰρ appears redundant, or rather, no apodosis is expressed to the sentence introduced by it: Nic. Eth. VIII. 8. 6 οἱ χρήσιμοι δὲ καὶ ήδείς έπὶ πλείου διαμένουσιν: ἔως γὰρ (so long namely as) ἄν πορίζωσιν ήδουὰς ή ώφελείας άλλήλοις: so έπει γαρ Rhat. II. ωφελείας αλληλου: SO επει γαρ ΚΝΑ. Π. 25. 10, ἢ γαρ Pol. VI (IV). 8. ΄΄, δτε μὸν γαρ VIII (V). 1. 8. ''See however Spengel Aris. Poet. u. Vahlens neueste Bearbei-tung p. 13 ft.'' (Susemihl). 16 The elements of wealth enumerated

16 The elements of wealth enumerated in Rhet. I. 5 § 7 (and Pol. II. 7 § 21) are γγ̄s, χωρίων κτῆσις, ἐτι δὲ ἐπἰπλων κτῆσις καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀκραπόδων : also νομόματος πλῆθος which, according to c. 9

below, is not true wealth.

17 mp6royl There is no word like betreper which expressly corresponds to this, cp. Poet. 13 § 2. What, we may ask, answers to it in substance? Either (i) the expression is again inexact, and \$\pi\$ wept \(\pi \) mode \(\phi \) or \(\pi \) or \(\pi

clothing tools, all things in general which Artistole calls "instruments for life and wellbeing," including slaves—if directly produced or acquired by plunder without resert to exchanges. If so, Exchange is the Seirepan. This view is supported by the contract of the con

duction and appropriation of food, in the strict sense of the term, then we must look for "secondly" in the remarks on the procurement of clothing and tools the procurement of clothing and tools animals under domestication, § 11, and on the capture of slaves, § 12. In any case, whatever the grounds for supposing the text defective (see on § 12 n. 74), the text defective (see on § 12 n. 74). The proper is dependent, like wider line typing of the product.

ποτερον is dependent, like πόθεν line
15, upon ἔστι τοῦ χρ. θεωρήσαι.

§§ 4, 5 That the way in which animals support themselves determines their mode

of life is more fully stated *Hist. animal.* I.

1. 23, 487 b 33 ff., VIII. i. II, 589 a

4 ff.; and the proof is given in detail ib.

VIII. cc. 2—II. Under καρποφάγα are included animals who feed on berries,

ραδικά έστιν, όποτέρους συμφέρει πρός τήν τροφήν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰ (III) ες τὰ μὰν ζφοφάγα τὰ δὲ καρποφάγα τὰ δὲ παμφάγα αὐτοῖν εἶναι, ὅστε πρὸς τὰς βαστοίνας καὶ την αἰρεσιν τὴν τοίτουν ἡ φύσις τοὺς βίους αὐτοῖν διώρισευ, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ ταὐτὰ ἐκάστες ήδὺ κατὰ φύσι του ἀλλλά ἐτερα ἐτέρος, καὶ αὐτὸν τόν ζφοφάγων καὶ τοῦν ξε καρποφάγων οἱ βίοι πρὸς ἀλληλα διεστάσιν ὁμιοίως δὲ 30 καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπουν. πολλ γὰρ διαφέρουσιν οἱ τούτων βίοι. « οἱ μὲν οῦν ἀργότατοι υσμάδες εἰσίν (ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων τροφή ζώνω ἀνευ πόνου γίνεται σχολάζουσιν ἀναγκαίου δὲ ὅστος μεταβάλλευ τοῦς κτήνετι δὰι τὰς νομάς καὶ 3α αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζουται συνακολοιθέῦν, ὕστερ γεωργίαν ζῶσαν ξε γεωργούντες) οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θήρας ζῶσι, καὶ θήρας ἔτεροι ἐτέρας, οἰον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας, οἱ δ' ἀφ΄ δλιείας, ὅσοι λί-

25 τὰ δὲ παμφάγα omitted by the 1st hand in P³ (supplied by p³ in the margin), τὰ δὲ by M⁴ ‖ 26 καll κατὰ Bernays, perhaps rightly ‖ 30 πολί] πολλοί P⁴S³ T⁵ Ald. and probably also Q, multis () William ‖ 31 κόν] τὰρ Γ πραγεστιθί 및 33 μεταβάλλιων after τοῦ κτίνετα Μ΄ P¹ ‖ 36 δλειέμα Μο P^{1,0,3,4}

roots, fruit and vegetables, so that the term is wider than ποηφάγα = herbivorous. In *Hist. animal. σαρκοφάγο*ς 'carnivorous' is chiefly used: ζφοφάγος hardly ever.

S of peer-tween facilities: "to enable them to get at their foot and exprare it." By veriew understand figh primarily. By review understand figh primarily. By review understand figh primarily may be a second of the primarily may reads are for east "to give them facilities for the expruse of their food." By 6.4 S. Think Wealth of nations 186 a. S. Think Wealth of nations 186 a. S. Think Wealth of nations are represented by the primarily place lowest in the scale the surgest who depend upon causal hunting or failing, although in such a life fast of the scale of the surgest who depend upon causal hunting or failing, although in such a life fast of the scale of the surgest of the scale of

taming them; cp. n. above on 5 § 7.
31 The Scythians, or such North African tribes as Herodotos describes, iv. 186, would represent these routhers. They are wholly distinct from the non-migratory routes of Hellenic democracies,

vii (vi). 4. ii.

32 "The cattle being forced to shift
their quarters for pasturage the owners
must also go about with them, as farmers
to whom live-stock serves instead of land."

§ 7 36 Anorelas] It is highly characteristic of the Greek philosopher that while he is indignant against trade and particularly against lending money on interest, 9 § 9 ff., 10 §§ 4, 5, he includes piracy as one species of the chase amongst the direct natural modes of acquisition or production, and therefore as appropriate to a householder. He was led to this by the observation that not only do certain uncivilized tribes live by plunder, and combine with a nomad life a life of brigandage, but also amongst the most ancient Greeks, as Thuc. I. 5 precisely informs us, piracy was rather honourable than disgraceful ούκ έχοντός πω αlσχένην τούτου τοῦ έργου φέροντος δέ τι και δόξης μάλλω, cp. Hom. Od. 111. 73, 1X. 252: and even later it was usual amongst the Locrians and other Hellenic peoples (Thuc. 1. 5, 11. 32, IV. 9. 2). Here he has forgotten his own principle, that the true nature of a thing must not be sought in its beginnings, but in its perfect development, 2 § 8. A strong national preju-dice is apparent in all this, but it is well known that the earlier centuries of the Christian era had the same aversion to lending on interest (see Introd. 30), while many barbarities were allowed without scruple, as for instance the right to plunder wrecks, which Schlosser (1.47 n.) adduces as a parallel. See Introd. 27 f. Susem. (71)

μνας καὶ έλη καὶ ποταμούς ἡ θάλατταν τοιαύτην προσοι-(ΙΙΙ) κοῦσιν, οὶ δ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ἡ θηρίων ἀγρίων τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον 39 γένος των ανθρώπων από της γης ζη και των ημέρων καρ-18 πων. οί μεν ούν βίοι τοσούτοι σχεδόν είσιν, όσοι γε αὐτόφυτον έχουσι την έργασίαν καὶ μη δι' άλλαγης καὶ κα-6 h πηλείας κομίζουται την τροφήν, νομαδικός γεωργικός λη- (p. 10) στρικός άλιευτικός θηρευτικός, οξ δε καὶ μυγυύντες έκ τούτων ήδέως ζώσι, προσαναπληρούντες τον ένδεέστερον βίον, ή τυγγάνει έλλείπων πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης εἶναι, οἶον οῖ μὲν 5 νομαδικόν ἄμα καὶ ληστρικόν, οἱ δὲ γεωργικόν καὶ θηρευ-39 τικόν όμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ώς ἀν ή χρεία συναναγκάζη, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν. ή μέν οὖν τοιαύτη ε κτήσις ύπ' αὐτής φαίνεται τής φύσεως δεδομένη πᾶσιν, 9 ώσπερ κατά την πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθύς, οὕτως καὶ τελειω-10 θείσιν. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τὰ μὲν συνεκτίκτει των ζώων τοσαύτην τροφήν ώς ίκανήν είναι μέγρις οὖ ἃν δύνηται αὐτὸ αὐτῶ πορίζειν τὸ γεννηθέν, οἶον ὅσα σκωληκοτοκεί ή φοτοκεί όσα δὲ ζφοτοκεί, τοίς γεννωμένοις

41 [έργασίαν...b 1 την] Schmidt

1256 b 1 πορίζονται Π2 Bk. perhaps rightly | γεωργικός is wanting in Γ Me, and perhaps Spengel is right in transposing it to follow θηρευτικός | 3 του ἐνδεέστερου βίου Bernays, του ένδεέστατου βίου Γ Η Βk.: το ένδεξε του βίου Bas.3, το ένδεξε κατά τον βίον Reiske (better) | [y...4 εξναι] Schmidt | 8 διδομένη Π2 Bk. | 13 γενοµévois II2 Bk.1

37 τοιαύτην] 'such as before de-scribed' i.e. 'suitable for fishing'. The same use of the pronoun in I. 1. 2, and in 4. 4 δεῖ δὲ τοιούτους (i.e. 'less friendly') elva. See Cope on Rhst. 1. 5. 6. 36-38 With this classification of the different modes of the chase cp. Plato Laws VII. 823 Β: πολλή μέν ή τῶν ἐνύδρων (sc. θήρα), πολλή δὲ ή τῶν πτηνών, πάμπολυ δέ και το περί τα πεζά θηρεύματα, οὐ μόνον θηρίων ... καὶ κλω-τείαι καὶ ληστών...θήσαι. See also n. on 7 8 5-

39 ήμέρων] cultivated. § 8 40 όσοι γε αὐτόφυτον] "derive their employment from natural growth." Nature is used now for what is primitive If the later development. 41 καπηλεία=retail trade; έμπορία= wholesale trade, commerce. The former is

nsed as a contemptuous term, "huckstering", Plato Laws VIII. 849 D, XI. 918 D, Soth, 223 D.

1256 b, 1 The Troopie = subsistence,

support: see m. (70) on § 3. Susem. (72)
2 of δὲ κτλ] "Others select out of these some which they combine in order to pass an agreeable existence, supplying by an addition the deficiency in independence of a more meagre mode of life " (Cope). § 9 γ συναναγκάζη=constrain: σύν

intensive as in συμπληρούν. § 10 12 δσα σκωληκοτοκεί ή ώστοnet] Aristotle erroneously believed that insects lay no eggs, but produce worms or maggots which are then transformed

through several metamorphoses into the perfect insect: see Aubert and Wimmer Introd. to the De generatione animal. p. 14, Meyer Thierkunde des Ar. p. 201 f. What he says of the difference between worm and egg serves in particular to explain this passage. Thus De gener. anim. II. 1 \$\$8-12, 732 a 25 ff.: one species of animals, the viviparous, bring forth young like themselves fully developed; others bear offspring not yet organized or of perfect form, and of these the vertebrates 14 ξιε τροφήν ἐν αὐτοῖς μέχως τινός, τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου γά- (III) 311 λακτος φύσιν. ἄστε ὁμολος δηλου, ὅτε καὶ Γγενομένοις] οἰη- Τ τέον τὰ τε φυτὰ τόν ζώων ἔνεκεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα τῶν ἀνθρώτων χάριν, τὰ μὲν ῆμερα καὶ διὰ τὴν χυῆσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν τροφήν, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων, εἰ μη πάντα, ἀλλά 19 τὰ γε πλώστα τῆς τροφής καὶ ἄλλης βοηθείας ἕνεκεν, ὕνα 31 καὶ ἐσθής καὶ ἄλλα δργανα γίνηται ἐξ αὐτῶν. εἰ οδυ ἡ φύσις μηδὲν μήτε ἀτελές ποιεὶ μήτε μάτην, ἀναγκαίων τῶν ἀνθρώτων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν φύσιν 33 διὰ καὶ ή πολεμικό ψόσει κτητική πος ἔστα () γὰρ θη- ε

15 [posquérou] Göttling, robambéme Ar. Sustembré prosquérou Γ M° II BL, prosquérou P (est hatél), δλοια γοραφόσε P (corr. in the margin), γοραφόσε P (est hatél), δλοια γοραφόσε P (corr. in the margin), γοραφόσε Bernays, [δήμο δτο nai γοραφόσε] Bernays, [δήμο δτο nai γοραφόσε] Bernays, [δήμο δτο nai γοραφόσε] Βεταιας για ψέτ P (εst hatél), τὰ πότα P (corrector) | 10 ο γόργια ΜΓΡ | γ γούν Contring Sustemb, which suits the sense but is against Astitutéle's usage, γιβ γ Sustem, κότ P II Ar. Ble. Bernays | 12 [δία...4 πότη] and 23 κτητική φόσε πολημική μία να ξιβ δέτ... σδ πόλημος καὶ πρώτος [Schmidt, who transpose the latter to follow rises § 10 φρονενική. Sec. Or. III. 5 ff.

(τὰ ἔναιμα) lay eggs, while the invertebrates (τὰ ἄναιμα) breed worms. The difference between egg and worm is this: if the young animal is developed from a part and the rest serves as nourishment for it, it is an egg: but if the whole of the young animal proceeds from the whole of what is produced, it is a worm. Also Hist. anim. 1. 5. 3 489 b 6 ff.: a perfect germ (κύημα) is called an egg when one part of it serves for the formation and another for the nourishment of the young animal developed out of it, a worm when the whole animal is developed out of the whole of the germ by its organization and growth: cp. ib. V. 19. 2 550 b 28 ff. ἐκ δὲ τῶν σκωλήκων οὐκ ἐκ μέρους τινὸς γίνεται το ζώου, ώσπερ έκ των ώων, άλλ όλον αθέάνεται και διαρθρούμενου γίνεται τό ζφον, and De gener. απίπι. III. 2. 4 752 a 27 f. ούχ ώσπερ οἱ σκώληκες αὐτὰ δι' αὐτῶν (sc. τὰ ψὰ) λαμβάνει τὴν αίξησιν. It follows from these explanations that what Aristotle asserts in the present passage of worms is in reality only true of eggs. All that the former receive from the parent worm is that capacity for perfect self-development which is wanting in the egg. Cp. also 10 § 3 n. (96).

SUSEM. (73)

14 τοῦ καλουμένου γάλακτος φόσω=
the natural substance called milk. So τοῦ
άέρος, τοῦ θερμοῦ φόσις=air, heat respec-

tively: see Bouitz Ind. Ar. 838 a 8 ff. with the examples 837 b 42 ff. § 11 15 perophrous] "after they are born." The crude teleology of §§ 11, 12

is common to all the Socratics and was probably derived from Socrates himself: Xen. Mem. 1. 4. 5 ff. § 12 23 διό καὶ ἡ πολαμική κτλ] This does not directly follow from the fore-

does not directly follow from the forcgoing. Some intermediate thought has to be supplied: < it must further be assumed that amongst men themselves the less perfect are formed for the service of the more perfect>. Cp. also n. (70) on \$3. SUSEM. (74)

§ 3. SISSEM. (**) SISSEM. (**)

ρευτική μέρος αὐτῆς), ή δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρός τε τὰ θηρία καὶ (ΙΙΙ) 25 των ανθρώπων όσοι πεφυκότες άρχεσθαι μη θέλουσιν, ώς φύσει δίκαιον όντα τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον.

εν μεν ούν είδος κτητικής κατά φύσιν τής οἰκονομικής μέρος έστίν δ δεί ήτοι υπάρχειν ή πορίζειν αυτήν όπως υπάρχη,

26 όντα after τοῦτον Η2 Bk. On τοῦτον p2 gives the gloss του θηρευτικόν, this θηρευτικόν has crept into the text in Γ Ma after τοῦτον τον | πρώτον is added after πόλεμον by M* P1 and P2 (corr.), και πρώτον by Γ: but, as Schmidt observes, this πρώτον has arisen from α=εν | 27 κτητικής after κατά φόσω M* P1 | τής οἰκονομικής | τοῦ οίκονομικού Thurot, [μέρος] Schneider Hampke Thurot: but see Comm. | 28 [ἐστίν ... ὑπάρχη] Schmidt | δ] ῷ Thurot (Revue critique, 1869, p. 84 f.), δί δ Schnitzer, ῷ Lambin Reiske, δ<τι> Zwinger, <καθ>ὸ Bernays: in Revue critique, 1872, p. 57 f. Thurot considers the sense given by the last three suggestions necessary: & Rassow, who transposing a... ὑπάρχη to follow olkias and reading οῦ for 20 ων has the following order έστιν * οδ έστι θησαιρισμός... ή ολείας α δεί ήτοι...δπως δπάρχη

defence or to regain liberty can hardly be called hunting: the notion of hostility is the wider. (γ) The clause ωs φύσει δίκαιον assigns a separate justification for the kind of war in question, which is not therefore deduced from the chase. It depends upon the view of slavery laid down in cc. 5, 6. (4) Sepulveda renders: quo fit ut opes bello etiam parandi ratio a natura quodammodo proficiscatur, making πολεμική an epithet of κτητική and μέρος αυτής=μέρος πολεμικής κτητικής; he also refers ή to θηρευτική. But though this gives excellent sense it involves transposing φώσει after κτητική: and there is hardly good evidence of two adjectives in ική so combined, the one as attribute the other as substantive. Susem. Quaest. Crit. III. p. 6 f. Then translate: "hence the natural art of war will belong in a sense to the art of acquisition (for the chase is only one branch of it)" viz. of natural warfare, and θηρευτική, § γ, is αὐτόφυτοι ἐργασία. "It" i.e. war "has to be employed not only warfare in the control of against wild animals but also against all such men as, though naturally slaves, refuse submission, this species of war having a natural justification."

The view given above as (3)— $\alpha b \tau \eta \hat{s} = \kappa \tau \eta \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$, $\hat{\eta} = \theta \eta \rho \epsilon \iota \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta}$ —is supported by Jackson, who would extend the parenthesis to πόλεμον. He translates: 'natural warfare will in a sense be a branch of acquisition: for (1) the chase is a mode of acquisition, and (2) can be applied either against wild animals (in which case it is θηρευτική proper) or against natural slaves, who refuse to obey, that being a branch of war which has a natural justification.' He adds: "The &alperes then is

κτητική θηρευτική θηρευτική proper

From 7 § 5 it would appear that πο-λεμική is still further divided. So Plato, Soph. 222 C, includes ληστική, ανδραποδιστική, and τυραννική under the general

obstring, and reparatory infiner the general head of redeputed, which is one of the two branches of spaceobysect."

25 de dever Siecuro J. Consult the reff. given m. (65) on 7 § 5. SUSEM. (76) § 13 27 & plu do we rad) See Exc. III. on B. I. p. 210. SUSEM. (76. b) 28 With the charges proposed by

Madvig and Rassow (see critical notes) translate: "one species of acquisition then is a branch of economic science, that branch namely whose task it is to collect a store of objects necessary for life and useful for civil or domestic society, objects which ought therefore to be at hand for the householder or to be provided to his hand by his science (Economic)." Others (Lambin, Zwinger, Bernays, Thurot) either change 6, or else extract from it the sense of 'since', 'in so far as', taking ων ἐστι θησ. χρημάτων=the means to a store of commodities (or possessions, κτημάτων): a rendering not very clear, see § 14. Susem. rendering not very clear, see 9.14. SUSEM. Jackson, for the most part agreeing with Bernays, interprets ων έστι θησ. χρημάτων 'things capable of being stored' (here perhaps anticipated by Göttling ταῦτα τὰ χρηματα ων έστι θησ.); he

(p. x3)

ων έστι θησαυρισμός χρημάτων πρὸς ζωήν ἀναγκαίων καὶ (III) §11 χρησίμων εἰς κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἡ οἰκίας, καὶ ἔοικεν ὅ γ' αλη- 9

3ι θινός πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης κτήσεως αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἄπειρός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ Σόλων ὁποὶ ποιήσας

πλούτου δ' οὐδέν τέρμα πεφασμένον διοδράσι κείται.

§ 15 κείται γὰρ ὅσπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅργανον ἄπει-36 ρον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστι τέχνης οὖτε πλήθει οὖτε μεγέθει, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ὀργάνων πλήθος ἐστιν οἰκονομικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν.

ότι μὲν τοίνυν ἔστι τις πτητική κατά φύσιν τοῦς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῦς πολιτικοῦς, καὶ δι' ῆν αἰτίαν, δῆλον 9 ἔστι δὲ γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς, ῆν μάλιστα καλοῦσι, καὶ 10

translates "in so far as Economic must either find ready to hand, or itself provide that there may be found ready to hand, necessaries of life and utilities which are capable of being stored for the common use of state or family."

30 True wealth is for use: δλως δὲ τὸ πλουτεῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῷ κἐκτησθαι καὶ γὰρ ἢ ἐνέργειὰ ἐστι τῶν τοιοίτων καὶ ἡ χρῆσις πλοῦτος Rhát. I. 5. 7. § 14 32 αὐτάρκαι = the amount of such

property absolutely necessary to secure independence of all external aid. ουκ άπειρος] See 9 §§ 13, 14. The notion of a limit to true wealth recurs in Epicums apud Diog. Laert. X. 144: δ

notion of a limit to true wealth recurs in Epicums apud Diog. Lacrt. X. 144: ô 1795 φύσεως πλούτοι και ἀρωσται και εὐπόρωτός έστι, ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν ὁςῶν εἰς ἀντορον ἀμπίπτει. The earlier political economists believed in a possible "glut of capital". Mill P. E. 1. 8.2.

capital": Mill P. E. I. 5 § 3.

Σόλων] Frag. 13, 71 Bergk. Susem.

(18) 15 35 οὐδὲν γὰρ κτλ] Cp. IV (VII).

I § 5 π. (695), I § 7 τὰ μέν γὰρ ἐκτὸ ἐχει πέρας, ἀσπερ βργαυθε τι, πῶν γὰρ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐς τι, ῶν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢ βλάπτεν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ μηθὲν δφελον είναι αὐτίων τοῦς ἐχουνων. SUSΕΜ. (Τὸ ὑ)

37 δργάνων πλέθος κτλ] in other

words, means and appliances for life, and for the life of wellbeing and perfection as the end of the household and of the state. But cp. Exc. III. Susem. (77)

The definition of wealth as "instruments" (given also 4 § 0) is commended by J. S. Mill Political Economy 1. to as adding distinctness and reality to the common view. His definitions are "any product both useful and susceptible of accumulation"—with which comp. 12506 29—and "all useful or agreeable things which possess exchange value." Mill too

restricts the term to material wealth. 38 rots okonépous rarl.) See again Exc. III. p. 211 m. (2). SUSEM. 77 (b). c. 9. The other species of surprush, vis. Xympanravash, the art of money-making, 31. Origin of exchange in the signmey money: \$8 7-11. Distinction between natural arrayed and this ympanravash; \$812-15. Conses of theconfusion between them: \$8 for-15.

10-10:
§1 40 fr μαλιστα κτλ] "which is especially called money-making" χουματιστική (2) of 8 § τ. π. "and fairly so called; to which is due the opinion that wealth and property have no limit." But o § 4 the first sense seems to recur.

41 δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν, χρηματιστικήν, δι' ήν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ (III) 257 2 πέρας είναι πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως. ἡν ώς μίαν καὶ τὴν αυτήν τη λεχθείση πολλοί νομίζουσι διά την γειτνίασιν έστι δ' ούτε ή αὐτή τη εἰρημένη ούτε πόρρω ἐκείνης. ἔστι δ' 4 η μεν φύσει η δ' οὐ φύσει αὐτών, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐμπειρίας § 2 τινός καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μάλλον. λάβωμεν δὲ περὶ αὐτής 11 την άρχην έντεθθεν. έκάστου γάρ κτήματος διττή ή χρήσις ἐστίν, ἀμφότεραι δὲ καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως καθ' αύτό, άλλ' ή μεν οίκεια ή δ' ούκ οίκεια τοῦ πράγματος. 9 οίου ύποδήματος ή τε ύπόδεσις καὶ ή μεταβλητική. άμ-§ 3 φότεραι γὰρ ὑποδήματος χρήσεις· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀλλαττόμενος τῷ δεομένω ὑποδήματος ἀντὶ νομίσματος ἡ τροφής χρήται τῷ ὑποδήματι ή ὑπόδημα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν χρήσιν ου γάρ άλλαγής ένεκεν νένονεν, του αυτου δέ § τρόπον έχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων. ἔστι γὰρ ή 15 μεταβλητική πάντων, ἀρξαμένη τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἐκ τοῦ κατά φύσιν, τώ τὰ μέν πλείω τὰ δ' έλάττω τών ίκανών

41 οὖτω Bas.3 in the margin

1257 a 1 [ήν...5 μάλλον] Schmidt | 3 έκείνης] κειμένη Γ (?-posita William) Susem. 1.2. | 6 xohuaros F Me and pl in the margin | 7 καθ' αὐτὸ] after ὁμοίως Koraes | 9 ἐπόδησιε MªPl | 12 [η ἐπόδημα] Koraes, Scaliger proposed to transpose these words to follow xofious, which also occurred to Koraes, but see Commn. (78)

§ 2 1257 a 6 ἐκάστου γὰρ κτλ] "Compare Eud. Eth. III. 4, 1231 b 38, where we find the same classification of χρήσεις, though the use in exchange is

reckoned a species not of π καθ' αὐτὸ χρήσις, but of ή κατά συμβεβηκός. The two classifications are as follows :-

Politics καθ' αὐτὸ οἰκεία καθ' αὐτὸ οὐκ οἰκεία κατά συμβεθηκός

ὐπόδεσις μεταβλητική केंद्र केंद्र ही गड σταθμῷ χρήσαιτο τῷ ὑποδήματι

Eud. Eth. καθ' αὐτό κατὰ συμβεβηκός κατά συμβεβηκός"

(Tackson).

o two berus = wearing, η μεταβλητική = the use in exchange. The shoe when used as an article of exchange preserves its proper nature, it is still to be worn by somebody; although as it is not made to

sometony; autough as it is not made to exchange this use is obx obxets.
§ 8 10 καὶ γὰρ... 12 ὑπόδημα] This is true. The question is always how much money or food the shoe as such, and not the leath. and not the leather used in making it, is worth: the labour has to be paid for as

well as the materials (Göttling). Cp. n. on § 8 (83) and Introd. 28. Suram. (78) 12 \$\frac{1}{2}\$ workspace as a shoe.
\$ 4 14 \$\text{ forty } \text{ tap... \text{ materials}}\$ s. \text{ pop.}

"s. "All things have a use in exchange."
We now speak of the two scalaue of a string show in the string s thing, value in use and value in exchange. 15 αρξαμένη το μέν πρώτον)(το δὸ υστερον, derived in the first instance from a natural origin [whatever it may after-wards become].

έχειν τοις ἀιθρούπους. ἢ καὶ δήλου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι φίσει τῆς τοι χρηματιστικῆς ἡ καπηλική ὅσον γὰρ ἱκαιὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀναγξε καίον ἢν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀλλαγήν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τὴ πρότη
το κοινωνία (τοῦτο δ΄ ἐστὶν οἰεία) φαιερὸν ὅτι οὐδεὐ ἐστιν ἔργον
τὰν αὐτὰν ἐκοινώνουν πάιτων, οἱ δὲ κεχωρισμένοι πολλών
πάλιν αἰτ ἐτρων ** ὁν κατὰ τὸ ἐστὸς ἐστοις καλλών
πάλιν καὶ ἐτρων ** ὁν κατὰ τὸ ἐστὸς ἐστοις καὶ] τῶν (σ. ιὸ
ξε βαρβαμικών ἐνθων, κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγήν. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ
χρήσιμα πρὸς αὐτὰ καταλλάττουται, ἐπὶ πλέον δ΄ οὐδεν,
οἰον οἶνον πρὸς ἀντον διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ τῶν
άλλων τὰν τοιούτον ἐκαστον. ἡ μὲν οἶν τοιάττη μεταβλη- 10

άλλων τὰν τοιούτον ἐκαστον. ἡ μὲν οἶν τοιάττη μεταβλη- 10

17 [ii sal...ig Maryin] Schmidt I génes της χυμαστατικής 1τα φότα χυμαστατική Strain II 18 χυμαστατική Jernally Schmidt II 18 χυμαστατική Jernally Schmidt II 18 και το στινότε Bernay II 20 ο Γινθνν...αλείας Schmidt II 18 τον στινότε στιν Το μα Δ. Ατ., it is supplied by μ in the margin II 23 and was left out by Canate, [sal] Koraes II 18 στινον - Schmidt (19 στινον - Schmidt, βατέριστον Κοταες, ε-έτεριον - Εθεταγική (19 στινον - Εθε

17. 4) and \$50-re. near-phosel] Batter is unflicient for mixture wares, as he goes not so show. Money is an artificial means fondilitating this, not of natural origin but only due to custom and convention, and the state of the

the context. Susem. (79)

18 δσον γάρ κτλ] "For the necessity
of exchange is confined, as we saw, to
the satisfaction of the exchangers' own
wants." Cp. roral rys=only so much 13

\$ 12. dλλ fibil but not until the society extended. Since trade is introduced at a later stage it is not 'natural'. Possibly directed against Plato's printive state, the dληθυτή, γότης, δών πότης. Rep. II. 371 A—D: ἀγορὰ δὲ τμῶν και δείματα κειδιώναν πέ κλαλ λαντά τέναπ νευδείματα κειδιώνου πέ κλαλ λαντά τέναπ νευδείματα κειδιώνου πέ κλαλ λαντά τέναπ νευδείματα κειδιώνου πέ κλαλ λαντά τέναπ νευδείματα κειδιών και δείλαλ και

erra.

a. d. S. sques. πAl. Bernsys thought
the addition of a word for "lacked" in
mecosary, 'because this idea is implied in
superpietes. He, as seyon, e-frapetone and the state of the state of the state
is thing, another from that, so exque,
πλλλών should mean 'separated from
many things. But as Bernsys gives
many things. But as Bernsys gives
to the state of the state of the state
to the state of the state of the state
to the state of the state of the state
to ris respect of, "many things," a sense
halfy possible is now case and quite inconceivable if the participle has different
reconceivable in the participle has different
Possigne would govern rehable and el repose

Possigne would govern rehable and el repose

by exerciseus, supposing mobiles to be opposed to mérrice (as miletrus is, II. 5.27), and understanding trépos of the primary division of the joint-household into two: "again when the original household split into two, each half continued to hold in common a large part of the stock, viz. all that the other half left it?

that the other half left it".

23 κατά τὰς δεήσεις] Comp. 2 § 5 n.

(18). Susem. (80)

29 τική ούτε παρά φύσιν ούτε χρηματιστικής έστιν είδος οὐδέν (III) §7 (εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν γὰρ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας ἦν)· ἐκ μέντοι ταύτης εγένετ' εκείνη κατά λόγον. ξενικωτέρας γάρ γενομένης της βοηθείας τῷ εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ ἐκπέμπειν ων ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐπο-§ 8 ρίσθη χρήσις. οὐ γὰρ εὐβάστακτον ἔκαστον τῶν κατὰ φύσιν 35 αναγκαίων διό πρός τὰς άλλανὰς τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο 14 πρός σφάς αὐτούς διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, δ τῶν χρησίμων

αύτο δυ είχε τηυ χρείαν εύμεταγείριστου πρός το ζηυ, οίου 32 γενομένης Koraes, γενομένης ΙΙ Βk. | ένδεείς ένέδει Bernays | 37 Koraes conjectured <ούκ > όν, but see Int. p. 28 ff. and Comm. n. (87) | ζην] <μετακομί > ζειν Reiske, certainly right as to the sense, < βαστά > ζειν Bernays (less good)

§ 7 31 κατά λόγον, as one might have inferred. Lindau 'by agreement'. But can the words bear this meaning? The proof which follows seems to show that this phrase expresses subjectively the same thing as 33 & δοάγκης in objective fashion. SUSEM. (81) Similarly IV (VII). 16. ro. Bonitz commenting on 989 a 30: "quod rationibus ad rem pertinentibus accommodatum est et consentaneum.

ξενικωτέρας γάρ...] "when the supply

extended to foreign countries."

§ 8 34 ου γαρ ευβαστακτου κτλ]

Yet money is not by nature, but has its origin in mere convention! Here again Aristotle falls into the contradiction noticed in n. (71), seeking the true nature of man in violation of his own principle, before instead of in the normal development of civilization. Hence he ignores the fact which on other occasions (Poet-4 88 1-6) by no means escapes him. that there is no unconditional antithesis between nature and art, nature and convention, nature and civilization: that innumerable arts institutions and conventions take their origin from man's inmost nature in the course of its development. It is precisely so with the state, and as with the state so with money. That in history too the law of a rational necessity controls chance is a thought not sufficiently acknowledged in his works; see ciently acknowledged in his works: see Phd. 9 §8 2, 10, with my notes, and Reinkens op. c. 289 ff., who somewhat exagerates. Cp. also below on H. 9 §1 2 n. (290), § 30 n. (339), HI. 3- 9 n. (460) 35 & 80 mpds adklowyds wrkl [O ne origin of money compare No. Eps.

v. 5 §§ 10—16 (1133 a 19 ff.): of which the substance is as follows,

All things which are to be exchanged must be somehow commensurable: and for this purpose money has been introduced, which serves as a sort of medium. for it measures all things, e.g. how many pairs of shoes are equivalent to a given house. The standard or common measure is in reality demand; but demand is conventionally represented by mouey which gets its name (νόμισμα=currency) because it is not by nature but by convention (νόμω), so that it is in our power to change and demonetize it (i.e. render it no longer current). If we do not require a thing now, money is still the guarantee of a future exchange, to take place if we require the thing at some other time. And although the value of money itself

occasionally changes, yet it tends to be more constant than that of any other

thing. All other commodities should therefore have a price set on them, that

so exchange may always be possible.

Susem. (83) 36 8 των χρησίμων αὐτὸ δν] Schneider thinks this is not implied by the nature of money, since certain tribes use cowries as a medium of exchange, and the Ethiopians stones with marks engraved upon them (λίθοις έγγεγλυμμένοις Ps-Plato Ετγικ. 400 B). We admit the truth of this; yet only a metallic currency can fulfil the proper end of money, and from the nature of the case the really civilized races have always availed themselves of it. Aristotle however has failed to recognise this sufficiently: see § 11 n. (87) and In-

trod. 29. SUSEM. (84) 37 χριίαν recalls χρησίμων: a com-modity useful in itself which adapted its use handily to the purposes of daily life.

σίδηρος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτου ἔτερου, τὸ μὲυ πρῶ-(III)
του ἀπλῶς ὁρισθευ μεγέθει καὶ σταθμά, τὸ δὲ τελευταίου
40 καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἐπλαλούτους, ἴι ἀπολιότο τῆς μετρότους
§ 9 αὐτούς ὁ γὰρ χαρακτῆρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ σημεῖου. πορι-11
1151 τοθέντος οὐυ ἢδη νομίσματος ἐκ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλαγῆς
δύτερου εἰδος τῆς χηραματιστικής ἐγθεντο, τὸ καπηλικόν, τὸ
μὲυ οἰν πρῶτου ἀπλῶς Ἱενες γινόμενου, εἶτα δὶ ἐμπειρίας
4 ἤδη τεχνικότερου, πόθευ καὶ πῶς μεταβαλλόμενου πλεῖστου
8 10 πουίγει κέρδος. διὸ δοκεῖ ἡ χοηματιστική μάλιστα περὶ τὸ
νύμισμα ἐναι, καὶ ἐργου αὐτῆς τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρίγεια πόθευ
έσται πλῆθος [χοημάτου] ποισγια) γὰρ [ἐνοι] τοῦ πλούτου
καὶ χρημάτων. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτου πολλάκις τιθέασε νο-16
9 μίσματος πλῆθος, διὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦτ ἐνοι τὴν χρηματιστικήν
8 11 καὶ τῆν καπηλικήν, ότὲ δὲ παλλυ λῆρος εἰναι δοκεί τὸ

νόμισμα καὶ νόμος παντάπασι, φύσει δ' οὐδέν, ὅτι μετα38 κὰν εἰ Mº II³ Bk. (pethaps rightly) || 40 ἐνιβολλώντων Μ° II³ Bk.

rsy b 3 efe omlited by P^{aa} (Q SP T. Ad. Bis. and P^{a} (at hard). I systematical Science. I P_{cont} (special properties) [Sphanius II sequence [Poly Schmidt, And to transposes received... S properties of Sphanius II sequence [Poly Schmidt, And to transpose received... S properties of the sequence of the

38 eGippool "Byzantinu in an instance of the use of from money; cp. Plato Comicas Pris, 3 yaberios de selectura de la comica de la comica de la comica Pris, 3 yaberios de selectura de la composition de la comica del comica de la comica del la comica

money in Fahrb. f. Philol. LXXXIX. 1864.

332 ff. Susma. (85) §9 1857 b it Take the τθρ drope, diλαγθρ with sepselferes rather than with referen, "as soon as a currency was proference, as soon as a currency was prochange, there arose the other branch of the art of wealth, I mean retail-rade: at first no doubt in a rade form, but afterwards improved by experience as to the which, exchange of commodities" not which, exchange of commodities "not purpossablyboxes ~ τ θ θμαγραγρ., "will

produce the largest profit ".
§ 10 8 καl γάρ...το καπηλικήν]
This is the error best known as the Mercantile System: the confusion of money with wealth exposed by Adam Smith Wealth of Nations B. IV. Cp. Mill Pol. Econ. pp. 1—4. Even in Nett. 1. 5. 7 νομέρματος πλήθοι is only one of many 'elements' of wealth.

§ 11 11 νόμος παντάπαστὶ An allu-

θεμένων τε τών χρωμένων οὐδενὸς ἄξιον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον πρὸς (ΙΙΙ) οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστί, καὶ νομίσματος πλουτῶν πολλάκις ἀπορήσει τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς καίτοι ἄτοπον τοιούτον 15 είναι πλούτον οδ εὐπορών λιμώ ἀπολείται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν (p. 15) Μίδαν ἐκείνον μυθολογούσι διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῆς εὐχῆς

§ 12 πάντων αὐτῶ γινομένων τῶν παρατιθεμένων χρυσῶν. διὸ 17 ζητούσιν ετερόν τι τὸν πλούτον καὶ τὴν χρηματιστικήν, ὀρθώς ζητούντες. ἔστι γὰρ ἐτέρα ή χρηματιστική καὶ ὁ πλούτος ὁ 20 κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ αὕτη μὲν οἰκονομική, ἡ δὲ καπηλική, ποιητική χρημάτων οὐ πάντως, ἀλλ' ή διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολής, και δοκεί περί το νόμισμα αύτη είναι το γάρ ε 13 νόμισμα στοιχείον καὶ πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἐστίν. καὶ ἄπειρος δη ούτος ὁ πλούτος ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης της χρηματιστικής.

12 οὐδὲ Bk., οὕτε Π. || 20 αὕτη] ή ? Schmidt || [καl αὕτη...24 χρηματιστικήs] Schmidt, who transposes καὶ αὖτη...30 κτῆσις to follow 1257 a 5 μάλλον | ή after μέν corr.2 of P2 | 21 ή P4-6 Q (?) La Ald., ή Sb, ή Rassow | Bernays omits χρημάτων after διά | 24 δè Giphanius | ούτος omitted by Π1

sion to the derivation of νόμισμα = money, currency, from vouos = convention, current custom: see n. (83). It may be for the same reason that money is more pointedly said to be νόμος rather than νόμος, 'con-ventional', as we should expect. The same allusion in Pseudo-Plato Eryxias I. c. 5, n. (85) (Schneider). Susem. (86)

öτι μετατιθεμένων κτλ] Although Aristotle himself, § 12, adopts the opinion that this form of wealth is ούδεν φόσει, vet here the view is carried much farther than he goes in § 8, see n. (84). He must hold that money, when no longer current, loses its value as money, retaining only its value in exchange as this or that metal: its only use now is as metal, not as coin. Susem. (87)
With this comp. N. E. v. 5 § 11, έφ'

ημίν μεταβαλείν και ποιήσαι άχρηστον, § 14 πάσχει μέν οδυ καὶ τοῦτο (ες. τὸ νόμισμα) τὸ αὐτό: οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἴσου δύναται: ὅμως δὲ βούλεται μένειν μάλλον.

14 καίτοι κτλ] "And yet it is strange that there should be wealth of a kind that with abundance of it a man will uevertheless perish of hunger, as the legend runs about Midas of yore, when in fulfilment of his insatiate prayer everything that was served up to him turned into gold." 16 M(8av) This mythical king of Phrygia is said to have captured Silenos

and restored him to Dionysos, who in

return for the kind treatment of the prisoner allowed him to wish for whatever he liked. The fatal boon was subsene liked. The tatal boon was subsequently withdrawn by the god at Midas' request, see Ovid Metamorph. XI. 90—145. Aristotle must have had a version of the story in which, instead of this happening, Midas died from hunger and thirst. Would the Midas of the legend have fared any better in the end, if all his food had been converted into drink, or all his drink into food? In the one case he would have been starved to death, in the other killed by thirst. Susem. (88)

samet annet by timet. Susem. (88) § 12 17 διο ξγεσόνων κτλ] A possible reference to previous writers, see Introd. 20 m. (1). Susem. (83) 19 frips ή χρ.] Getting of goods for use, χουματιστίς (3) of 8 1 m.
21 δια χρημάτων μεταβολήτη "by exchange of commodities. And this speckhange of commodities. cies, i.e. ή κανηλική, is thought to deal with money, for currency constitutes and limits exchange:" i.e. trading begins and ends with money. στοιχείον, main constituent, seems to mean indispensable agent in exchange. Elsewhere called guarantee, της μελλούσης άλλαγης οίον έγγυητής, N. E. § 14: and ὑπάλλαγμα τής xpelas, representative of demand ib. § 11.

§ 13 23 καλ άπειρος δή] "In the words of the line from Solon, 8 \$ 14"

(Bernays), Susem. (89)

25 ώσπερ γάρ ή λατρική τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστι καλ (ΗΙ) εκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἄπειρον (ὅτι μάλιστα γὰρ έκεινο βούλονται ποιείν), των δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρου (πέρας γὰρ τὸ τέλος πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς 20 χρηματιστικής οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τέλους πέρας, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος § 14 πλούτος καὶ χρημάτων κτήσις. της δ' οἰκονομικής [οὐ χρη- 18 ματιστικής] έστι πέρας οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο τής οἰκονομικής ἔργον. διὸ τῆ μὲν φαίνεται ἀναγκαῖον είναι παντὸς πλούτου πέρας, έπὶ δὲ τῶν γινομένων ὁρῶ<μεν> συμβαίνον τοὐναντίον πάντες 24 γάρ είς ἄπειρον αυξουσιν οι χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. § 15 αίτιον δὲ τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν. ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ἡ γρῆσις

25 As Eucken remarks, we should have expected else: but this change would be very bold (see 36 and 1258 a 1) | 30 7 is 8 ...31 €pyor suspected as an interpolation Schmidt | οὐ χρηματιστική P2 (corr.2), Reiske first omitted these two words (but after 31 οἰκονομικής he inserts δ καὶ τῆς χρηματιστικής, in which case Schneider and Gurlitt recommend ταὐτὸ instead of τοῦτο); [οὐ] Bojesen Thurot Schütz, αθ Bernays, οδ < σης > Schmidt. The case is still undecided | 31 οι γάρέργον once transposed by Schmidt to follow 32 πέρας. This however really involves other and perhaps more serious difficulties | 32 μèν <φύσει> ? Susem. | διά <τί δὲ>τῆ μὲν * * φαίνεται Schmidt | 33 ὁρῶμεν Sylburg, ὁρῶ ΓΠ Ar. | 34 νόμισμα, αίτιον * * διά τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτών Schmidt

25 του ύγιαίνειν depends on εἰς ἄπειpor: medicine is without end in respect of health; medicine recognises no limits within which its production of health is confined.

27 τ^λ πρόs τό τέλος = means to the end. 28 πέρας...πάσαις] "For all arts are limited by their ends." True in cases where, after a certain limit bas been passed, the number and amount of the means applied do not contribute anything to the attainment of the end, nay even hinder it. But does it also hold for the all-embracing end of human life, the happiness and perfection not of indi-viduals but of whole nations and finally of the human race? Aristotle did not think of that: and no wonder, when we consider it is only the discovery of modern Political Economy, that capital is simply accumulated labour: that the means to continued progress in national civilization are guaranteed solely by the transmission and growth of the national wealth from generation to generation, which money first made possible. We which money first made possible. We ought rather, with Stahr and others (Introl. p. 28), to recognise Aristotle's penetrating insight, the ripeness and maturity of many of his conclusions in this oth chapter, "the unpretending germ from which two thousand years after-wards grew the science of society". Cp. further IV (VII). I § 5 n. (605), n. (700).

SUSEM. (90) § 14 30 If ov be changed or omitted. take τῆs οἰκονομικῆs as an adjective: so perhaps l. 39 below, and undoubtedly § 18, 1258 a 17: "but to that branch" of accumulation "which concerns the house-holder there is a limit". See however

n. on 8 § 12, p. 177. 31 τούτο - to attain this limit, χρήματα τοιεῦ as Schneider says. τῆ μὲν] "in one sense", viz. when regarded as an instrument. Lambin Schittz Bernays take it as "to the one branch", viz. that which concerns the householder.

34 els άπειρον] Cp. [Xen.] De Vecti-gal. 4 §§ 6, 7: άργύριον δε ούδεις πω ούτω πολύ έκτήσατο ώστε μη έτι προσδείσθαι.

ol χρηματιζόμενοι = those who are en-gaged in traffic. 35 το σύνεγγυς, the close relationship

between the two branches of xonuaτιστική is the cause of this mistake.

§ 15 ἐπαλλάττα] See on I. 6. 3.
"The practical application of the two kinds of χρηματιστική overlaps, through being concerned with the same article.

rightly)

τοῦ αἰτοῦ οδοα ἐκατέρας τῆς χρηματιστικῆς, τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς (III) ἐστι κτήσεως χρῆσις, ἀλλὶ οῦ κατὰ ταὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἔτερον τέλος, τῆς δ' ἡ αἰξήσις. ἔστε δοκεῖ τιαι τοῦτ' ἐἰκαι 39 τῆς οἰκουριμεῆς ἔργου, καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἡ σῷξεω οἰόμενοι ἐἰδ ἐῶν ἡ αἰξέω τὴν τον υριώματος οὐτάμα εἰς ἀπερου. αἰτιου 10 δὲ ταίτης τῆς διαθέσεως τὸ σποιδέζεων περὶ τὸ ξῆν, ἀλλὰ 15\$ μὴ τὸ εἶ ξῆν εἰς ἄπειρου ἀπὸ ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οἴογης, καὶ τὰν ποιητικάν ἀπείρου ἐπιθυρούσι. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ εὖ ξῆν ἐπιβάλλωνται, τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαὐσεις τὰς σωματικός ξητοθτικ, ὡστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐτ ῆ κτίσει σάμεται ὑπάρ-

5 χειν, πάσα ή διατριβή) περὶ τὸν χρηματισμόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ (s. so) 36 ὁκατέρα Κ. ταλ τὰ (t. so) 45 ὁκατέρα Κ. ταλ τὰ (t. so) 45 ὁκατέρα Γ. Π. Βὰ. ἐκατέρα Γ. Π. Βὰ. ἐκατέρα διπείατ, ἐκατέρα μια τὰ της χρηματικτής Βιστηκη, ρετίπρα τίχλιξη | 3 χετή- ενω χρήνει Göttling (tafer Schneider, εν απλετ Füllchern, had proposed to omit the whole clause 5 τῆν τῆν, πλη χρήνην, χρήνεια κτίρα Γ.Π. Απ. Βι. | 39 αδιουρίαι

whole clause 36 τῆς γάρ...37 χορῦσει), χοήσεως κτῆσεις ΓΗ Ar. Bk. ∥ 39 oleonoμίας p+4-Q SP Το 1258 a τ οδογη! Ιούσης Sylburg (but see cn. 1257 b 25) ∥ 2 6σοκ......3 ἐπιβάλλονται noticed by Eustath. on the Iliad p. 625, 36 ∥ 4 ὑτάρχον Κοταες (perhaps

Here two χρήσεις ἐπαλλάττουσι because they have the same object in common ²⁹. (Postgate).

(Postgate).

37 τῆς μὶν κτλ] 'The one application has a different end' (viz. enjoyment, use)

"the other aims at mere accumulation."
39 Burn-bootward," previse through
life in the opinion that they ought at
least to hoard their stock of money if not
to go on adding to it indefinitely." reptire,
ordraw-their substance or capital in
money, Bonitz s. v. Better thus taken
than as a paraphrase of rejumpus, for
which idiom see Watte Org. 1. 283 and
cp., † roll Gepules other 603 b 6.

§ 16 This gives the reason why men fall into the error just noticed, the external cause, the trap into which they fall, having been stated in § 14: rating the half and the rating bareheir # original error is bareheir # original error.

40 afrow \$8 exh. Perhaps the thought becomes clears' says Filleborn when expressed as follows: men have a universal desire for long life, and without certain the same state of the same state o

of life, 'their desire for gain would be rendered more definite and limited'. Susem. (91)

rays à z " foru Si rex) " those who set their hearts upon a life of happiness look for it in sensual enjoyments". whereas, the sensual enjoyments " whereas, bellishment and perfecting of life, i.e. happiness, consists in the utmost possible cultivation of neutral and moral excellence, entivation of neutral and moral excellence, ments are but a necessary consequence, a ments are but a necessary consequence, a modeante share of external goods and bodily pleasures being required not as modeante share of external goods and bodily pleasures being required not as pensable condition: all beyond this hinders rather than promotes true Wellbeing, See Zeller Phil. d. Gr. til 605; cp. 1v. 3 kmpdolowran] "throw themselves upon" (cp. Hom. fl. Yv. 66, shope s'er-

"the global veral" there we themselves upon '(c). Hom. If. Vi. 68, 'i/spe 'er-global/garee) 'desire' in the same meta-horical sense as δρ-γεσθα, 'derrigerðu. But otherwise 11. 1. 1 'to adopt'. For the intunstives use If the active see i. 1. 3 hastrude βlob is the life of sensual enjoyment. As Plato explains Rep. IX. 550 E. I., meney is the means to this life, so that δρλοκορός, δρλογρήματον are convertible terms with viê erdispyrator's hence gared with δρλονωρια and δρλονωρια and δρλονωρια and δρλονωρια hospitality.

§ 17 έτερον είδος της χρηματιστικής διά τοῦτ' ελήλυθεν. ἐν ὑπερ- (ΙΙΙ) βολή γαρ ούσης της απολαύσεως, την της απολαυστικής

ύπερβολής ποιητικήν ζητούσιν κάν μή διά τής χρηματιστικής δύνωνται πορίζειν, δι' άλλης αίτίας τοῦτο πειρώνται,

10 έκάστη γρώμενοι τῶν δυνάμεων οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. ἀνδρίας 20 γάρ οὐ χρήματα ποιείν έστιν άλλά θάρσος, οὐδὲ στρατηγικής § 18 καὶ ἰατρικής, άλλὰ τής μέν νίκην τής δ' ύγιειαν. οδ δὲ

πάσας ποιούσι χρηματιστικάς, ώς τούτο τέλος ὄν, πρός δέ τλ τέλος άπαντα δέον άπαντᾶν. περί μέν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς, καὶ τίς,

16 και δι' αιτίαν τίνα εν χρεία εσμέν αυτής, εξρηται, και περί. της αναγκαίας, ότι έτέρα μέν αυτής οἰκονομική δὲ κατά φύσιν ή περί την τροφήν, ούχ ωσπερ αυτή άπειρος άλλα έχουσα 10 δρου δήλου δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενου ἐξ ἀρχής, πότερου τοῦ 🛚

12 δγείαν Mº Pl | 15 [της τε μή άναγκαίας] Schmidt | μή is transposed by Hampke and Rassow to precede 17 drayκalas—but wrongly | 16 [καl περl...19 ορου] Schmidt | 17 <καλ>κατά φόσευ Thurot | 18 ή Schneider (perhaps rightly, unless we prefer to omit ή......τροφήν) | αΰτη Welldon || 19 Bender considers the whole of c. 10 δήλου...b 8 ἐστίν to be spurious; but see Comm. n. (95) # Schmidt transposes 19 8/0/www.38 (www to follow 1256 b 30 olelas

§ 17 8 καν μη κτλ] "And if they cannot procure this" (ἀπολαυστικήν ὑπερ-βολήν) "by mere accumulation they attempt it by some other supposed cause, perverting each of their faculties to attain it."

§ 18 13 más as moioss xpmuatis.] Compare Plato Rep. 1 342 D: the true larpos no χρηματιστής, and 346 C, D: ή μισθωτική accompanies the other arts to provide remuneration. 14 dπαντάν = meet in, conspire, tend

to: referre ad.

 19 δρον=standard, limit. Properly
 'boundary', 'definition', like δρισμός.
 §§ 16—18 In the several points Aristotle is quite right, but in reality all this makes against him. For it shows that the fault lies with the men and not with the 'arts'. If men misuse not medicine merely, but moral virtues like courage, as a means to their own avarice and craving for pleasure; if they can follow agricul-ture, cattle-rearing, etc. in the same spirit; why are commerce trade and banking to be unceremoniously rejected merely because they can serve such men as a still readier and more successful means to the satisfaction of their desires? Why should it be culpable in any one to

carry on such pursuits merely to gain a living by them? (Glaser). It is true that if there were no stock exchange there could be no speculation in stocks, and then no one would be tempted to such excessive indulgence in it as is certainly liable at times to endanger the morality of whole nations [as e.g. at the time of the South Sea Bubble]. But without the shadow no light; civilization is impossible without luxury. 'In spite of many great evils which money has brought into the world it is to this invention alone that we owe the fact that nine-tenths of mankind are now no longer forced to serve that fortunate minority, the owners of real property. Think of the time when money was still scarce in Europe; the land then belonged almost exclusively to the clergy and the no-bility. Money alone introduced a new species of commodity of inexhaustible ownership, which stands open to all to acquire' (Schlosser). "Aristotle forgets, too, that, even before money was invented, people might find no limit to wealth-seeking. The ζωή δισπετοι of Odysseus, Od. XIV. 96, went beyond the limit of his consumption, and its aim was, not nurture, but power, as he could make 20 οἰκουομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστιν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἡ οῦ, $< \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \dot{a} * *> (III)$ άλλα δεί τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν (ὅσπερ γαρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεί ή πολιτική, άλλά λαβούσα παρά της φύσεως χρήται αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τροφήν τὴν φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἡ

20 [καὶ πολιτικοῦ] Schmidt | οῦ, <άλλὰ ἐτέρου, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστι πάντα τὰ αναγκαΐα χρήματα ποιείν> or something similar ? Susem. (see Comm.), ου * *

Schmidt. Conring and Schneider suspected some loss || 21 τοῦτο] ταῦτα (a conjecture retracted by Schneider) Schmidt Bender; if taken here, it must be repeated in 35, and so Bender | 23 <els>τροφήν ? Schneider, τρόφον Oncken, but wrongly grants to his comitatus out of his herds and flocks" (Lang). And is not the total result attained in itself truly surprising, namely, that the landowner who sells just enough produce to defray all his other household requirements is the sole householder (οίκονόμος); whereas the merchant, the tradesman and the banker are not? Not unnaturally Plato and Aristotle looked only at the dark side of trade. Like true Greeks (Introd. pp. 22, 20 f.) their standpoint was still that of the fortunate minority supported by the remaining nine-tenths who serve: as is seen in their approval of slavery and their scheme of a body of citizens living a life of free leisure, without work, finding exclusive unpaid occupation in science, æsthetic enjoyment, and civil administration. Physical labour in Greece was for the most part converted by slavery into slavelabour. Thus all respect for it was lost: "when agriculture, trade, and work in factories or on board ships, were given up to serfs and slaves, the contempt for these occupations was made permanent, just because men saw them carried on by such people, as conversely they had originally been given up to serfs and slaves because they were thought unworthy for free citizens to follow" (Schiller). Even Plato and Aristotle thoroughly despised physical labour as something servile and, in the bad sense of the word, mechanical (banausic), as intellectually and morally

degrading: see c. 11 § 6 with the pas-sages quoted in n. (103). Consequently,

trade and commerce, even the pursuit

of agriculture proper-see IV (VII). 9 §§ 3, 7; 10 §§ 9—14, Exc. III on Bk. 1, and Plato Law VII. 806 D f.—all paid

labour, see n. (102), appeared to them

more or less unworthy of true freemen. It is a further consequence that, though

Aristotle forcibly rejects the extreme de-

velopments of Plato's social and political theories, yet after all he is taking the same line with more prudence and

same line with more prudence and re-serve. See httvod. p. 21 nn. (1) and (3), p. 33 m. (7). SUSEM. (85) c. 10 Decision of the question raised in c. 8 § 1: §§ 1—3. Usury the most unnatural form of gain, §§ 4, 5. § 1 19 \$\$\tilde{7}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{6}\tilde{

started at the outset, namely, whether the art of wealth is the concern of the householder and statesman or not, but" .Then comes a lacuna which may tentatively be filled as follows: "but, < so far as in general needed for the management of a household, is the concern of a subordinate science. Plainly the latter is the case, and the former only so far as the

head of the house has to see that the art of acquiring wealth is practised, without exercising it himself; for it is his function, as we said, to use and not to acquire. Furthermore it is an auxiliary science for procuring instruments for living and not the mere materials: these> must be given already." But the briefer and somewhat different restoration given in the critical notes is also admissible: "but <of some one else. For it is not his business to procure all that is necessary for living:> nay there must be definite materials found him beforehand." Su-

SEM. (94) 23. ούτω καλ τροφήν κτλ] "so nature must provide land or sea or something else as means of support." Lambin and Göttling make γῶν ἦ θάλατταν epexegetic of The doors and Jackson shows that this is not impossible by citing Plato Laws 801 C, την φύσεν δνομάζειν ταθτα αθτά, sc. πύρ και ύδωρ και γήν και άέρα. But the above rendering best agrees with 8 88 o. 12. 10 6 3.

24 θάλατταν ἢ ἄλλο τι), ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ὡς δεῖ ταὕτα διαθεί-(III) § 2 ναι προσήκει τοὺν οἰκουόμου, οἱ γιὰρ τῆς ὑφαντικῆς ἔρια ποιῆσια, ἀλλά χρήσασθαι αὐτοῦς, καὶ γρώμα δὲ τὸ ποίον χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἡ φαύλου καὶ ἀνεπτήδειον, καὶ γιὰρ α ἀποιοίπειως ἤν τις δὰ στ΄ ἡ τὰν χρηματιστική μόρους τῆς

χρηστόν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἡ φαίλον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον. καὶ γὰρ ε ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, διὰ τί ἡ μὲν χρηματιστική μόριον τῆς το οἰκουριμάς ἡ δ ἰστρικό οὐ μόριον καίτοι δεὶ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ξε κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ζῆν ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστι μὲν οἱς τοῦ οἰκουόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγιείας ἰδεις ἔστι δὲ ἀς οῦ, ἀλλλὰ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, οἴτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστι μὲν οἱς τοῦ οἰκουόμου, ἔστι δὲ οἱς οῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετισῆς μάλωτα δὲ, καθώπερ εἰργται πρότερον, δεῖ sẽ ψόσει στοῦ ὑπάργειν. δὲς καθώπερ εἰργται πρότερον, δεῖ sẽ ψόσει στοῦ ὑπάργειν.

24 πώνα] ἀτή» Glaser (wrongly), πόντα ? Oncken, πλλα Bender (both better, but hardly correct!] α 3 οῦ ἀδε ? Schmidt! α 3 οδε ἀπε ? γωίονα ΜΡ1, ἀδε ? με 3 εγεθα ΛΙΔ. έγεθα ΜΡ1, ἀδε ? με δε ἀπε ? γωίονα ΜΡ1, ἀδε ? με 3 εγεθα ΛΙΔ. έγεθα ΜΡ1, ἀδε ? με δε επερεξί γε ἐπερεξί βε *Q.U πα P ! (ust hand—μ, το ἀ ατροῦ in the margin), while in S *P1*V ἀλλΔ....από ε΄ so mitted! αδε «ἐπεί» α di 33 οἰσκέρου «ἐπεί» Welldon II 33 τών omitted by P+ά Q.U. I χημράτου) χυγμανετικές P 4 αλ ση με γε δε επερεξίη, χημανετικός P11, χημαν μανατικός Q II 34 Λίτετ τῆς P+ά C.V.Q.U. Δε. (grobably also M* U³) insert εέρδου II 33 πάνε Bender for τοῦς ο, ρ. α. n. l. 21 II 35 πάνε Bender for τοῦς ο, ρ. α. n. l. 21

24 &κ δὲ τούτων] afterwards, postez (Bonitz): answering τούτο μέν. "And then it is the householder's duty to dispose of the 2-2."

tage (de ôci)." § 2 25 οὐ γὰρ κτλ] From this illustra-tion it would be inferred that the domestic branch of χρηματιστική is related to olygough as shuttle-making to weaving. and not as the production of wool to weaving. Thus the question proposed 8 § 1 and not expressly taken up after-wards would have to be decided as follows: the domestic branch of xonuaτιστική provides the household with the needful raw materials for use, by artificial appropriation of nature's stores, so far as nature herself, whose especial function this is, has made no direct provision. On the other hand the sum total of the necessaries of life are certainly called elsewhere, 8 § 15, 4 §§ 1—4, the instruments (δργανα) for living or managing a household. As however this is not a mode of production but a practical, utilizing activity of consumers (ὁ δὲ βίος πράξις, οὐ ποίησις), the two answers to a certain degree coincide: so far, the question which remains unan-swered need not have been proposed. But there is a difference, again, between earning a livelihood directly and indirectly procuring the appliances and tools required for it. The latter is undoubtedly the business of domestic χρηματιστική, and therefore it stands to Economic in the relation of a subsidiary art that provides, not simply materials, but also instruments. Not only is c. 10 required as an indispensable conclusion to the entire discussion begun at c. 8, but even beyond that there is much that we look for in vain in it; whether Aristotle himself left it thus incomplete, or, as is not quite impossible though indemonstrable, we have here the inadequate execution of another hand substituted for a discussion that has been lost or was never really written. In the latter case there must have been a lacuna here. SUSEM. (95) 28 απορήσειεν αν] χρηματιστική (3) is just as much, or as little, a part of Politics or Economic as Medicine is, and no more. For health is just as necessary to the state as property, and yet the duty of providing health is not considered to belong to Politics or Economic.

belong to Politics or Economic.
§ 3 34 μάλιστα] if possible, this must be found by nature, i.e. without the trouble of acquiring it.
35 Φύστως νώρ κτλ! It was explained

trouble of acquiring it.

35 \$\phi \text{warea} \text{ y \text{in} \text{ rather the trouble of acquiring it.}}\$

18. (73) on 8 \(\) 11 that on Aristotle's own theory it is impossible to see how far

γεννηθέντι παρέχειν παντὶ γάρ, έξ οὖ γίνεται, τροφή τὸ (III) § \$ λειπόμενον ἐστίν. διὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστική (p. 17) πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων.

διπλής δ' οὐσης αὐτής, ιὅσπερ εἰπομεν, καὶ τής μὲν καπηλι- 23 40 κής τής δ' οἰκουομικής, καὶ ταίτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουγελ μένης, τής δὲ μεταβολικής ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γιὰρ κατὰ φίσιν ἀλλὶ ἀπὶ ἀλλυβλων ἐστίρ), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ἰβολοιστατική διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἰναι τὴν κτῆσιν 8 δ καὶ οὐκ ἐφὶ ἀπαρ ἐπορισάμεθα. μεταβολής γιὰρ ἐγὐεντο χάριν, 5 ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ σιοεῖ πλέον. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτ ἐλπφέν!

38 < ή> dπὸ Schneider | 39 [καπηλικής...40 μὸν] Schmidt

this is intended to apply to the animals which according to him are produced from worms. Susem. (96)

36 martly of rth "for every animal has for its sustenance the remainder of the

matter out of which it grows." Hence the animal and vegetable world is nature's reserve for the support of man.

§ 4 1258 b r τῆς δὶ μεταβολικῆς ψεγομίνης Attested in equally general terms by Plato Laws XI. 918 D: compare Andoc. I. 137, Diog. Laert. I. 104. An Athenian would find capital for mercan-

tile concerns, but he considered it on the whole disreputable to engage in them personally (Becker Char. II. 134 ed. 2, Eng. Tr. p. 281). SUSEM. (97)

2 dn dANAHAW] If neuter, the profit made from mutual exchange. But more

2 ar aAAA, avy II neuter, the promised from mutual exchange. But more likely matculine, derived from men defrauding and overreaching one another; the root, probably, of Aristotle's objection to trade altogether.
purofrail Demosth. XXXVII Adv. Pan-

ματεται | Demosth. XXXVII Adv. Partaenetum § 52: μσούσι, φησίν, 'Αθηναΐοι τους δαρείζοντας. SUSEM. (97 b) ή όβολοστατική = obol weighing, petty usury; Lysias adv. Theomer. 1. § 18 p. 117

 cause of a high rate of interest. Thus upon bottomy the average rate charged was 20 per cent, which would go to cover insurance, [Xen.] De Vectigal. III.

9. On house-rents the return was only 8½ per cent. Partly, too, the absence of a paper medium of the nature of bills of

8½ per cent. Partiy, too, the absence of a paper medium of the nature of bills of exchange, drafts, or bank notes, contributed to the same result: Büchsenschütz

Buits and Erwarb pp. 98, 496 ft.
3 864 vb ef arwör sch.) "According the texts both of Bolkier and Susemils for the school of Bolkier and Susemils for the school of Bolkier and Susemils profit from coin instead of from commodities exchanged by means of coin. But the explanatory seatence—arraphils vpb commodities exchanged by means of coin. But the explanatory seatence and the school of the sc

itself." (Jackson).
§ 5 5 τόκος] "Perhaps from Plato
Rep. VIII. 555 Ε, οἱ δὲ δὰ χρηματισταὶ ἐγκόψωττες, οιδὲὲ δοκούντες τούτους ὁρῶν, τῶν
λοιπῶν τὰν ἀεὶ ὑπείκοντα ἐνκύντες ἀργύριον δμοια γάρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννώσιν αὐτά ἐστιν, δ δὲ (III) τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα έκ νομίσματος. ώστε καὶ μάλιστα παρά φύσιν οὖτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν.

11 έπει δε τά πρός την γνώσιν διωρίκαμεν ίκανώς, τά ΙΥ το πρός την χρησιν δεί διελθείν. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα την μεν θεωρίαν ελεύθερον έχει, την δ' έμπειρίαν άναγκαίαν. έστι δὲ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς μέρη χρήσιμα τὸ περὶ τὰ κτήματα έμπειρου είναι, ποία λυσιτελέστατα καλ πού καλ πώς, οίου 14 ίππων κτήσις ποία τις ή βοών ή προβάτων, όμοίως δὲ καὶ § 2 τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων (δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλά τε

τούτων τίνα λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα ἐν ποίοις τόποις: 7 έκ is omitted by H2 Bk. and P4 (rst hand), perhaps rightly: it is added by P4 (corrector) | 10 δέ] γὰρ Γ Ar., perhaps rightly | 11 ελευθέριον? Jackson | 12 δέ] δή Lambin, perhaps rightly | της omitted by Π2 Bk. | κτήματα] κτήνη Bernays

τιτρώσκοντες καὶ τοῦ πατρός ἐκγόνους τόκους πολλαπλασίους κομιζόμενοι πολύν τον κηφήνα και πτωχόν έμποιούσι τῆ πόλει. Still earlier in Aristoph. Thesmooth. 846, 6ξla γούν εἶ τόκου, τεκούσα τοιούτον τόκου " (Ridgeway). Cp. also Plato Rep. VI. 507 A. Politic. 276 A. Witho. 98.3

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With 3-8 81d To KTA comp. Plato Laws V. 742 C, VIII. 842 B. Every one will agree with Full-born that this proof is sophis-tical. But Stahr rightly observes: 'it was not until capital itself attained its complete development, that is, only in recent times, that the justification and reasonable necessity of interest became clear. The history of capital recounts the gigantic efforts that had to be made, the difficulties that had to be surmounted, in order to its formation. From the point of view of universal history the high rate of interest in ancient times has perhaps been a favourable means to that end; yet its immediate effect, in conjunction with a cruel law of debtor and creditor, was to excite repulsion in men with moral natures and this led them decisively to condemn interest altogether, as Plato

All this tends to give Aristotle's whole theory of exchange the following shape: 'he first includes under the term Exchange (άλλαγή) all buying and selling barter. Next he subdivides this genus into two species, the one good and praiseworthy, the other not so. The former belongs to Economic. It exchanges the surplus stock of the household for commodities which the household needs; or if

this surplus stock be sold for money it is with no intention of making a profit, but only to purchase other necessaries with the proceeds. The other species is distinguished by the intention of making a profit, and this exchange with a view to gain is xpquariotics) in the narrower sense or trading proper. It is again subdivided into two branches: the one includes all traffic in commodities whether in extrame in commodities whether in ex-change for other commodities or for money, the other is traffic in money alone by lending it on interest. Aristotle regards this last as wholly detestable: the former as less bad, but still had enough' (Schlosser). Susmm. (98) —11 Production viscoul on the prac-

tical side. Cp. Analysis p. 100. §1 10 χρήσω=practical application,

as in Q § 15 πάντα δὲ κτλ] The theory has its limitations solely in the nature of the case generally; but in practice the nature of the particular locality where we live, and therefore the climate, the character of the soil, &c, determine whether we are chiefly confined to agriculture or to cattlerearing, to mining or commerce by sea, whether there can be preserves of fish and fishing or not, which sorts of grain or of cattle must be procured, and so on (Schütz). Susem. (99)

11 For ελεύθερον) (ἀναγκαίαν, strictly limited, cp. Metaph, 1. 2 § 11 982 b 27: αύτη (First Philosophy) μόνη ελευθέρα τών έπιστημών, and § 14 983 s 10, άναγ-καιότεραι μέν ουν πάσαι αὐτῆς.

άλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλαις εὐθηνεῖ χώραις), εἶτα περὶ γεωργίας,(IV) καὶ ταύτης ήδη ψιλής τε καὶ πεφυτευμένης, καὶ μελιτιο τουργίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τῶν πλωτῶν ἡ πτηνῶν, ἀφ' § 3 όσων έστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας. της μέν οὖν οἰκειστάτης χρη-ε 21 ματιστικής ταθτα μόρια καλ πρώτα, τής δὲ μεταβλητικής μέγιστον μέν έμπορία (καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορτηγία παράστασις διαφέρει δὲ τούτων έτερα έτέρων τῷ τὰ μεν ἀσφαλέστερα είναι, τὰ δὲ πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπι-§ 4 καρπίαν), δεύτερον δὲ τοκισμός, τρίτον δὲ μισθαρνία (ταύ-26 της δ' ἢ μὲν τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἢ δὲ τῶν ἀπέχνων καὶ τῷ σώματι μόνφ χρησίμων) τρίτον δὲ είδος χρηματιστικής μεταξύ ταύτης και τής πρώτης (έχει γάρ και τής κατά φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς), ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς

26 τεχνών] τεχνιτών Vermehren, perhaps rightly | 27 τρίτον] τέταρτον Π1 and P4 (corrector), άλλως τρίτον p1 in the margin | 29 δσα] οὖσα Bernays

§2 17 είθηνε = thrive, have abundant offspring: see Verrall Trans. of Camb.

Phil. Soc. 11. p. 165.
18 ήδη and here (when we come to this) we find two kinds: agriculture proper and

fruit-growing. The technical terms per-haps of Apollodoros, § 7.

The cultivation of the olive and in

particular of the vine would be included under η πεφυτευμένη; see Steitz Hesiod's Works and Days (Leipzig 1871) p. 27 f.

SUSEM. (100) § 3 23 φορτηγία=inland trade. Su-SEM. This is the view of the commentators generally, but Cope disputes it. He remarks: "φορτηγόs and its derivatives φορτηγείν, φορτηγικός, φορταγωγός, φορταγωγέν, seem to be αίνας sapplied to commerce carried on by sea, whether ναθε or πλοΐα be expressed or not (the sense of 'porter' given in the lexx. seems not necessary in any of the passages, cp. Theogn. Frag. 679, Aesch. Frag. Phryg. 242). For this reason, and because commerce by land at Athens and in Greece generally was so utterly insignificant in comparison that it might well be passed over without notice, I rather think that Aris. means by wankhapla building and letting out ships for traffic, and by φορτηγία commerce proper, the transport of goods on board of them, perhaps in-cluding also land transport. On this view Xenophon's distinction De Rep. Laced. 7 ο μέν γεωργεί, ό δε ναυκληρεί, ό δὲ ἐμπορεύεται, would correspond to Aristotle's here." παράστασις virtually=καπηλική, stataria mercatura, hominum nimirum in foro consistentium

24 ἀσφαλέστερα] For definition of άσφάλεια in this connexion, see Rhet. 1, 5. γ τὸ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὖτω κεκτῆσθαι ὢστ' ἐφ' αὐτῷ εἴναι τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν (Jackson).

έπικαρπία = profit additional to the principal (τάρχαῖον): see on § 11.

25 μισθαρνία κτλ] Cp. § 6 below.
In any case the division is incomplete.

The occupations distinguished in § 6 as τεχνικώταται, which are not unskilled manual labour nor service for wages, are manual labour nor service for wages, are here omitted : see sm. (to.2, tog.). Moreover in v(viii). 2 · 5, where μεθαμεναί έργωσία are said to be degrading and βάσκερος, the term has quite a different meaning, see · (ogh). SUSEM. (101). § 4 · 26 By δτερνοι καὶ τῷ τόματι μένον χότρικοι Cope understands the θῆτes in a general division of the popula-

tion; farm-labourers, porters, etc.
29 δσα κτλ is in loose apposition to
είδος χρημ., "all the wealth or property derived from land and such of its useful products as are employed by the pro-prietor himself," like the καρποί of ή πεφυ-τευμέτη γεωργία. Even if Bernays' οδοα is right, we cannot accept his punctuation (a colon after 28 πρώτης, no parenthesis, but a single sentence from έχει to 31 μεταλλευτική) or his translation of οῦσα dwd yfis; 'directed to the land'. SUSEM. 30 καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων, ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, (ρ. 18) § 5 οίον ύλοτομία τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική, αυτη δὲ πολλά ήδη περιείληφε γένη πολλά γάρ είδη των έκ γής μεταλλευομένων έστίν. περί έκάστου δέ τούτων καθόλου μέν είρηται ε δέ κατά μέρος ακριβολογείσθαι χρήσιμον § 6 πρός τας έργασίας, φορτικόν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. εἰσὶ 36 τεχνικώταται μέν των έργασιων όπου ελάχιστον τύχης, βαναυσύταται δ' έν αίς τὰ σώματα λωβώνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δὲ ὅπου τοῦ σώματος πλείσται γρήσεις, ἀγεννέ-

31 ὑλοτομία] ή λατομία Thomas Aquinas and Susem.1, but wrongly | 33 περί... 35 ένδιατρίβειν Susem. transposes to follow 30 αρετής; see Introd. p. 78 | δή Susem., & Γ II Bk., omitted by Ar. | 35 elol...39 αρετής was first seen by Montecatino to be out of place, it was erroneously transposed by Piccart to precede 27 τρίτον δέ | 36 Pt-6. O Ald. Sb Tb Bk. insert This before There I 38 dweeferaras Ma Pt-6. O Ald. perhaps rightly

30 ἀκάρπων] Compare Rhet. L. 5. 7: κάρπιμα δὲ λέγω ἀφ' ὧν αὶ πρόσοδοι

31 ihoropia, the growing and cutting down of timber as distinct from the fruit-

trees of η πεφυτευμένη γεωργία. § 5 32 γένη, είδη interchanged: cp. § 6 36 δπου ελάχιστον τέχης! "where chance has least play": where nearly everything turns upon acquaintance with the facts, technical knowledge and skill; where the skilled craftsman's hand is guided by intellectual training, which is the all-important element. Cp. Walter op. c. 505 f. Clearly Aristotle means what we call the fine arts and all the higher technical pursuits, including the sciences themselves and rhetoric, if followed or themselves and metoric, it followed or taught professionally for pay. In parti-cular the art of the sophists, for which see n. (552) on III. 9. 8, also V(VIII). 2. 5 with n. (981). SUSEM. (102)

with n. (β81). SUBM. (102) Compare Polos, η μέν γάρ έμπειρία νέχνην ἐποίησεν, η δ' ἀπειρία νύχην, Μεταρίλ. 1. 18. β81α 4 (Ιακίσιο). 37 βαναυσόναναι κτλ). This and many other possages—c. 13. \$13. 111. 4. \$12.5. \$4. \$6: 1V(VII)-0 \$3. 14. \$7: V(VII)-0 \$8. \$6. \$4. \$6. \$6. \$8. 6. \$7. \$7. γ (VII)-0 \$8. \$1. 12. with notes; policy in the state of the s 7 § 7; VII(VI). 4 §§ 11, 12 with Rotes; Plato Laws V. 741 E, 743 D f., cp. VIII. 831 C f., 846 D f.; Xenoph. Occ. 4 § 2 f., cp. 6 § 6, to § 10 — show clearly how closely related were the conceptions of the servile (cp. n. 43) and the mechanical both to Aristotle and to the Greeks at large

(see further Herod. II. 167). 'Servile' occupations like that of the hired labourer. § 4, form according to this description the proper antithesis to those which are 'artistic' (n. 102); mechanical trades are intermediate, yet even the artizan, to say nothing of the labourer, is only a superior kind of slave. Aristotle has really before him the "sedentary" crafts, τέχναι espaiat Eud. Eth. I. 4. 2, 1250 a 30, which are not conducive to bodily health or a noble carriage; v(VIII), 2. 4 n. (980). Similarly we read in Plato Rep. vI. 495 D that manual labour disfigures the body and mars the soul; Xen. I. c. says that it. hurts men's bodies by keeping them in a sitting posture (καθήσθαι) cooped up indoors (σκιατραφείσθαι), or in other cases doors (σκαστραφέσθαι), or in other cases standing all day long over the furnace; and Facudo-Plato Erast. 137 B that it makes them go about with stooping shoulders and backs bent ευτπέζοντα ξύν (the references from Eaton). This is to-tally unlike the way in which Socrates thinks and judges: 'he speaks as the son of a poor craftsman, Plato Xenophon and Aristotle like men of rank and tres. and Aristotle like men of rank and property', Zeller Phil. d. Gr. II i 142 (Eng. tr. Socrates and Socratics p. 170 n. 1). Compare Xen, Mem. III. c, 10. the definition of servile employments

compare c. 2 § 2 n. (6b) and c. 5 § 7 ff. For λωβώνται see v(vIII). 4. 1: the workmen themselves 'spoil' or 'deprave' their bodies; i.e. render them feeble and unfit to do service for the state in war.

SUSEM. (103)

39 σταται δὲ ὅπου ἐλάχιστον προσδεῖ ἀρετής.

< περὶ ἐκάστου δὴ τούτων καθόλου μὲν εἴρηται 34 <καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρήσιμον μὲν πρὸς § τ <τὰς ἐργασίας, φορτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν.> ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐνίοις κ 40 γεγραμμένα περὶ τούτων, οἶον Χαρητίδη τῷ Παρίφ καὶ 1259 Απολλοδώρω τῷ Λημνίω περὶ γεωργίας καὶ ψιλῆς καὶ πεφιτευμένης, όμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ ἄλλων, ταῦτα μὲν έκ τούτων θεωρείτω ότω έπιμελές έτι δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα 4 σποράδην, δι' ών ἐπιτετυχήκασιν ἔνιοι χρηματιζόμενοι, § 8 δεί συλλέγειν. πάντα γὰρ ωφέλιμα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦς τιμῶσι την χρηματιστικήν, οίον καὶ τὸ Θάλεω τοῦ Μιλησίου τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, άλλ' ἐκείνω κ μέν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει δὲ καθόλου τι ς 9 ον. ονειδιζοντων γάρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ώς ἀνωφελοῦς 10 της φιλοσοφίας ούσης, κατανοήσαντά <u>φασιν</u> αὐτὸν έλαιῶν φοράν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμώνος ὄντος εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων όλίγων άρραβώνας διαδούναι τών έλαιουργείων τών τ' έν Μιλήτω καὶ Χίω πάντων, ολίγου μισθωσάμενον ατ' οὐδενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος ἐπειδή δ' ὁ καιρὸς 15 ήκε, πολλών ζητουμένων αμα καὶ εξαίφνης, εκμισθούντα

40 χάρητι (χάριτι M^a) δή Π Ar. Bk. Bernays

1250 a 6 olov 18 ornovôdřovou seems to have been used by Hieronymos of Rhodes as quoted by Diog. Laert. I. 26 | 13 & Ausopyelus Pl and Hieron. έλαιουργών Γ Susem.^{1,2,}, έλαιούργων P^{4} , έλαιουργιών $M^{a}Q(?)S^{b}T^{b}$, έλαιουργίων $P^{2,8}$. Ald, Bk. Bernays, Acoupying L.

39 onou... dperns] "where excel-lence" of any kind, and so, where bodily excellence "is least needed." No doubt lending money on interest is particularly meant, 10 § 4. Such business he includes under the servile occupations. Susem.

§ 7 40 περι τούτων] With the transposition this aptly refers to 34 το κατά μέρος ἀκριβολογείσθαι, exact particulars in detail.

1259 a Γ Απολλοδώρφ τῷ Λημυίο Also mentioned by Varro R. R. I. I. 8, and several times in Pliny's Natural History. Susem. (106)

3 δτφ ἐπιμελές = whoever is interested in the subject. We are referred to

in the subject. We are referred to written works in *Rhet*. I. 4. 13, 1360 a 30. §8 6 7d 9dhea] *Nic. Eth.* v1. 7. 5 1141 b 3 ff. On Thales see Zeller 1. 168 ff. [Eng. tr. *Pre-Socratics* I. p. 211 ff.]

SUSEM. (105 b)

8 Sid Thy Godfav] Aristoph. Clouds

"paid deposits in advance to engage the various oil-presses": dop. = carnest money, as guarantee for the execution of the contract: δια δ. because the sums were distributed, paid to various owners. Quite apart from the external authority for thatbusiness-like to engage the oil-mills, six months beforehand, than the workmen. 13 δλίγου μισθ.] "taking them at a

low rental, because there was no one to outbid him ": ἐπιβάλλειν=add, make a higher bid, run up the price,

ου τρόπου ήβούλετο, πολλά χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπιδείξαι, (IV ότι ράδιου έστι πλουτείν τοις φιλοσόφοις, αν βούλωνται, άλλ'

§ 10 οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὁ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλής μὲν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον ε του τρόπου επίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι της σοφίας έστι δ', ώσπερ 20 είπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιούτον χρηματιστικόν, ἐάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αύτω κατασκευάζειν. διὸ καὶ των πόλεων ένιαι (ρ.: τούτον ποιούνται τὸν πόρον, ὅταν ἀπορώσι χρημάτων μονο-

\$ 11 πωλίαν γιαο τών ώνίων ποιούσιν. ἐν Σικελία δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος συνεπρίατο πάντα τὸν σίδηρον ἐκ 25 των σιδηρείων, μετά δὲ ταύτα ώς άφίκοντο ἐκ των ἐμπορίων οι ξμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ πολλήν ποιήσας ὑπερβολην της τιμης άλλ όμως έπι τοις πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις

§ 12 ἐπέλαβεν ἐκατόν. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος τὰ 8 μέν γρήματα εκέλευσεν εκκομίσασθαι, μη μέντοι γε έτι 30 μένειν έν Συρακούσαις, ώς πόρους εύρίσκοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους τὸ μέντοι ὅραμα Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν (ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι

§ 13 μουοπωλίαν)· χρήσιμου δὲ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοίς. πολλαίς γάρ πόλεσι δεί χρηματισμού καὶ τοιούτων 35 πόρων, ώσπερ οἰκία, μάλλον δέ. διόπερ τινές καὶ πολι-

τεύονται τών πολιτευομένων ταθτα μόνον. 12 ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἐν μὲν δε- ٧

σποτική, περί ής εξρηται πρότερου, εν δε πατρική, τρίτον δε 16 συλλέξαντος P^4 Ald., συλλέξαντες S^bT^b || 25 έμποριών P^{2-8} , πορίων M^s ||

28 τοῦτο Sb Bk. | δ omitted by M*P1 | 30 αὐτοῦ II Bk. | 31 δραμα] εὕρημα Camerarius, θεώρημα ? Koraes | Θάλη καὶ τούτφ Susem. 1-2., Thali et huic William, perhaps rightly | 37 μέρη omitted by H2 (added by a later hand in Sb) | 38 [περ] ...πρότερον] Schmidt

§ 10 21 Eval] Selymbria, Byzantium, and Lampsakos are instances given by Ps. Aristotle Oeconom. 11, 18 1348 b 33, 4 \$ 4

1346 b 25, 8 1347 a 32. § 11 27 kml rois merrikovra] "on" or "in addition to his capital of fifty talents he received a hundred more": he made a profit of 100 talents on his origimade a proof of 100 talents of mis original fifty. The preposition has the same force in $\tau \delta \kappa \alpha \epsilon \ell \pi \ell \tau \rho \epsilon \tau \sigma \epsilon$. Rhel. III. 10. 7, and the analogous fractions. § 12 28 Undoubtedly Dionysios the elder who is mentioned III. 15. 16 n.

SUSEM. (106)

31 δραμα] 'discovery': cp. Dem. adv. Mid. § 60 533, 25, οδδείς πάποτε τοῦτ' είδε τὸ πλεονέκτημα 'had an eye to this

advantage' (Posigate). Also Plato Phaedr.

69 A silve de ruspréa.

10 A silve de ruspréa.

11 The renating lemches of Economics de London.

11 The renating lemches of Economics de London.

12 A silve de la finite del la finite del la finite del la finite de la finite del la finite de la finite del la finite del la finite del la finite del la finite 6 § 7 however οἰκονομική as an epithet of ἀρχή is used to include all three relations." Justice between man and wife is really aranuar, 3 § 2.

39 γαμική * * καὶ γὰρ Conring; Bernays by altering ἄρχειν into ἀρκτέον, Ar. by translating ἄρχει, ignore the lacuna: ἔστιν ἄρχειν, a Paris ms. 2042. See the Comm. 1350 b z πουὶ που Π' (εmended by μ²)

39 γαμική**] There is here a considerable lacuna. For the sense some such restoration as the following may be proposed: "Economic science has, we saw, three branches, treating of (a) the relation of master and slave which has been discussed above, (β) the paternal and (γ) the conjugal relation. < Further we saw that in general a slave is only a piece of property, persons as well as things being included under that head; and it is not the acquisition but the use and maintenance of property which is properly a part of economic science. This science may therefore be divided into (1) the guidance and rule of the persons of the household, (2) the right use of the property. The former includes the treatment of the conjugal and paternal relations: the relation of master and slave would come partly under the one, partly under the other. The householder has to care for the improvement and excellence of all that belongs to the household, and hence for the improvement and excellence of the property; but property is only a means to the end which the household seeks to attain, and the living chattel is more important than lifeless objects. It is therefore the householder's main task to direct aright the free members of the house."> In c. 12 the differences in this rule as exercised over the different this rule as exercised over the dimerent free members of the family are paren-thetically specialized, but in c. 13 the leading thought itself is resumed and ex-plained. Cp. Thurot Études p. 14 f., Susemihl in Rhein. Mus. XX. pp. 212— 215 (where however some mistakes need

correction), Büchsenschütz op. c. 716. Susem. (107 b)

1259 bi rodaturās] like a magistrate in a republic, or, more precisely, an aristocracy, Nr. Eth. VIII. 10 § 5, 11 § 4. Cp. Zeller II ii 61 pn. (1). SUSEM. (108) § 2 4 ëv pit oëv kra) Here follows a discussion, as to (1) how far the rule of

Cp. Zeller II ii 619 m. (1). Stram. (1989)
§ 2 4 by he o'se with Her follows
a discussion, as to (1) how far the rule of
the laukand over the wife may fully be
despite certain differences between them;
(2) how far the rule of a father over his
children may be compared with monatchical government. Cp. further 1, 8 % 7
how far the rule of a father over his
children may be compared with monatchical government. Cp. further 1, 8 % 7
how for the rule of a father over his
children may be compared with monatseas rule over citizens rulers and subjects
change places, for they for degree and subjects
change places, for they for degree and to
they depressed to the form of the form of the form
to differ not at all 1, 2 for fly defour an adverbial accuss as II 1, 2 of 7 by defour an adverbial accuss as II 1, 2 of 7 by defour an oraverbial accuss as II 1, 2 of 7 by defour an oraverbial accuss as II 1, 2 of 7 by defour an oratice of the form of the form of the form of the
form of the form of the form of the form of the
form of the form of the form of the form of the
form of the 'interior' of the citizens' of the citizens'
or the 'mature' of the citizens'

8 σχήμασι, outward signs, insignia: λόγοις, titles.
ώσπερ καὶ "Αμασις κτλ] Herodotos

acress sea! Aguars sext.] Herodotos tells this story, II. 172. Amasis, who had deposed his predecessor Apries (Hophra), was at first despised by the Egyptians on account of his low birth. Whereupon he had a statue of gold made out of a foot-bath, in which he and his guests had been accustomed to wash their feet. When this statue was set up the Egyptians soak if the reverence, and

§ 3 τὸν περὶ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος λόγον τὸ δ' ἄρρεν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ θήλυ (V) το τούτον έχει τὸν τρόπον. ή δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχή βασιλική τὸ γὰρ γεννήσαν καὶ κατὰ φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν εστίν, όπερ εστί βασιλικής είδος άρχής. διὸ καλώς "Ομηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπων

πατήρ ανδρών τε θεών τε

15 του βασιλέα τούτων άπάντων. φύσει γὰρ του βασιλέα διαφέρειν μεν δεί, τω γένει δ' είναι τον αιτόν δπερ πέπονθε το πρεσβύτερον πρός το νεώτερον και ο γεννήσας πρός το τέκνον.

13 φανεορύ τοίνυν ότι πλείων ή σπουδή της οἰκονομίας 3 περί τούς ανθρώπους ή περί την των αψύχων κτήσιν, καί 20 περί την άρετην τούτων ή περί την της κτήσεως, δυ καλούμεν πλούτου, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἡ δούλων.

πρώτου μέν οὖν περί δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, πότερον ἔστιν άρετή τις δούλου παρά τὰς όργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οδον σωφροσύνη καλ ανδρία καλ δικαιοσύνη καλ 25 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεων, ἡ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ § 3 τὰς σωματικάς ύπηρεσίας (ἔχει γὰρ ἀπορίαν ἀμφοτέρως είτε γαρ έστιν, τί διοίσουσι τών έλευθέρων; είτε μη έστιν, όντων άνθρώπων καὶ λόγου κοινωνούντων άτοπον) σχεδον δὲ 4

15 After ἀπάντων p² adds as a gloss δηλονότι πατέρα εἰπών, and this πατέρα εἰπὼν has crept into the text of FM* | 17 70] 70v FP4Sb Ar, before vew repor | 18 * * φανερον [τοίνυν] ? Schmidt; see on 1254 a 24 | 26 είτε] είτι P4 Sb Tb, εί τι P4-6-Ald. | 28 80] 80 Mo P1-2-4- Q St To Ald. and P2 (corr. 2)

Amasis, calling them together, explained to what vile uses the object of their present adoration had once been put. Similarly he had risen from the common people to the throne, and as king he demanded their respect. Susem, (110) § 3 9 del) (κατά μέρος 1 § 2. The hus-

band holds, as it were, permanent office. κατά φ.] by right of affection.
 δπερ έστὶ κτλ]=and this gives a form of monarchy, viz. hereditary monarchy, III. 14. 6. Bernays takes ellor as 'es-sential nature', but compare Nic. Eth. VIII. 10. 4. ή μὲν γὰρ πατρὸς πρὸς μίεῖς

κοινωνία βασιλείας έχει σχήμα. 16 τω γένει δ' είναι τον αψτόν | So too in Pindar's words. & ardour & bear γένος, ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν ματρὸς ἀμφό-τεροι Nem. 6. 1, men are of one race with the gods, earth being the common mother of both. The same is implied by Hesiod's verse ώς ομόθεν γεγάσσι θεοί θνητοί τ' άν-

θρωποι Works and Days 108 (J. G. Schneider). See Steitz op. c. 50 f. SUSEM. (110 b)

c. 13 Various degrees of excellence requisite in the different members of the household; §§ 1—11. The promotion of this excellence in slaves, §§ 12—14; in women and children, §§ 15, 16.

Cp. Analys. p. 101, Introd. p. 31. § 1 18 'Tokyov traducendo ad novam cogitationem inservit' Bonitz Ind. Ar. quoting Physics 1. 2 §§ 7, 8 185 b 3, 9. Perhaps it only resumes a thought pre-viously expressed, 'then', 'accordingly': see n. (107 b). Bernays gives 'It is clear beforehand then.' Susem.

20 Here πλούτος = άρετη κτήσεως, but

20 Πετε πλουτος = αρετη κτησεως, Dut in 8 § 15 it is πλήθο βρησιων.
21 μάλλον ή δούλων] Cp. n. (33) on 4 § 1 καὶ ξὰν καὶ εὐ ξὰν. SUSEM. (111) § 2 25 τῶν άλλων ἔξεων ες. τοι = τῶν άλλων ἐρετῶν; Rhet. 1. 6. 9 with Cope's n.

(p. 2

ταὐτόν ἐστι΄ τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδός, (V) 30 πότερα καλ τούτων είσλυ άρεταί, καλ δεί την γυναϊκα σώφρονα είναι καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίαν, καὶ παῖς ἐστι καὶ ἀκό-

§ 4 λαστος καὶ σώφρων, ή οὖ; [καὶ] καθόλου δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπισκεπτέον περί άρχομένου φύσει και άρχοντος, πότερον ή αὐτή άρετή ή έτέρα. εί μὲν γὰρ δεῖ ἀμφοτέρους μετέχειν καλο-

35 καγαθίας, διὰ τί τὸν μὲν ἄρχειν δέοι ἄν τὸν δὲ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ; (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ήττον οἰόν τε διαφέρειν τὸ μέν γὰρ ἄργεσθαι καὶ ἄργειν είδει διαφέρει, τὸ

§ ο δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ήττον οὐδέν)· εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν δεῖ τὸν δὲ μή, ο θαυμαστόν. εἴτε γὰρ ὁ ἄρχων μὴ ἔσται σώφρων καὶ δί-40 καιος, πώς άρξει καλώς; είθ' ὁ άρχόμενος, πώς άργθή-1260 1 σεται καλώς; ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ὧν καὶ δειλὸς οὐδὲν ποιήσει τῶν προσηκόντων. φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι ἀνάγκη μὲν μετέχειν

αμφοτέρους αρετής, ταύτης δ' είναι διαφοράς, ώσπερ καὶ τῶν § ε φύσει άρχόντων καὶ άρχομένων. καὶ τοῦτο εὐθὺς ὑφηγεῖται πε-5 ρί την ψυχήν εν ταύτη γάρ εστι φύσει το μεν άρχον το δ

άρχόμενου, ων έτέραν φαμέν είναι άρετήν, οίον του λόγον (ψ. 21) έχουτος καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου. δήλου τοίνυν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπου ε 30 σώφρονα after 31 elvas Π2 Bk. | 31 και before ακύλαστος omitted by Π1 | 32

καl before καθόλου omitted by Γ M° | 37 διαφέρει τῷ Ar. 1260 а 4 архбитын кай omitted by Π Ar. Bk. $\|$ бффүүргац Π^2 Bk. and p^1 in the margin, ὑφηγεῖται <τὰ > Schütz; yet ὑφηγεῖται can also be used passively | 6 μέν

elvas daudy M*P1, udy daudy elvas P4 (corrector)

§ 3 31 παι̂ς...σώφρων] Compare Nic. Eth. III. 12. 5 1119 a 33: we apply the term dxolasta to the faults of children so far as they bear a certain resemblance to the vice of intemperance (ἀκολασία). SUSEM. (111 b)

§ 4 37 «ίδει διαφέρει] see on 1 § 2. § 5 1260 a 3 ώσπερκαλ...άρχομένων] sc. διαφοραί είσι, as explained 5 § 2 ff.

\$6 4 ὑφηγεῖται] "this is indicated (or, given in outline) in the case of the soul." The participle ὑφηγημένος (r § 3) seems evidence that the verb is used passively (Bonitz Ind. Ar.); but Schütz' suggestion <ra>rd>gives the middle a fair</ra> sense: "to this result the relations which exist in the soul at once lead us." SUSEM.

6 ων έτέραν... 7 άλόγου] "and we say that a different kind of excellence belongs to the one and to the other of these, I mean to the rational and irrational parts of the soul." Namely intellectual or dianoetic virtue (ἀρετὴ διανοητική) to the rational soul: moral virtue (ἡθικὴ ἀρετή, excellence of character) courage, temperance, etc. to the irrational appetitive soul; Zeller II ii 624-658. The dianoctic virtues are discussed in B. vI of the Nic. Eth., and the latest detailed investigation of this subject, Walter op. 6. 283-

Each of the three kinds of reason, theoretic, creative, and practical in the narrower sense (see n. 40), has its parti-cular dianoetic virtue, or it may be, virtues. Practical wisdom or insight (φρόνησις), if not the only virtue, is at all events the most indispensable and imevents the most managerisante and im-portant virtue of the practical reason (Walter p. 356 ff.); see on 5 \(\) 9 n. (45); III. 4 \(\) 7, 8 nn. (474—6), \(\) 8 16, 17 nn. To theoretic reason belongs (i) rows in the narrower sense, intelligence, com-prehending in itself the two extremes of all indemonstrable knowledge, which must be assumed for every syllogism and §1 Ε΄χει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὄστ' <ἐπεὶ> φύσει πλείω τὰ [ἄρχοντα (V) καὶ] ἀρχόμενα (ἄλλων γὰρ τρόπων τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου το ἀργει καὶ τὸ ἄρος καὶ ἀπὸρ παιδός), καὶ πᾶσιν

8 ἄστ' <ℓπτ!> Bernays, while Susem.^{1.0.9} had simply ἄστε ∥ πλείω τὰ Ramus, τὰ πλείω ΓΙ Π Βκ. ∥ [ℓρχωτα και] Susem.⁴, especially as otherwise the insertion of ℓπτ!. I. 8. is untenable ∥ 10 σκ²θ | δκοταes

for scientific demonstration; at the lower end of the scale the immediate judgment of perception, and at the other end, by means of induction, the principles and axioms on which all demonstration, definition, and division rest: (ii) êtration articles and the constraint of the contrapa, demonstrated science with the

exception of metaphysic; and (iii) σοφία, wisdom, the highest or metaphysical knowledge which consists of elements of both kinds, demonstrated truths and truths immediately known. It is of slight importance whether Zeller and Walter are right, that Aristotle regarded all three as dianoetic 'virtues', or whether, as Döring tries to prove against Walter in Kunstlehre des Arist. (Aristotle's Theory of Art) p. 62 f., only the third, σοφία, was really so considered by him. In the creative reason, lastly, τέχνη, artistic skill, is not itself a dianoetic excellence, though it can lead to one, Nic. Eth. VI. 5. 7, 1140 b 21 f.1

For the 'excellences of character' cp. 5 8 n. (40): in regard to temperance in 9 nr. (162), 7 § 12, III. 4 § 16 n. (491), IV (VII). 1 § 4 n. (693). SUSEM. (112) 7 rotovy] See on § I. 'But' or

'now it is clear' (Bonitz). § 7 8 ff. "Since then there are by nature

various sorts of things subjected to rule (the rule of a free man over a slave being different from that of a husband over a wife, and again from that of an adult over a childly, and all have the elements of the soul present in them, only in different degrees (the slave in general being destitute of the deliberative faculty, which in the woman has not sufficient authority and in the boy is as yet undeveloped;)

Whether this is really Artistole's theory or and, Disting doubt. But perhaps Artistole no ground for doubt. But perhaps Artistole whiched to restrict his artistic excellence to the higher group of arts, the initiative arts, see a region of arts, the initiative arts, see a region of a region

for this reason the ruler requires the intellectual virtue in perfection (for the work belongs simply to the master-workman, and here this is reason), while each of the others needs only his fitting share thereof. And so, too, must it be with the moral virtues: we must suppose all to need a share of them, though not equally, but only in

so far as each requires for his work."

Bernaps defending the order of the ms. Irnalates from 14 shade as follows:

"A similar gradation must likewise he assumed for the moral virtues: all must be assumed for the moral virtues: all must have moral virtue in its perfection;—for every work depends in all its parts on the supreme muster, and reason." It of the supreme muster, and reason." It offers the supreme muster, and reason." It offers meantly of reason on all isle, and must be attacked to the supreme muster." If then the work it to be meantly of reason on all isle, and must be attacked to the supreme muster. The must satisfy the demands of reason on all isle, and must be attacked to the suprementation of the supre

does not meet Thurwi's objection, Bude for ... The transposition is indispensable. From the proposition 'reason is the statement when it 'fau follow that the water-workman it' fau follow that the virtue, and only secondarily that he must have the highest somel virtue. Aristotle has been speaking (a s $-\gamma$) of a virtue of incoming part of the soul, and be admits (a 10 -14) that both these parts are possestly sides, women, and children. Before going on to Inquite low they all part he must have noticed the manner

part he must have noticed the manner in which they share in the intulletual virtue of the rational part. Indeed the words which Bernays inserts 'the demands of reason on all sides' imply the dianoctic virtue." Cp. Hermst XIX. pp. 588—592, Quant. Crit. VI. p. 9.1 SUSEM.

9 dlaw vip proprior 582 et 28 \$4, od röw wirds reporter ript doggin. SUSEM.

ένυπάρχει μέν τὰ μόρια τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει δια-(V) φερύντως (ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος ὅλως οἰκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν,

Tổ bề Đĩ/Lư Tyeu μ lớu, chân đượngu, b bề trưở byeu μ lớu, bẽ shành đượngu. The me they should be showed to the should be showed the should be shown that the should be should be

άρετήν (τό γιὰρ΄ ξεγου ἐστὶν ἀπλώς τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτους, ὁ δὲ
19 Μήνος ἀρχιτέκτους), τῶν δ΄ ἄλλων ὅκαστον, ὅσον ἔπιβάλλει
καὐτοῖκ. «Αμοίως τούννυ ἀναγκαίου ἔχων καὶ περὶ τὰκ
15 «Τόβικὰς ἀρετάς 'ὑποληπτέου δεῶν μὲν μετέχεων πάντας, ἀλλ'
16 «οῦ τὰν αὐτὰν τρόπου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκάστον πρὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργου»,
3 αἰστε φαιερὸῦ ὅτι ἐστὶν εἰκάστου ἰδία ἡ> τθική ἀρετή τῶν εἰρη-
12 μένων ἀπάστου, καὶ οῖχ ἡ αὐτὴ σουδροσύνη γυναικός καὶ ἀνδρός,
οῦδ' ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶδάτερ ψέτεν Σεκρόστης, ὰλλ'

12 ό μὲν γάρ...βουλευτικόν] Just the same thing is said in other words 5 § 9 n. (45). See also n. (115). Susem. (114) 13 έχα μέν, άλλ' ἀκυρον] Cp. n. (117). This can establish a difference of degree only, not a difference of kind, between the virtue of a man and of a woman. See III. 4. 17 π. (405). SUSEM. (114 b) § 8 17 την «διανο» ητικήν άρετην It is self-evident that only the 'dianoetic' virtue of practical life, opdenous or practical wisdom, is here treated: see nm. (45) (112); IV(VII). I. 4 (693). Where it is a question of executing another's command, as it is always and unconditionally with the slave, there this virtue belongs only to him who gives the command, he who obeys having merely 'right opinion' about it. All the difference now is, whether he can attain this right apprehension more or less easily, thoroughly prenension more or less easily, shoroughly or carelessly: III. 4, 18, 14,495. Compare also nn. on III. 4 \$ 10 (493), \$ 17 (497), \$\$ 7, \$ (474–6). But so far as a natural slave, who is denied every capacity for deliberation, can be said to

have ever so small a share of approximate intellectual virtue in the department of practice, such virtue consists merely in the fact that one slave understands his master's commands and knows how to execute them better, more quickly, and more apily than another. SUSEM. [115] 19, SKARVOY) SC. Sgaw 50 47 95. 65, emp63Aca] *so far as is incumbent on them.' Immesonal: cn. De lone, vitue.

The sectors of the sector of the sector of the sector of them. Impersonal; cp. De long vitue I. § 4, 461 h 33, λακτένο δου δειβλλικ τή φυνετή φιλοσοφία: Herod. II. 180 του Δελφούς δή ἐπέβαλλικ παρασχών.

16 δσον ἐκάστω] sc. ἐπιβάλλει. § 9 20 <ἐκάστου Ιδία ἡ> ἀρετὴ κπλ] "that the moral virtue of each of the above classes is peculiar to itself." Bernays translates as if he had before him the words inserted.

22 Esspérry: The historical Socrates unquestionably did so, Xen. Symp. 2, 9; p. Zeller of. c. II i 221 [Eng. tr. Socrates and Socratics p. 145 n. 1]. But here no doubt Aristotle has in view the Platonic Socrates; amongst other pasages in Men 71 D. f. to which he alludes

η μεν ἀρχικη ἀνδρία η δ' ὑπηρετική, ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ (V) \$ 10 περί τὰς ἄλλας. δήλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπι-25 σκοπούσιν καθόλου γάρ οἱ λέγοντες ἐξαπατώσιν ἐαυτοὺς ὅτι

τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρετή, ἢ τὸ ὀρθοπραγεῖν, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων πολύ γάρ άμεινον λέγουσιν οι έξαριθμούντες τάς άρεε 11 τάς, ώσπερ Γοργίας, των ούτως όριζομένων. διὸ δεῖ, ώσπερ ό ποιητής εξρηκε περί γυναικός, ούτω νομίζειν έχειν περί πάντων

γυναικὶ κόσμον ή σιγή φέρει,

άλλ' ἀνδρὶ οὐκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ παῖς ἀτελής, δήλον ὅτι

24 καl, which Ar. leaves untranslated, Lambin omitted | 26 ή τὸ Π¹ P4.6- La Wb Ald., καὶ τὸ Ο Ar., τὸ Pû-3. Sb Tb | τοιούτον for τῶν τοιούτων Mo Pl | 31 δ before was omitted by H1

more distinctly § 10 n. (118). Like Socrates in Xenophon I. c., Plato (Rep. V. 452 E f.) holds that, apart from begetting and bearing children, the difference between the sexes is a difference of degree: upon this is based his demand that women should share in the education of men, in war and public business, also (although this is expressly stated only in the Laws) in the public messes: see II. 5 § 1 n. (153), 6 § 5 n. (196), 7 § 1 n. (231 b). Further, community of wives in the two upper classes of his ideal-state (II. I § 3 ff., 7 § I) is clearly connected with this; compare n. (142) on II. 2 § 9, Zeller op. c. II i 775 [Eng. tr. Plato p. 481], Susemihl Plat. Phil. II. 168-170. Aristotle on the contrary records the results of careful scientific observations on the difference in temperament between the two sexes in Hist. Anim. IX. I § 5, §§ 7, 8 608 ε 21 ff.: τὰ θήλεα μαλακώ-τερα καί κακουργότερα καί ήττον ἀπλά καί προπετέστερα και περί την τών τέκνων τροφήν φροντιστικώτερα...έστι δὲ καὶ δύσθυμον μάλλον το θήλυ τοῦ άρρενος καὶ δέσελπι, και αναιδέστερον και ψευδέστερου, εὐαπατητότερου δὲ καὶ μνημουικότερου, ἔτι δὲ ἀγρυπνότερου κτλ. Cp. De gener. anim. IV. 6. 10 f., 775 a 12, and Zeller II ii 688 with n. (3). Susem. (116)

23 1 μεν αρχική κτλ] Cp. III. 4 § 3 n. (470), § 16 n. (491), § 17 n. (495): also 1. 5 § 7 n. (42 b), 12 §§ 1, 2 nn. See on the other side n. (120) on I. 13 § 11. SUSEM. (117)

§ 10 24 κατά μίρος] 'in detail'. 25 The same protest in Nic. Eth. II.

7 § 1, cp. 2 §§ 3. 4. 26 τὸ εὐ ἔχαν] Plato Rep. IV. 444 Ε ὑγίειά τις καὶ εὐεξία ψυχῆς: Gorg. 506 D

τάξει τεταγμένον έστιν ή άρετη έκάστου. 27 οι έξαρ. κτλ] As Gorgias does in Plato's Meno 71 B f., where the Platonic Socrates attacks the doctrine. Aristotle is here defending Gorgias against that polemic and expresses his agreement with him in the main. Schlosser well observes that the defence certainly misses the mark, as Plato in the Meno insists with perfect right that the generic notion of virtue ought first to be defined, and in the Ethics Aristotle starts from that. On Gorgias see n. (448) to III, 2, 2, SUSEM. (118)

§ 11 28 δ ποιητής] Sophocles Ajax 293. See further n. (117). SUSEM. (119) 31 êπel δὲ κτλ] "Since the child has not yet fully developed, his excellence is not to be referred simply and solely to himself, but to perfect development and the standard of his educator."

The slave's moral excellence is restricted to that which fits him to be well employed by his master, the child's to that which fits him to be well trained by his father. In the child only the germ of human virtue is present (Nic. Eth. 1. 9. 10, III. 12. 5 ff.); on this see IV(VII). 13. 5 n. (875): but in the adult slave, so far as he possesses the indispensable mini-mum of such a virtue at all, it is at least actually developed. Children and slaves have only to obey; the wife must indeed obey her husband, but then she has along with him to command the remaining members of the family. This implies that her virtue is not merely υπηρετική, as Aristotle inexactly puts it § 9. Further with §§ 8-11 compare Poetics 15 § 3 and note (101 b) in Susemihl's edition. SUSEM. (120)

τούτου μέν καὶ ή άρετη οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς (V) § 12 τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν ήγούμενον. όμοίως δὲ καὶ δούλου πρὸς δεσπότην. ἔθεμεν δὲ πρὸς τάναγκαῖα χρήσιμον είναι τὸν δούλον,

35 ώστε δήλον ότι καὶ άρετης δείται μικράς, καὶ τοσαύτης όπως 10 μήτε δι' ακολασίαν μήτε δια δειλίαν έλλείδη των έργων, άπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον εἰ ἀληθές, ἄρα καὶ τοὺς (ν. 22) τεχνίτας δεήσει έχειν άρετήν πολλάκις γάρ δι άκολασίαν § 13 έλλείπουσι τών έργων. ή διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον; ὁ μὲν γὰρ 40 δούλος κοινωνός ζωής, δ δέ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσούτον έπιβάλλει άρετης όσον περ καὶ δουλείας ὁ γάρ βάναυσος τε-

32 αὐτὸν Γ (ad se ipsum William) [33 τὸ τέλος] τὸν τέλος P4-6 · Wh L4 Ar. Ald. Bk. | 36 έλλείψει P3 (but έλλείψη corr.¹) Göttl. Bk.º Susem.¹.0-3 perhaps rightly | [άπορήσειε...b 2 τεχνετών] Schmidt [37 άρα Γ Π2 (yet Q perhaps has δοα) || 30 η <ού. άναγκαΐον δέ > διαφέρει <ν > Schmidt. | τούτων Π1 (emended apparently by p1) | 40 Whether Ar. read αὐτώ in his ms. after τοσούτον as I once assumed from his translation, is more than doubtful: τοσούτον <αἰτψ> ?Schneider [ἐπιβάλλει] ἐπιβαλείται Schmidt | 41 <δουλικώς> οι <ύπηρετικώς> before doerώς ? Susem. (see Comm.); yet in 38 aperty alone expresses this [#ep omitted by I' Me, hence [wep] Susem.1

§ 12 35 ἀρτῆς.....36 ἔργων] But how on Aristotle's own psychology and theory of virtue is even this minimum of moral virtue, which is the condition of his serviceableness, possible in the slave, if he shows no trace of deliberation or purposed action of his own? See Nic. Eth. III. cc. 2, 3, Walter op. c. p. 169 ff., 212 ff., Zeller op. c. II ii 590 n. (3). Yet all goodness or badness of character and conduct is derived from the quality of the mpoalpeous, i.e. from the bent of the will in intention and purpose: Poet. 6 (VII). 13 § 9. Plato speaks far more humanely on this subject Lazer VI. 776 D, where he admits that ere now many a one has found in his slaves men on all points of more approved virtue than his brothers or sons. But in this he contradicts the fundamental assumptions which he makes in common with Aristotle; cp. Zeller II i 755 f. [Eng. tr. Plato p. 459]. Aristotle himself grants that even slaves may have a noble character, Poet. 15 § 1, καὶ γὰρ γυνή ἐστι χρηστή και δούλος, καίτοι γε ίσως τούτων το μέν γείρον το δέ όλως φαθλαν έστάν. If he is more consistent elsewhere, his consistency only involves the whole theory in self-contradiction in another way, and discloses all the more its untenableness on internal grounds: sec 5 8 8 n. (43).

§ 9 n. (45): also p. 211. SUSEM. (121)

39 ἡ introduces Aristotle's own view:
"or shall we rather say..." more freely;
"surely here is a very great difference."
§ 13 40 κοινωνός [ωῆς] whereas the citizens are κανωνοί βίου: Nic. Eth. v. 6. 4, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κοινωνῶν βίου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκειαν: the slave is excluded from βlos, ib. x. 6. 8 εὐδαιμανίας δ' οὐδείς

ἀνδραπόδφ μεταδίδωσι», εί μη και βίου. δ δὲ πορρώτερον] 'further removed', 'less dependent' on his master.

τοσούτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετῆς] sc. αὐτῷ: just so much of virtue as of slavery falls to his share. The verb intransitive but personal. Comp. III. 6. 3, καθ' δσον ἐπι-βάλλει μέρος ἐκάστφ τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς: IV(VII). 10. ἐκάστω τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει τοσούτον δσονπερ άρετθε: Herod. IV. 116.

VII. 23, Dem. De Cor. § 254, p. 312, 2.
"This special virtue, i.e. excellence of function, of the free workman differs from the true virtue of man in being something inferior and approximating to that of the slave: see n. (103) on II § 6 with the references, esp. III. 4. 12 n. (486)."

SUSEM. (122)

Mr T. L. Heath objects to this, that if τοσοῦταν is the subject of ἐπιβάλλει, the change of subject from 8 88 is surely very harsh. "Indeed, without αὐτῷ, is it not inconceivably harsh? I think the sentence would go much better, if we could 1260 1) χνίτης αφωρισμένην τινά έχει δουλείαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν δούλος (V) τών φύσει, σκυτοτόμος δ' οὐδείς, οὐδὲ τών ἄλλων τεχνιτών.

§ 14 Φανερον τοίνυν ότι της τοιαύτης άρετης αίτιον είναι δεί τώ 11

δούλω του δεσπότην, άλλ' ου <τον> την διδασκαλικήν έγοντα τών 5 έργων [δεσποτικήν]. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλώς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους άποστερούντες και φάσκοντες επιτάξει χρήσθαι μόνον νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ή τοὺς παίδας.

§ 15 άλλά περί μέν τούτων διωρίσθω τον τρόπον τούτον περί δ' ανδρός και γυναικός και τέκνων και πατρός, της τε περί

1260 b 4 <τθν> Schneider following Ar.; τθν for την Scaliger Reiske # 5 [δεσποτικήν] Giphanius (cp. the Comm.); Koraes conjectures ἐπιστήμην, Bender δουλικήν; δεσποτική, transposed to follow έπιτάξει. Schmidt

make δ δὲ the subject of ἐπιβάλλει. Ι should translate 'the artizan is further removed and entrenches on virtue only to the same degree as he entrenches on slavery.' Cf. for the supposed use of Slavety. CI. 101 the supposed and conference of the suppos there any reason why $\ell \pi \beta \delta \lambda \lambda \epsilon \epsilon$ should not = $\ell \pi \alpha \lambda \lambda \delta \tau \tau \epsilon$?" In point of fact this is perhaps the right construction. That we require $air\bar{\phi}$ with the other, was pointed out by M. Schmidt and by me in my first edition (1872). At the same time is not deris by itself also strange? (See Critical Notes). If some-thing like δούλου or ris τοιαύτης has been lost, αὐτῷ may well have been lost with it. We certainly should expect 'he shares in servile virtue in so far as his condition approximates to a slave's.' Susem.

1260 b 1 αφωρ. τινά έχει δουλείαν = is under « definite, limited form of slavery. Comp. Rhet. I. I § 1, 1354 a 3, with Cope's note: also depocherate above 4 § 1, n. (34). Some interpret wrongly, 'detached from the master.' That the slaves should be ranked as a natural class and the artizans (who had largely sprung from them, III. 5- 3) as an artificial class, is significant of the Greek contempt for

Iabour. See n. (93). § 14 4 < τον> την διδασκ. έχοντα] " the person who instructs him in routine duties." This is the possessor of, or proficient in, the δουλική ἐπιστήμη which is more fully described above 7 § 2, where it is distinguished from δισποτική. The discussion on the 'virtue' of the slave results in a more precise determination of δεσποτική and its elevation by an extension of its functions. The master may entrust his steward with the employment and direction of the slaves in his service, as Aristotle ironically remarks, 7 § 5: but he must himself develope in them the minimum of virtue which they require for this. Cp. n. (64) on 7 § 5. In line 5 δε-σποτελήν must be wrong: δουλελήν is what we require, and Bender would accord-ingly insert it in the text. But neither δουλικήν nor δεσποτικήν is free from grammatical objections; I prefer therefore to bracket the word. Susem. (123)

Here beoworush or beoworela is the art of making good servants. The household like the state exercises a moral superintendence over its members, 13 § 1, and its head is responsible for their

moral improvement.
5 οί λόγου...6 μόνου] "Those who permit no conversation with slaves, and hold that we should merely give them orders."
Plato Laws 777 Ε, την δε ολεέτου πρόσρησω χρή σχεδον επίταξω πάσαν γίγνεσθα. Elsewhere Plato strongly recommends a humane treatment of slaves : see n. (121) on § 12. SUSEM. (124)

Plato's view is still from time to time approved, as notably by George Eliot.
6 νουθετητέον] Plato ib. κολάζαν γε

μήν έν δίκη δούλους δεί και μη νουθετούντας ώς έλευθέρους θρύπτεσθαι ποιείν.

7 μᾶλλον] Because the slave, albeit unable to deliberate rationally himself, yet, as an adult, understands better than the child the rational admonitions conweed to him by others (Füllchorn II.
184). Compare π. (120) on § 11 above,
and π. (45) on 5 § 9. Susem. (125)
§ 15 8 Suspice στο τόν τρόπον τοῦτον]
Compare the close of c. 7.

το έκαστον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίας, (V) τί τὸ καλώς καὶ μὴ καλώς ἐστί, καὶ πώς δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώκειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς φεύγειν, ἐν τοῦς περὶ [τὰς] πολιτείας ἀναγκαΐου ἐπελθεῖυ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲυ πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα 12 δ' οἰκίας, την δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς την τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν 15 άρετήν, αναγκαΐον πρός την πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν καί τους παίδας και τὰς γυναίκας, εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ

την πόλιν είναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τούς παίδας είναι σπουδαίους § 16 καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν· αἰ μὲν γάρ γυναίκες ήμισυ μέρος των έλευθέρων, έκ δὲ των παίδων 20 ολκουόμοι γίνονται της πολιτείας, ώστ' έπελ περλ μέν τούτων διώρισται, περί δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος έχουτας τούς νθν λόγους, άλλην άρχην ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρώτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς αρίστης πολιτείας.

12 Nickes omits τὰs, following Ar. | 13 διελθεῖν Schmidt | 17 καλ is omitted by H1, [κal] Susem.1.9. | 20 oleopónos Γ. ol κοστωνοί H Bk., qui gubernant (olakoνόμοι?) Ar, | [έπελ...21 λεκτέον] and 22 [λέγωμεν καλ] Schmidt | 24 πολιτείας τής dolorns II2 Bk.

11 τί τὸ καλώς sc. δμιλεῦν (Congreve), πως δει τό μὸν εὖ <όμιλεῖν> διώκειν, how the right intercourse ought to be now the right intercourse ought to be followed: cp. τὸ δὲ κακῶς «ἄρχεων» ἀσυμφόρως ἀττιν ἀμφοῦν, δ § το. 12 ἐν τοῖς...πολιτείας] This discussion means the scheme of the best state

more especially, as is shown by the reason subjoined. But so far as that has come down to us in B. IV(VII) and V(VIII), this point was never reached, nor the

punk was never reached, nor the question of the proper training and edu-cation of the women. Cp. Instrud. p. 49
1, 49, p. 2- SUSEM. (126)
15 avayoxfool Probably because the family will then be treated as a part of the state, and will be better understood in

the state, and will be better understood in relation to the whole. Comp. n. (33). πρόε την πολυτάων κτλ] Cp. V(VIII). 1. t, VIII(V), -2, 11 ff, and δλιέ. Εδδ. V. 2. 11, τλ δε ποσητικό της δλιφ έρετης έντι του νομίων δου κουροθότητα περί παιδείων την πρόε το ποινό τελ, ντλη μελεκοπ's notes. The all important term πολυταία vii c be fully explanted be. Int (18 γ. c), 5 6 § t δκλη. It will

be found to be a much wider term than 'constitution' or 'form of government' (τάξις τῶν ἀρχῶν), as indeed the English word 'polity' is still. See VI(IV). 11. 3, Blos ris core moneus, and n. (466) on III.

3. 9 16 διαφέρει πρός=is an important means towards the excellence of the city: literally "makes a difference with regard to..." So IV(VII). 14- 7, πρός τὸ καλόν

διαφέρουσα αι πράξεις. §16 18 αι μέν...διευθέρων] Cp. 11. 9 §§ 5, 6 π. (285), Plato Laws VI 781 B, οὐ γαρ ήμισυ μόνον έστίν, ώς δόξειεν αν, τὸ

περί τὰς γεναίκας. SUSEM. (127) 20 οἰκονόμοι, administrators, τῆς πολι-

relas suits Aristotle's views elsewhere at least as well as of κοινωνοί: see III. A

least as well as of knowner; see 111. 4 \$14, 15; 10(VII). 14 \$8.4—6. 21 april 14 \$8.4—6. 22 april 14 \$8.4—6. 23 april 14 \$8.4—6. 24 april 15 \$8.4—6. 25 april 16 \$8.4—6. 26 april 16 \$8.4—6. 27 april 17 \$8.4—6. 28 april 16 \$8.4—6. 29 april 17 \$8.4—6. 20 april 17 \$8.4—6. 20 april 17 \$8.4—6. 20 april 17 \$8.4—6. 20 april 17 \$8.4—6. 21 april 17 \$8.4—6. 21 april 17 \$8.4—6. 22 april 17 \$8.4—6. 23 april 17 \$8.4—6. 24 april 17 \$8.4—6. 25 april 17 \$8.4—6. 26 april 17 \$8.4—6. 26 april 17 \$8.4—6. 27 april 17 \$8.4—6. 28 april 17 \$8.4—6. 29 april 17 \$8.4—6. 20 april 17 \$8.4—6. 2 who have put forward a scheme for the best form of polity." With roos roo λόγους cp. τοὺς πρώτους λόγους, ΙΙΙ, 6, 3,

EXCURSUS I.

EPIMENIDES I. 2 & 5.

THE most detailed account we have of Epimenides is in Diog. Lacrt. 1. 109-115 (cp. Suidas s. v.), whilst of modern writers Heinrich Epimenides of Crete (Leinzig 1801, 8), Höck Kreta III, 246 ff., and C. Schultess De Etimenide Crete (Bonn 1877. 8) give the fullest particulars. He was probably of Phaistos in Crete, but lived principally at Knosos and was held in unbounded esteem as an expiatory priest, a prophet, and a worker of magical cures, At the same time, it would appear, he was shrewd in practical statesmanship, so that some reckoned him among the seven wise men. His whole history is mythical. He is said to have reached the age of 154 or 157, or in the Cretans' version of the story, of 299 years, and further to have passed 57 years of his early life asleep in a cave. The story of his having effected the purification of Athens about 596 B.C. has been shown to be unhistorical by Niese Contributions to the history of Solon and of his time pp. 12-14 (in Historische Untersuchungen Arnold Schäfer gewidmet, Bonn 1882). Whether he owes his place among the seven sages solely to this work attributed to him as Solon's coadjutor, which is Niese's opinion, is not so certain. For to all appearance it is on better authority, at the least, that he is said to have played an important part in Sparta about 580 B.C., where he seems to have pronounced the oracles whereby the transference of the election of ephors from the kings to the popular assembly1 received the requisite religious sanction2. In connexion with this he introduced there the worship of the Cretan moon-goddess Pasiphaë and her oracular dreams: in their ancient official building the ephors had a memorial to him (Paus. III. II. II) and even preserved the hide, or animal's skin inscribed with oracles which he was alleged to have written. See Urlichs On the Rhetra of Lycurgus in the Rhein, Mus. VI. 1848, 217-230, Duncker History of Antiquity VI. p. 352 ff. ed. 5 (1882), Schäfer De ephoris Lacedaemoniis pp. 14-21 (Leipzig and Greifswald, 1863. 4); also Gilbert Studien (Studies in the history of ancient Sparta) p. 185, Frick De ophoris Spartanis p. 31 f. (Göttingen 1872. 8). There is a curious story which makes him come to Athens only ten years before the Persian wars, and there prophesy these wars, Plato Laws 1 642 D. The works attributed to him in Diog. Laert, L 111-two epics, Κουρήτων καὶ Κοουβάντων

ably later period. Of course the ephors did not attain their new position at a single blow, as it were, by the mere fact that their election was taken out of the hands of the kings. On the contrary it must evidently have taken long and arduous struggles to change the disproportionate superiority of the kingly power into corresponding inferiority.

¹ If indeed, considering the strange method by which the ephors were selected (see n. on II. 9. 23), they can be said to have been elected by the popular assembly at all.

² Trieber (Forschungen Berlin 1871. 8) Researches into the history of the Spartan constitution, p. 130 ff, has indeed endeavoured to prove that the new position of the ephors did not begin until a consider-

γένεσις καὶ Θεογονία, and 'Αργούς ναυπηνία τε καὶ Ιάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλους, with prose works περί θυσιών and περί της έν Κρήτη πολιτείας-never had any existence: they are a mere invention of the romancer Lobon of Argos in his work περί ποιητών, as Hiller has shown in the Rhein. Mus. XXXIII. 1878. 525 ff. Other works really appeared under the name of Epimenides, of which some were forgeries attributed to him, others the writings of a later Epimenides. The Fathers mention a work On Oracles, περί χρησμών, which can hardly be a prose writing by him, but rather a collection of his oracles; if it is here that the hexameter Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες apyai occurs, which the writer of the Epistle to Titus, I. 13, attributes to one of the Cretan prophets, τόμος αὐτών προφήτης, without mentioning his name. Theodoret indeed ascribes the verse to Callimachus, but in his hymn to Zeus (l. 8) only the first words are found : hence Epiphanius (c. haer, I. 14) and Hieronymus (T. VII A. p. 707 Vall.) remark that Callimachus on the contrary first took them from Epimenides; cp. Lübeck Hieronymus p. 12 f. However that may be, the word quoted by Aristotle most probably occurred in a hexameter, very likely in a collection of oracles which Aristotle had before him, of which Epimenides was the reputed author. Moreover, in Rhet, III, 17, 10, 1418 a 23 f., Aristotle says that Epimenides did not divine the future, but only interpreted the obscurities of the past, περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ούκ έμαντεύετο, άλλα περί των γεγονότων μέν, άδήλων δέ; and this could hardly be affirmed except upon the evidence of such a collection. What connexion there was between this published collection of his oracles and the one which was jealously guarded at Sparta, it is impossible to say. SUSEM. (17)

EXCURSUS II.

ON L 6 88 1-8, 1255 a 5-b 3.

THE recent contributions of Jackson Postgate and Ridgeway to the explanation of this passage, referred to in κ (5) on 6 § 1, have not super-seded the more successful results attained by Hamplee in the Philologyus XXIV. 1866. 172 ff. Jackson however has the credit of clearing up the sense of réuse, and Ridgeway by restoring the right punctuation has helped to correct Hamplee's interpretation and to remove apparent difficulties. He saw that in § 4 the words 7 ½ 42 ½-92. 195 $\chi_{\rm SW}$ form a parenthesis; and hence that the rind following refers not to this parenthesis but to the sentence which precedes it.

Aristotle admits that not every form of actual slavery is natural; a distinction must be drawn between a slave who is so by nature and a slave according to convention and law. The two may, but need not necessarily, coincide. There are natural bondsmen who are not as a matter of fact enslaved, and people who are not an atture's slaves are actually in servitude; the former though not in slave's estate deserve to be so; while the latter, although held in bondage, are undeserving of it. The (unwritten) law in question consists in the universal agreement that prisoners captured

in war are the slaves of their conquerors (ἐν ῷ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τών κρατούντων είναι φασίν). This brings Aristotle to the two extreme and opposite views between which his own holds the mean, the views of the unconditional opponents (A) and of the unconditional defenders (B) of each and every form of slavery. He first speaks of the former, remarking that they impeach the legality of the convention or positive law in question, inasmuch as the better man may become the slave of the stronger or more powerful, whereas in a rational state of society virtue is the sole title to rule1. This then is their view (11 ourus): the others (B), on the contrary, take the former view, excisus, that namely prescribed by the foregoing positive law. The two views stand sharply opposed (19 δώστανται χωρίς) and in conflict (ἀμφισβήτησις), yet they have a common point of contact (ἐπαλλάτrouge), both facts being due to one and the same cause. Aristotle might have prevented all misapprehension of these words if he had written mouth δè in line 13. This common cause of both facts is, namely, that virtue (dperf) is that which primarily gives force and might, and that without some sort of excellence the exercise of force is impossible (ότι τρόπου τινὰ άρετή τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας καὶ βιάζεσθαι δίναται μάλιστα, καὶ έστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῆ ἀγαθοῦ τινός); only, of course, virtue still requires the indispensable condition of favourable external circumstances (xoppyia). This then is the common point in the two contending views, the point where Aristotle agrees with both, that in the first place only virtue deserves to rule, and in the second place the requisite force to rule essentially depends upon virtue (ωστε δοκείν μη ανευ αρετής είναι την βίαν). But from this common point the conflict between the two theories breaks out on the question, wherein right and justice consists (άλλα περί τοῦ δικαίου μόνου είναι την αμφισβήτησω). Just for this reason (hià rouro) the opponents of all slavery make the essence of right to consist in the mutual good-will of rulers and ruled; i.e. in the fact that the ruler, on his part, does not govern in his own selfish interests, but for the welfare of his subjects; and in the willing obedience, on their part, of the ruled. In other words they transfer to the relations between master and servant the principle which Aristotle himself recognizes as the true one in the state, where he uses it to distinguish "normal polities" from "degenerate forms" (παρεκβάσειε). In this Aristotle discovers their mistake : they assume that the truly virtuous man cannot desire to exercise any other kind of lordship.-that it would be a misuse of his force, were he to do so; that he would thereby cease to be a truly virtuous man. So conversely, from the pro-

coss man. So conversely, from the proof their common statement he few deprisches rip flass. Further (s) he regards to the proper or the flass of the second private view of the partial agreement between (A) and (B) and he demuns simultaneously delerarva and treablerroces, (4) to the sense given to drepa Myos, and (5) to the vagoeness in which the part short by flower! position 'virtue gives force' the defenders of all slavery argue that 'might is right'-forgetting that it is not virtue alone that gives force, but that it must have favourable external circumstances; when this is not the case the better man may easily succumb to the inferior. Aristotle might well assume this to be actually the reasoning employed by (B), for no other is logically conceivable. In regard to (A), the philosopher is not so certain whether they do thus far agree with (B) and with himself; whether they all really assume that, as a rule, virtue leads to victory. As therefore the sole right of virtue to rule became doubtful, he feels obliged to give an explicit justification of his course in attributing to them the argument above. This is because, if the point of contact between the two views is lost, and both stand opposed without any community, the views of (A), arepor hove, contain nothing tenable or convincing, since they would yield this result that those who stand higher in mental and moral capacity do not deserve to be rulers and masters (ene) busστάντων γε χωρίς τούτων τῶν λόγων οὕτε ἰσχυρὸν οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν οὕτε πιθανὸν ἄτεροι λόγοι, ώς ου δεί το βέλτιον κατ' αρετήν αρχειν και δεσπόζειν). Postgate correctly remarks that it would have been clearer if Aristotle had written άπερος λόγος for άτεροι λόνοι.

Aristotle next passes to the view of a third party (C), agreeing in the practical result with that of (B), though not in the reason assigned, as its defenders simply (Shost to be taken with drawqfurnos) adhere to the principle what is legal is 'ight',' while even this result is restricted, because the principle is not allowed to apply to the case of non-Hellenes conquering Helens, but only to that of Hellenes conquering non-Hellenes, but only to that of Hellenes conquering non-Hellens, but only to that of Hellenes conquering non-Hellens, but only to that of Hellens conquering Hellens, but only that the popular opinion current in Greece, involved in this inner contradiction; and Aristotle shows that, in the main, his own coincides with it, since it maintains what is true in the popular opinion at the same time that it gets rid of its inconsistencies. For on Aristotle's theory also Greeks are, in the main, the natural rulers, barbarians the natural slaves, though this is a rule which certainly admits of many exceptions (see Introd. p. 24). SUSMHIH.

[Some salient features of Dr Jackson's interpretation may here be appended in his own words. He distinguishes three theories in 125, a β - σ 5: vi. i. that of (Λ) who argues that all slavery is unjust and unnatural, because induction is wrong; ii. that of (Ω) who argues that all slavery is uptat and natural, because might is right; iii. that of (Ω) who argues that all slavery is just and natural, because what is legal is just': while Λ instode declares that in practice zome slavery is just, some slavery upulst. If Π 1255 a 12- Π 2 he continues " Λ 1 instode seeks to show that the positions of (Λ) and (Π) are open to attack percisely in so far as they differ from his own.

" Now the λόγοι of (A) and (B)

- i. All slavery is unjust
 - ii. All slavery is just

¹ [Dr Jackson's notation X, Y, Z is here altered to (A), (B), and (C), for the sake of uniformity.]

έπαλλάπτουσιν: i.e. slaveries which (A) pronounces unjust, (B) pronounces just. How is it, then, that these λόγω ἐπαλλάπτουσιν? What is the reason of the controversy between (A) and (B)?

The reason is, Aristotle tells us, that, as $\delta_0 r r t_i^2$ with proper appliances is able to exext force or violence, while force or violence implies $\delta_0 r t_i^2$ were sort or other, (A) and (B) agree in assuming that where there is $\delta_0 r t_i$ met consequently suppose that they differ fundamentally in their notions of $\delta_0 t_i$ such as the state of the state of the state of $\delta_0 t_i$ and a laway accompanied by $\delta_0 r r t_i$ (A), who conceives that in the cases which has examined $\delta_0 t_i$ is detestable, and does not see anything to distinguish these cases from other cases, condemns all relations between inferior and superior which are not based upon 'loyalty', $\delta_i t_i$ the willing obedience which an inferior renders to a kind and considerate superior; while (B) who conceives that in the cases which he has examined $\beta_0 t_i$ is respectable, and does not see anything to distinguish these cases from other cases, takes as his principle 'might is right'.

He adds in a note: "In other words, so long as (A) maintains that All slavery is unjust, and (B) that All slavery is just, (B) has something lσχυρόν and πιθουόν to urge against (A), (A) has something έσγυρούν and πιθουόν to urge against (B). But when (A) and (B) respectively fall back from their advanced and untenable positions to the position of Aristotle, (B) has no longer anything layuphy or mibarby to urge against (A), (A) has no longer anything lσγυσόν or πιθωών to urge against (B). It will be seen that I take τους λόγους and τῶν λόγων to be 'the theories of (A) and (B)', ἄτεροι λόγοι to be 'the theory adverse to (A's) theory and the theory adverse to (B's) theory', i.e. 'the theories of (B) and (A)'." He agrees with Heitland (Notes p. 11) that ἐπαλλάττειν means primarily to 'overlap', whether by superposition or by juxtaposition, and continues: "But when may propositions be said to 'overlap'? At first sight two cases suggest themselves: (1) All X is Y might be said to overlap Some X is Y, and (2) Some X is Y and Some X is not Y might be said to overlap one another, provided that these subcontraries are incompatible. It appears however that ἐπαλλάττειν marks not so much the transgression of a limit, as the invasion of a region beyond, and consequently that All X is Y could not be said to ἐπαλλάττεω Some X is Y. For this reason, as well as because ἐπαλλάττεν understood in the former of the two senses indicated above, would not find a proper antithesis

Apart altogether from my doubts whether the words of § 4 (especially fret, άτερο, ών οῦ δεί as constructed with πιθανόν) can grammatically bear the meaning which Dr Jackson here assigns to them, I fail to see what imaginable

interest the unconditional supporters of slavery, (B), have to contest the right of rô pêtrus ear dperpy to rule at all, or why they should seek to advance anything possessing force and plausibility against 'the modified doctrine.' SUSEM. in $\delta a a r i \sigma r i m s e m s in <math>\delta a r i \sigma r i m s e m s in \delta a r i m s e m s in <math>\delta a r i \sigma r i m s e m s in \delta a r i m s e m s in <math>\delta a r i m s i m s in \delta a r i m s e m s in \delta a r i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i m s i$

Bernays' rendering of 6 §§ 3—5, 1255 a 12—24, mentioned in n. (51), is as follows (the words in italics being supplied by him to explain the connexion of thought).

"The reason for the difference of opinions, and the common ground taken by the divergent views, is that to a certain extent intrinsic merit, when it attains external means, becomes also most competent to do violence, and every superior force depends upon the excess of some good quality or other, so that violence seems not to be devoid of all nobler elements and the difference of opinion therefore concerns the question of justice only. For the one side discovers justice in benevolent treatment, which precludes slavery; the others even hold it to be just that the stronger should rule. Whereas if the views stood harshly opposed to each other, so that merely external or brutal violence according to the one, and intrinsic merit according to the other, justified the claim to rule, then the view which impugns the right of the man, who is the better by his intrinsic merit, to be ruler and lord would be unable to adduce anything cogent or even plausible on its own behalf. Others however fasten wholly on an assumed empirical justice, such as the law, and declare slavery brought about by war to be just merely because the law sanctions it; yet in the same breath they are forced to admit that it is unjust."

EXCURSUS III.

ΤΗΕ RELATION OF χρηματιστική ΤΟ οἰκονομική: L 8. 2.

ön pho củo cóx, ý nich rị c thươngung i y yuguanarung, fiệbar...refragos 8 μ/gao athrig lert ni g frapos tiếba, yệ, sa Saphappfirprau. The most obtrious course is to understand $\tilde{r}rspos elbar as can hy another expression for a mere auxiliary science (rèmperche), or at least as including the relation of an auxiliary science under the case that the two are wholly distinct. In this sense all the commentators take ir, both (r) those who think with Hamples—see <math>n$. (67) on 1. 8. 1—that Aristotle simply wished to set up as an auxiliary science just so much of yygpurarrenva) as stands in a natural relation to oko-voµuré, and consequently in c. 8 § 13 would set matters right by omitting μέροs, so that the direct branch of yygpurarrenvi is not there said to 'be a part of', but only 'to belong to', ekwepuré, as that with which it is concerned:—and (2) those who with Bücknesschait iter vely on the received text

of 8 \$ 13 and maintain Aristotle's decision to be this: that the direct branch of νοηματιστική is really a part of οἰκονομική, but that the 'natural' part of indirect yonuariorist, the theory of exchange, is, on the contrary, merely an auxiliary science. Now there is no passage in which Aristotle makes even the slightest allusion to such a difference in the relation of the two to ολκονομική. But he states explicitly that not until c. 10 does he proceed to give a definite answer to the question proposed in c. 8 § 1, viz. how that branch of yonuariarian, with which the householder is concerned, is related to olympuse the answer being that it is in one respect a part of olympuse. in another respect an auxiliary science, 10 88 1-3. The matter cannot therefore have been previously decided. And yet he had just said that olympush has to do with the use or consumption of commodities, youngτιστική with their production, and that hence the two are heterogeneous, because consumption and production are not the same thing. Now, as Schütz remarks, this necessarily implies that for the same reason even the branch of yonuariorist) most closely allied to olsovojust) cannot be a part of it except in a restricted and relative sense1. This again is decisively confirmed by Aristotle's requirement, IV(VII). 9 \$\ 3, 4, 7, 18; 10 \$\ 9-14, that while none but landowners are to be citizens and none but citizens landowners. they shall not themselves carry on agriculture or cultivate their own estates, since in this way even agriculture really ceases, strictly speaking, to be a distinctive part of household management or domestic economy. Yet on another side the connexion still remains so close that Aristotle can distinguish between the functions of husband and wife in housekeeping by saving III. 4. 17 n. (406), that the one has to acquire, the other to keep: in other words that the external management of the property is more appropriate to the husband, the internal management to the wife. From all this it follows that erepor eilor denotes something which is not connected with olsowousth either as a part of it, or simply as an auxiliary to it: the more subtle distinction between branch and subsidiary science is, for the present, to remain undecided; and uipos is used in a vaguer sense, even covering the case of an auxiliary science, this being also true of 10 \$ 1, so that there is certainly no need to expunge the word there. Such instances of inexactness and careless expression frequently obscure Aristotle's meaning; but in this part of the work they are unusually numerous. Thus youngriorish has three meanings. (1)=κτητική, in the widest sense; 3 § 3 and c. 8: and, in a narrower sense, (2) = μεταβλητική οτ καπηλική, ή μή ἀναγκαία of Q § 18 (so from c, Q § 1 onwards); and again (3)=ή ἀναγκαία, ή κατά φύσιν, 9 § 12, c. 10 (cp. 11, on 8 § 1). Several times only accurate observation of the context can determine which of the three senses the word has. Similarly μεταβλητική or μεταβολική as a general term for exchange includes under it both the natural and unnatural species of indirect acquisition, both that which comes under olkoropus) and

¹ If Büchsenschütz had definitely put the question to himself, whether acquiring can be a branch of using and consuming he would no doubt have answered in the negative. To acquire and to spend, or consume, are really opposed; which is what Aristotle says briefly, but to my thinking quite clearly. that which is alien to it: but sometimes it is found in the narrower acceptation of retail trade proper, $scarplus_i$, as in $9 \S 12$, $10 \S 4$, $11 \S 3$. Teichmüller has some good remarks on the want of a strict terminology in Aristotle Arist. Forschungen II. 4 ff.

Besides, to ask whether χρηματιστική is a part of ολοισμική, is, as Onchen has pointed out, a perverse way of raising the question. For χρηματιστική, convertely, has a wider field than ολοισμική: even the finances of the states and the labour of the whole scott of the citizens are intimately concerned in it, and the earnings which supply the wants of single households form only an important part of this sum total of the national income. Aristotle-finds himself accordingly compelled to speak of a χρηματιστική (§ § 13—15; 11 § 13) which is not simply for the householder and the family circle, but for statesmen and the commonwealth. At the same time he is so inconsistent as to designate the accumulation of a stock of commodities or possessions which shall be useful for civil society, whether it be by direct production or by plunder, a branch or a concern of ολοισρική. Cp. the notes on 8 § 13—15, and on 11 § 13. SUESMA (99)

NOTE ON I. 13 § 12: REASON AND VIRTUE IN THE SLAVE.

The difficulty pointed out in notes (45) and (121) on 5 5 9 and 13 \$ 12. may perhaps be removed as follows. If the slaver by nature is to be altogether without that lower part of reason, which Aristotle here calls ro Benderredon, how ould be without reason altogether; for still less can be be said to have the higher part, ro interreputade, scientific thought. But then he would quite cease to be a human being. The expression Mose roke figer to Benderredon, 13 \$ 7, should therefore be taken as hyperbolical and interpreted in the light of that other, and itself hyperbolical, statement exource Moyer covering low altablasedus Ada ph § 18 us 5 \$ 9; reason is present in the slave only, so to speak, as a 6 Mouse, not as a Fige; and Aristotle avails himself of the

1 Stantatory II. 82: "II is just like upturing the question: I she universal the same as the particular, or a part of it, or a distinct specie." For that yourserved, and the species of the standard species of the should have expected to hear, what you party is in itself, what comes under should have expected to hear, what you party is in little which the comes indeed the should have expected to hear, what you party is in little which will be a standard to be a

nance of the household the means, which the other science indicates." If must be observed in reply to this, (a) that only the smaller and less essential branch of oko-space, in Aristotle's serse has this function, 13 § 1, (6) that as it has to do with consumption, while yypararraws) is concerned with acquisition, even this branch of decompany is not related to xypund.

reprach simply as particular to universal.

Schilit alone saw this difficulty and vainly tried to get over it by the omission of and reduction and are not represented and are reduction of the second of the reduction of the reduction of the reduction of the reduction of the second o

hyperbole μ_j^2 χ_{ijw} to denote that only the indispensable, or roughly speaking insignificant, minimum of rational deliberation, and therefore of reason generally, is found in such men. It is precisely similar with c. 6 of the Poetics, where first of all § 9, 1450 a 7, characters (§69) are said to form a part of every tragedy, and then a little farther on § 14, a 23, we read dies μ_i^{ab} rapkies on $k^a b$ γ_i^{ab} γ_i^{ab}

NOTE ON L. 2 \$ 13: 1253 a 20-24-

άναιρουμένου γιαρ τοῦ όλου οἰκ ἔσται ποὺς οἰδὲ χείρ, εἰ μὴ όμωνύμως, ώσπερ εἴ τις λέγει την λιθίνην' διαφθαρείσα γάρ έσται τοιαύτη, πάντα δὲ (? γάρ) τῷ ἔργφ ώρισται καλ τῆ δυνάμει, ώστε μηκέτι τοιαύτα όντα οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ είναι άλλ' ομώννια. The words of π. (28) p. 150 "if τοισύτη=a true hand" will admit of further elucidation. Schöll, who maintains this to be the meaning of roughn. 'talis qualis esse debet vera manus' (Susem. Ouaest. Crit. IV. p. 5), cites as analogous the use of rosouros in De part. animal. I. 1 \$\ 25, 26, 640 b 33; καίτοι καὶ ὁ τεθνεώς έχει τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ σχήματος μορφήν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἔστιν ανθρωπος. έτι δ' άδύνατον είναι γείσα <την> όπωσούν διακειμένην, οίον γαλκήν ή ξυλίνην, πλην όμωνύμως, ώσπερ του γεγραμμένου λατρόν. οὐ γὰρ δυνήσεται ποιείν το έαυτης έργον, ώσπερ οὐδ' αὐλοὶ λίθινοι το έαυτών έργον, οὐδ' ο γεγραμμένος λατρός. όμοίως δε τούτοις ούδε τών τοῦ τεθνηκότος μορίων ούδεν έτι τών τοιούτων έστί, λέγω δ' οἷον ὀφθαλμός, νείο (where Schöll has himself added την). The citation is the more apposite because Schöll takes διαφθαρείσα χείρ to mean precisely τοῦ τεθνηκότος χείρ, 'manus corporis extincti, ἀναιρουμένου τοῦ όλου, quae propter hanc solam causam simul corrupta est appellanda.'

There is however another suggestion. Even granting that, as Schöll contends, backphojerion is subject and reastive preclicate, and that backphojerion is considered and another another and <math>another another ano

. 1260 b 27

617 ἐπεὶ [δέ] προαιρούμεθα θεωρήσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς (1) πολιτικῆς, τίς κρατίστη πασῶν τοῦς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μά-

λιστα κατ' εὐχήν, δεί καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολι-(α-2) 30 τείας, αἷς τε χρώνταὶ τιικε τὰν πόλεων τὰν εὐνομείσθαι λεγομένων, καὶ ἐξ τικε ἐτεραι τιγχύσυσεν ὑτὰ τικῶν εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τὸ τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῆ

1160 b 27 åë omitted by III Ar, and γkp would make a better transition. See hett, p. 14, ps. 3 | 8 år fill II and Pi (corr. in the margin over an ensame), § III Bk. Pi (418 hand) § 3 1 åb Pi III Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Pi (18 hand) and perhaps Γ_i rrygdsvour Mr 18-4 [$^{\circ}$ Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Pi (18 hand) and perhaps Γ_i rrygdsvour Mr 18-4 [$^{\circ}$ Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Pi (18 hand) and perhaps Γ_i rrygdsvour Schendeler, but see Dittenberger ϕ_i . p. 1368 I | 3 2 " omitted by Mr 18 hand Γ_i Pi II Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Schendeler, but see Dittenberger ϕ_i . p. 1368 I | 3 2 " omitted by Mr 18 hand Γ_i Pi Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Schendeler, but see Dittenberger ϕ_i . p. 1368 I | 3 2 " omitted by Mr 18 hand Γ_i Pi Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Schendeler, but see Pi II Bk. (pethaps rightly) | 1 rrygdsvour Pi (18 hand) | 1 rrygdsvour Pi (18 han

Book II is the critical portion of the work, just as an examination of preceding theories serves for an introduction to other Aristotelian treatises, Mataphysica Physica Psychology &c. Here cc. 1—8 deal with Political Thinkers, cc. 9—12 with Exist-

ing Constitutions. See Introd. p. 32.
c. 1 Our object is to discover the best scheme of political society. We must therefore examine in detail the best existing forms of government and the theories of our predecessors: § 1.

First of all, should the community which in some measure is implied in every city (8 a) extend to voives and children and to property, as in Plato's Republic 18 3.

§ 1 1260 b 27 monospouded This is evidence (as against Göttling Proface p. xviii, and others) that Aristode intended to construct an ideal state: see Spengel Ueber die Politik p. 11, and compare 19.

(VII). 13. 4.
κοινονίας τῆς πολ.] This takes us back to I. I§ I. The imperfect 'associations' whose relation to civil society, ἢ πολιτική κου., was the preliminary problem, have been dealt with in B. I. 29 κατ' etyfyl For this expression see

6 § 7 n. (202); IV(VII). 4 §§ 1, 2, 5 § 3,

10 § 13, 11 § 1, 12 § 9, 13 § 9; VI(IV). 11 § 1 with notes. SUSEM. (128)

30 τινες τῶν πόλεων] See IV(VII). 14. 15 π. SUSEM. (128 b)

eiropair a Nevopierer] e.g. by the historical Socrates Xen. Mem. III. 5. 15, IV. 4. 15: Plato Crito 52 E. Ps.-Plato Minos 320 B. Add Nic. Eth. I. 13. 3. 3. 32 ba Krh] 'in order to note what

32 the KTAJ in order to note what they have of right and useful, and to show that it is from no love of ingenious speculation at all hazards (as the search for some new form of polity, distinct from these, might seem to imply) but from the καλ τὸ χρήσιμου, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖυ τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἔτερου μὴ (1) δοκή πάντως εἶναι σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ 35 καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶιων ἐπιβάλλωσθαι τὴν μέθοδον.

§2 άρχην δὲ πρώτον πουτέου, ή περ πέφυκεν ἀρχή ταύτης ε τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνόγεη γὰρ ἦτου πάνταν κάτων κοινωτείν τοὺς πολιτας, ἡ πρέσκός, ἡ τικού μεὶ τινών δὲ μή. το μὲτ οὐν μηθεινός 40 κοινωνείν φαιερὸν ως ἀδόνατον (ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τις ἐστι, καὶ πρώτον ἀνόγεη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνοί τῆν μὰρ τόπος εἰς τιδει ὁ τῆς μαῖς πόλεως, οἱ ἐδ πολιται κοινωνοί τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως) §3 ἀλλά πότερον ὅσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνήσαι, πάντων βέλτιον κοινωνείν τῆν μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλώς, ἡ τικών μὲν τικόν δὲ οὐ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὸο καὶ τέκουν καὶ τὰν τοῦν δὲ οὐ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὸο καὶ τέκουν καὶ

ς γυναικών καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλήλοις, δόσπερ ἐν τῆ πολιτεία τῆ Πλάτωνος ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης 33 τί Pt, omitted by TMs, hence [τη Susem.\, perhaps rightly \parallel 36 έπιβα-λευτίαι Tible. (perhaps rightly \parallel 40 τολιταία II, πόλωι Susem.\, 2 Ar. (γ) and Γ. (γ), cividia William \parallel 41 τοῦ τόπου αθτε κουωνέῦ M·P² \parallel els δ τῆς Γ, leότης II

Ar. || 1261 a 2 dλλά... b 16 alpertérepor. Enbulos, in Angelo Mal's Script. vet. nov. cell.

Vet. II. p. 671 sqq., attempts to refute this passage || δσον M*C*Q*T* ||

πάντον contitted by Γ, [πάντων] Susem. but see Dittenberger φ. .. p. 1363 f. || 6

πλάντων πλατικά M*P ‡, πλατικά που πλάντων Ο' U*W*D Σ. Αβ.

defectiveness of all schemes hitherto framed that we have undertaken this in-

vestigation.'
34 σσφάζεσθαι=affect wisdom, show one's cleverness, whence σσφιστής. Elsewhere in the treatise simply 'to devise,'

5 § 19, VI(IV). 13. 1, VII(VI). 14. 19. 36 ἐπβάλλωσθαι] Shilleto compares Thuc. VI. 40, Plato Soph. 264 B, Tim. 48 C, Laws X. 892 D, for this sense 'to take up.'

§ 2 37 η περ πέφυκεν] The natural beginning, seeing that every state is a form of association, κουωνία, Ι. Ι. Ι (Eaton). Susem. (129)

38 ήτοι πάντας πάντων κτλ] The same alternatives are given IV(VII). 8 § 8

41 τοῦ τόπου] The converse is not universally true. Mere contiguity of residence is not enough to constitute citizenship: III.1 § 3, 9 § 9. Note here the idea of territory in the germ.

§ 3 1261 a 3 olkúrerðul] Eaton proposes a reflexive sense, "direct itself aright," comparing Thuc. VI. 18 την πόλων τρίψεσθαι αὐτήν περί αὐτήν and other instances.

6 berg Ref. 1v. 449 C + 1v. 449 C + 405 C + 405 C + 405 C + 105 C

Theactetus p. xxxiv, ed. 2. cc. 2—5 An Examination of Plato's Republic.

c. 2 Communism would not secure Plato's end, which is the utmost possible unity. Excessive sunjectation subverts the city, reducing it to a family or an individual: §§ 1, 2. The elements of the city are dissimilar, and thus it is differenφησὶ δεῦν κοινὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυνοῖκας εἶναι καὶ τὰς (1) κτήσεις. τοῦτο δὴ πότερον ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον ἔχειν, ἡ κατὰ τὰν ἐν τῷ πολιτείς γεγραμμένον νόμον;

2 Έχει δὲ δυσγερείας ἄλλας τε πολλάς τὸ πάντων είναι τὰς ε 11 γιναίκας κοινάς, καὶ δὲ ἡν αἰτίαν φησὶ δεῶν νεοφοιθετήσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὰ πρός, τὸ τέλος ὁ φησι τῆ πόλει δεῶν ὑπάργεω, ὡς μὲν

το fga...1369 a 27 διαφοράν noticed by Mich. of Ephemus op. c. f. 186° [θ] Γ P I² perhaps rightly [θ] II moved ϵ and ϵ force δ Spengel [θ] θ δ δ force δ δ force δ δ constant δ δ δ force δ δ δ δ force δ δ δ δ force δ δ δ δ δ force δ δ δ δ force δ δ δ force δ δ δ force δ δ δ force δ δ force δ δ δ force δ

tiated from an effensive and defensive alliance (vayusch) and a race or tribe (löva): § 3. It is this which makes retiprocist the philical adequeral, § a clivating the citizens to become atternately values the citizens to become atternately values also a change of functions among the offaction of the company of the concess (wirdpacma) secured in the city casenets (wirdpacma) secured in the city casetomer than that of the family, § 8. welly

See Grote's Plato c. 35, III. pp. 160—242, Oncken I. 171—193 and various monographs quoted in the Introd. p. 32 n. 4, p. 33 n. 7. The main defects of this criticism are at once apparent; Zeller, Platonic Studies p. 203, 290, has rightly traced them to an excessive striving after logical clearness; a tendency to reduce the Platonic utterances to a number of precise dogmatic propositions and to test the independent validity of each empirically, without regard to its inner connexion with the whole system of idealism. Hence it comes about that the spirit of the Platonic teaching is hardly ever adequately appreciated, while now and then there is a captious, almost pedantic, disposition to get at external results and to fasten on details with but little insight into their true relative importance. "Several objections urged by him turn more upon the Platonic Ianguage than upon the Platonic vein of thought, and if judged by Plato from his own point of view would have appeared admissions in his favour rather than objections" (Grote). This is the sober fact, and serves to account for the piquant charges of injustice, sophistry, and mala

fides sometimes brought against Aristotle. \$1 10 mayrey and 11 keyvas are unintentional misrepresentations of the kind just criticized. The 'marriage laws' in question affect only Plato's Guardians, and do not establish community of wives at all, in the strictly literal and unfavourable sense of the term (which would be a gross libel, we are told, on the philosopher who made marriage, so to speak, a 'sacrament'). Indeed they 'seem to aim at an impossible strictness,' hardly less exacting than vows of celibacy (Zeller Plato p. 489 Eng. tr.). And this must have been Aristotle's judgment: he never attacks them on the score of license, but only on grounds of public expediency. Moreover the aim of these laws and the arguments by which they are defended are such as to lay them open to the inexact and invidious appellation even at the hands of impartial modern critics. See e.g. Dr Jowett's remarks Plate III. p. 160 fi

11 & fly olrías = airía & f. fl "that which he assigns as the reason why such legislation is necessary does not appear to result from his proposals": equipables following as if robre & f had preceded. In 4 § is a similar attraction. The 'reason' in question is the fundamental assumption of the Plationic state mental assumption of the Plationic state communism, within certain limits, is a means to this unity.

is a means to this unity.

13 Thurot would translate: "further in view of the end which he says ought to be set before the city his present statement (of his scheme) is impracticable." But it is simpler to take ribor as subject; ropic may be adverbial (see Crit. Notes): "the

εἴρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν, οὐδὲν διώρισται. (1) § 2 λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἄριστον ὃν ὅτι μάλιστα 16 πᾶσαν λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Σωκράτης.

καίτοι φανερόν έστιν ώς προϊούσα και γίνομένη μία μάλι 4 λου ούδε πόλις έσται πλήθος γάρ τι τήν φύσιν έστιν ή πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μάλλου οἰκία μεν έκ πόλικος δύρφοπος δ' εξ 20 οἰκίας έσται: μάλλου γάρ μίαν τήν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλικος φάημεν (1. 11) ἄν, καὶ τὸν ένα τῆς οἰκίας: ἄστ' εἰ καὶ δυνατός τις εἶη τοῦτο 3 δράν, οὺ ποσιτέον ἀναμήσει γάρ τήν πόλικ. οὺ μάνου δ' εἰκ πλειώνου ἀνθρόπου ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλά καὶ εξ είδει δίαφερώτου, οὺ γάρ υἰκται πόλις εξ ωρίων. Επορον γάρ στιμ-

14. depresal designess Zwinger | δα conited by Mr and F (1st hand, inserted by corr.) | 1 δα-δεόν MP2²⁴ × CP²⁷, efreb 2 Stassen. | 1 5 δe omitted by HF Bit, and the 1st hand of F⁴ (inserted between the lines and by a latte hand in the margin) | 16 πδιαν before 1 5 δε δερτον HP Bit, (in F⁴ corrected by a latter hand in the margin) | 1 15 αδεθ] of MF F¹ | 1 ψ omitted by MF F¹ | 1 ψ contited by MF F² | 1 ψ omitted by MF F² | 1 ψ of the contituence of the cont

end as there stated by Plato is impossible (to attain). For viv=in the case supposed, see 3 § 7, 8 § 10 : viv & (on the case) case of thippodamos) blaw Exercise.

14 \$40.46V = analyse, define (by analysis), more nearly determine: 111. 13 § 6, 14 § 2. De gen. et corr. I. 1. 1 rds 7e airtas blaucerlov.

22 16 Aupfleve yep reA] Rog. 10
422 D f., 423 D f.; 9 449 D f., 450. The
three general positions which Aristotle
three general positions which Aristotle
three general positions of the Aristotle
treated in reverse order in the sequel.
The third, "the end is impracticable" in
c 2; then the second, "the means are
unsuitable" in cc. 3; 4, 5 8 1-13;
lastly, "the many other difficulties" in
c 5 88 14-28 (Dhrnot). Comp. Analysis

pp. 102, 103. SUSEM. (130)
17 μ(α μάλλον) too much of a unity.
18 πλήθος γάρ τι] See 5 \$ 15, 111. 1

§ 2, § 12.
2 of ποιγγίον...πόλυ] With these words the polemic against Plato is resumed exactly where it had started at the commencement of the work, 1. 1. 2 cp. note (2 b) and Introd. p. 23; i.e. with the specific difference between a state and a family; and this point of view is retained in §§ 7, 8, 3 § 4 — § 80, 5 § 81 4 – 24.

The discussions in this book supply the further relation that the maintenance of the state itself is conditioned by the maintenance of the family. SUSEM.

(131) § 3 The state is an organized unity. The plurality of parts which it contains are specifically distinct and properly subordinated. This however is one distinctive thought of the Republic, the ground of Plato's analogy between the state and the individual.

to the bar of the bar

cc. 8, 9. See on I. 7. § 1 n. (58 b).

συμμαχία] A confederation is a different thing from a state: see III. 3 § 5, 9 §§ 7, 10. It is not an-organism but an aggregate of homogeneous members. The 25 μαχία καὶ πόλις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κὰν ἢ (1) τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἰδει (βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφικον), ὅσπερ ἀν εἰ σταβμός πλέφιν Ελιόσει (διοίσει δὲ τῷ ε τουότος καὶ πόλις ἔθνους, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κόμας ἀσι κεχωρι-29 σμένοι τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλ. οἰον 'λρκόδες) εξ ἄν δὲ δεῖ ἐν ἐν γενέσθαι, είδει διαφέρει. διόπερ τὸ ἴσον τὸ αντιπεπουθὸς

36 το (τορ P) abro PCCQ*TU* | 27 Dates | IFBL, Dates | M* | Rates... Applies transposed by Susem. 10 come before shot arroper pile a, p.t. wrongly | 18 cal τόλα | τόλ

separate autonomous states, the Lacedaemonians and their allies, for example, are homogeneous.

25 To plv answered by 20 ft 20 of 8. The one (the alliance for war) will be of advantage from its mere size however much alike in kind, just as [it will be of advantage] if a weight shall pull more (than another): i.e. like a heavier weight which turns the scale. The more mem-

bers the stronger the alliance. 27 διοίσει κτλ] "Upon something similar", the character of the constituents, whether heterogeneous (so as to allow of reciprocity) or homogeneous, "will depend the difference also between a city and a race, provided the race does not live with its population separated over a number of villages, but like the Arca-dians." Not observing the parenthesis and taking ὅταν μὴ ώσι κεχωρ. as epexegetical of τῷ τοιούτψ the editors have referred this remark to the process of συνοικισμός, the change from village life by which a Greek εθνος was consolidated into one city. But (r) the Arcadians must surely be cited as an example of a race and not (as they would be upon that view) of a city: (2) this is not a distinction between \$600s and \$60as universally, but between one έθνος and another.
(3) We should then expect μηκέτι, or ov < viv > or something equivalent : and the exact force of the future and of $\tau\psi$ τοιούτφ (not τούτφ) would be missed. (4) In that case Arcadians means simbly Megalopolitans, whereas Tegeatans, Mantineans and others might equally claim to belong to the Arcadian league (το 'Αρκαδικόν). Hence Dittenberger, in Gött. gel. Anxeigen 1874 p. 1381, re-jects the supposed reference to συνοικισμός and takes όταν μη κτλ as a

limiting clause, which excludes from the comparison the cases where the people live κατὰ κώμας and opposes to the city-

state only such 'races' as the Arcadian. 20 'Aρκάδες] Who are meant? The interpretation of the passage turns upon this. When Plato, Symp. 193 A, writes διωκίσθημεν ύπὸ θεοῦ καθάπερ Αρκάδες ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων the words spaced show that the Mantineans are meant, Demosthenes Or. XVI uses 'Aprádes nine times and Meyalowolfras seven times of the same people whose city was entitled in full ἡ μεγάλη πόλις τῶν ᾿Αρκάδων.
There everything is clear from the interchange of terms. But if the words "when they live like the Arcadians" indicate an Effect so well known as to spare Aristotle further explanation the instance chosen ought, as Dittenberger urges, to be before all things perspicuous. Understand then neither the Mantineans with Schneider, nor the Megalopolitans with Camerarius, nor with Giphanius the Maenalians and Parrhasians in the southwest before the founding of Megalopolis; none of these exclusively; but the entire population of Arcadia, as the word naturally means. See Note on Arcadia at the end of B. II. "Further compare 1. 2 § 4 n. (11), § 6 (19): HL 13. 19 (607); IV(VII). 4. 11

(166)." Stream (186). Stream (186). Stream (186). Stream (186). Stream (186). Whereas (in the case of the city-state) the elements which must coalesce into one are (1 must be, see Crit. Notes) specifically distinct. So that it would not make a single city, III. 3 § 5, 9 § 0, to join by an external tie two such similar units as the civic body of Corinth and that of Megara: the conditions for reciprocity would be wanting.

reciprocity would be wanting.
§ 4 30 το Ισον το άντιπεπουθός]
Not 'equal retribution' but the propor-

31 σώζει τὰς πόλεις, ώσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἢθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον (Ι)

tional adjustment of claims, i.e. reciprocity of services and functions.

"As 'reciprocal proportion' regulates the exchange of different wares in Nic. Eth. v 5, so here it regulates the relations between the magistrate for the time being and the ordinary citizen, who render, the one service, the other THEN KAL YEARS NIC. Eth. v 6 § 7, 1134 b 7. On the applica-tion of the principle of determined is kar' άναλογίαν, 'reciprocal proportion', to commerce, friendship, and exchange generally, see my edition of the Fifth Book of the Ethics p. 88 ff. In Nic. Eth. v 5 § 6, 1132 b 32 it is driverenovôs kar' άναλογίαν και μή και' Ισότητα, i.e. 'recip-rocal proportion' as opposed to the 're-taliation' of the Pythagoreans, which is of the Pythagoreans, which is said to hold the wolks together. The inconsistency is however only apparent. Here, where it is not necessary to emphasize the distinction between arraneπουθός κατ' άναλογίαν, i.e. κατ' Ισότητα λόγων, and άντιπεπανθός κατ' Ισότητα, i.e. κατ' Ισότητα άπλως, τὸ ίσον τὸ άντιπεπουθόs is the equivalent of αντιπεπουθός κατ' άναλογίαν in the other passage. By a similar inexactitude in Nic. Eth. IX I § I. 1163 b 33 geometrical proportion takes the place of reciprocal proportion as the rule of exchange. Just so, although τὸ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον is τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν VIII(V) I, 1301 b 37, at VII(VI) 2 § 2, 1317 b 3 76 δίκαιον το δημοτικόν is said to consist in τὸ ίσον έγειν κατ' άριθμὸν άλλὰ μὴ κατ' άξίαν, τὸ κατ' dčiav in the former passage including, and in the latter excluding, 70 κατ' άριθμον έσον. See my notes on Nic. Eth. v 3 § 7." JACKSON.

From the apparent inconsistency Grant inferred, Ethics 1. p. 52 f., that the remarks on Retaliation in the Ethics are a development and improvement of those in the Politics. The common source may be Plato's Διὸς κρίσις, the true πολιτικών δίκαιον, of Laws VI 757 B, C: τῷ μὲν γὰρ μείζουι πλείω τῷ δ' ἐλάττονι σμικρότερα νέμει, μέτρια διδούσα πρός την αυτών φύσιν έκατέρφ, και δη και τιμάς μείζοσι μέν πρός άρετην αεί μείζους κτλ.

31 έν τοις ήθικοις] Nic. Eth. v. 5. 6, where from the nature of the case and the explanations given τὸ ἀντιπεπωνθός is not to be understood negatively of retaliation for evil suffered, but positively as a recompense for good received. (As there explained the one, retaliation, repays like with like: the other makes requital by the corresponding term in reciprocal pro-

portion: for in reference to his demand the builder is to shoes as the shoemaker to the house.) More precisely thus: of the different members of a community A transfers to B the goods which he (A) has and B has not, receiving in return that which he lacks himself and B has: thus a shoemaker exchanges shoes with a baker for bread. Hence we read in § 9 of the same chapter that an association (rospupia) of two similar members, as two physicians, is impossible: it can only be formed by a physician and a farmer, or generally by members dissimilar and unequal, between whom equality or proportion is thus said to be produced

Now the dissimilar members in the state are rulers and subjects. The former afford the latter a wise and intelligent guidance in return for which they receive respect (N. E. VIII. 14. 3, 1163 b 6), willing obedience, and skilful execution of their commands: and the subjects, in return for this obedience, receive from their rulers the wise government before mentioned. On this depends the continuance and well being of the state. Compare further L. 2, 16, HL 10, 2, with

notes (28 c, 562). But as the greatest possible equality amongst the citizens is the aim of Aristotle's best polity no less than of Plato's-I. 7. I n. (58 b), IV(VII). 8. 4 (797), VI(IV). II. 8 (1293); III. I6. 2 (672), 17 § 2, 1 § 10 (440, 441), 13 § 9 (595), § 12 (597-9)—a seeming inconsistency arises; compare also III. 4. 5 n. (471). The fuller explanation which follows in the text is intended to remove this inconsistency by showing that even in the ideal state there is the same difference between rulers and subjects and the same adjustment of the difference, and to what extent this holds. Thus §§ 4-7 διόπερ τό Ισον...doyás are a digression, but one indispensable to Aristotle's argument, which, putting this aside, runs as follows: the state has more need than the family of a plurality, or more precisely of a lurality of dissimilar members, § 2. Remove the dissimilarity and you destroy the state which is still more evident if independence (αθτάρκεια) be also taken into account, § 8.

Camerarius, and long before him Eubulos, blame Aristotle unfairly for not seeing that Plato's unity of the state meant y the utmost possible unity concord and unanimity among the citizens. From èrei και ἐν τοῦς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνόγκη τοῖτ' εἰναι ἄμα (1)

γιὰρ οἰχ οἰν τε πάντας ἀρχεικ, ἀλλ. ἡ κατ ἐνιαιτὸν ἡ

κατά τινα ἀλλην τάξιν ἡ χρόνοι, καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν

35 τρόπου τοῦτου ὅστε πάντας ἀρχειν, ὅσπερ ἀν εἰ μετιξαλλον

οἱ σκιτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτουες καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ σκιτοτόμοι.

\$ καὶ τέκτους ἡσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ** βΕλτιον οὕτος ἔχειν καὶ τὰ περὶ ο

τὴν κοινονίαν τὴν πολιτικήν, δήλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βέλ
τιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυατάτοι ἐν οἱς ἐξι ἐμὶ δυατη διὰ τὸ τὴν

3 a faml dλλd Fi in the margin | 3 a γθρ] dt FM | 1 g s ξ] s cd Ar. (probably right) | 3 g s reff(shoch MF FS sum. λ = 1 g of dt after of a sum λ f e < C of V = 1 u. λ f e =

3 8 3; 4 5; ff., 9; 5; 8 1; 18 14; 18 19; 19; 18 19; 50 it is clear that Aristotle was well aware of this fact. Nevertheless it may easily be seen that this does not which, as even the language shows, is directed more especially against Republic V 46s, where Plato is showing how the means of making all the citizens of his ideal state feel as the members of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a single family (cp. n. 194) or even of a singl

32 τούτο=το ἀντιπεπουθός. There must needs be reciprocity even amongst free and equal citizens, as in the ideal

äμα γάρ... 39 δυνατόν] All cannot rule at once: the only possible alternatives are (a) a perpetual ruling body, del or καθέπαξ (cp. 1. 13 § 4) τοθε αδτοθέ δεχευ: (β) alternation or rotation of functions, μεταβάλλευ, δεχευ καὶ δρχευ-δαι κατ θι φέροι (cp. 1. § 2, III. 6 § 9). Comp. IV(VII). 14 §§ 1, 2 where this argument recurs.

§ 5 35 ώστε apparently redundant

after outsfalret, as in VI(v), 5, 3 outsflowers were the ped roducted educ, and so De Sentra § \$5, 437 b 8 of outsfalret were seen. Similarly with other verbs. Pol. VIII(v), 9 \$8 term der" fyzes leaving. Phys. VIII. 6, 2, 258 b 17 term d' delle Viglewed Ger" deal were. § 6 37 terd 88 *1] The difficulty is that, if no leaune de assumed, ofrus pro-

χομεσε ωντ επια ture.

§ 6 37 tend δt * "] The difficulty is that, if no lacuna be assumed, our so properly refers to μη del ol advol, and this is against the sense. Το take of the serve of two feec c. 1 § 3), with Lambin, the delived speech is a forced as to insert onχ with

Schlosser.

"The sense is satisfied if we supply something like this: But < as in fact the work of a carpenter is always done by a carpenter and never by a shoemaker, and from the nature of the case each work is more successful when executed by the same persons, who make this their sole business, and as therefore > it is better it should be so with political acclety"...

Thomas Section 1. Construction of the construc

116.1 φύσιν Ισους είναι πάντας, ἄμα δὴ καὶ δίκαιου, εἰτ' ἀγαθὸν (1)
εἴτε φαϊλιον τῷ ἄρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, τοῦτο δὲ
μμεᾶτα τὸ ἐν μέρε τοὺς Ισους εἴκειν τὸ ἀνομοίους εἰναι
ξτ ἐξ ἀρχής. οῦ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οῦ δ' ἄρχονται [κατὰ μέρος]
5 ὅστερ ἀν άλλοι γενόμενοι. καὶ τὰν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπου ἀρχόντον
ἔτεροι ἐτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς. φακερὸν τοθων ἐκ τούτων ώς τ
οῦ πέφυκε μίαν οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὅστερ λέγουσί τινες,
καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ώς μέγιστον ἀγαθον ἐν ταίς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς
οπόλεις ἀνωρεῖ καῖτοι τὸ γε ἐκάστον ἀγαθον σώξει ἔκαστον.

1761 b 1 89 Susem., 88 Γ II Ar. Ek., 86 Baz. 8 | 3 $r\psi$ Susem., cp. Fl. Prot. 324 Arc., Eulsfyl. 499 Γ ; rh Γ II Ar. Ek., rrher> rh Thurch | rrhor| dr roll rh Green Park B. (Montectainly, h_{2} b rrhor roll rh II margin | rrhor| dr roll dr Welldon | th pundral th p

is or is not a source of individual advantage. Torby or defease this yielding of the retiring magistrates to their successors, at the expiration of their term of office; μμφέται is the counterpart or reflexion of original heterogeneity, produces much the same effect as if rulers and subjects had always been distinct bodies of citizens.

1267 b J αμα δή καὶ δέκαιον κτλ]

1261 b 1 dipa 8\(\text{ij}\) and \$\(\text{light}\) and \$\(\text{li

 is equally futile. If object, the sentence means 'where men are naturally equal, there it is better to imitate—what happens in a state of ratural equality?' If subject, there is nothing to express what, as a matter of fact, is 'imitated' by the rotation of office-holders, viz. natural

inequality.
§ 7 5 ἄσπφ ἄν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι] as
if, with taking up or laying down office,
they assumed a new personality: γενό-

n, πιπ πεκιπε up or raying down office, they assumed a new personality: γενό-μενε δ' άλλος in Nic. Eth. IX. 4. 4. dpyforwal] gen. als. "while (the governors) govern, different officers interchange different offices in the life fashion," i.e. in rotation: τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπου

= 3 ἐν μέρει. 7 τινες] That is, Plato: see esp. Rep. v 462 Β. Cp. n. (133). SUSEM. (136) Also 464 Β μέγιστον γε πόλει αυτό

Αιςο 404 Β μεγιστον γε πολεί αυτο ώμολογήσαμεν α γαθόν. 8 καί...(φανεράν) δτι...is the construction.

ο καίτοι...σώζει έκαστον] ούκ άναιροῦ. "Cp. III. 10. 2 ούχ ή γ' άρετη φθείρει τὸ έχον αὐτην with n. (561 b)." Susem. (135 b)

"What is this 'unity' which seems to Plato so beneficial, to Aristotle so § 8 έστι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἐνοῦν ζη- (I) 11 τείν την πόλιν ουκ έστιν άμεινον, οἰκία μέν γάρ αὐταρκέστερου ένός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας, καὶ βούλεταί γ' ήδη τότ' εἶναι πόλις, (ρ. 25) όταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους. είπερ οὖν αἰρετώτερον τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἦττον ἐν 15 τοῦ μᾶλλον αίρετώτερον.

mischievous? It is not (1) 'unanimity', i.e. community of political principles and aims, the budyous of Nic. Eth. IX. 6, 1167 a 22, as appears from c. 9 § 22, 1270 b 21 &c. Nor is it (2) 'uniformity', i.e. the suppression of individuality, so that all the citizens are of one type; for the discrimination of functions, carrying with it diversity of character, is, under the name of justice, the very foundation of the Platonic moles. Hence it is not (3) 'organization', as organization implies discrimination of functions combined with unanimity in the sense here given to the word. Rather it is (4) 'centralization'. Plato is anxious that his citizens should be bound together by a common interest in the πόλις, and, with a view to this. proposes to eliminate all those inferior κοινωνίαι which induce subordinate affections and create separate interests, thus, he conceives, weakening the supreme tie of patriotism. On the other hand Aristotle regards the subordinate affections which are induced in the inferior κοινωνίαι -for example, είκία, σύμπλοι, συστρατιώται, φυλέται, δημόται, θιασώται, έρανιoral Nic. Eth. VIII. 9 8 4 f, 1160a 9, q. v .as valuable in themselves, and therefore does not desire that they should be merged in patriotism. Further he maintains that the elimination of the inferior κοινωνίαι, which μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολι-TIK'S SC. KOLPUPIAS Nic. Eth. VIII. Q. 1160 a q, will not cause the subordinate affections to be merged in patriotism, i.e. to be transferred, unimpaired in force, from the inferior κοινωνίαι to the supreme κοινωνία. He thinks, in fact, that the πόλις is properly a complex organization containing lesser organizations within it, rather than a large family or a colossal man. It will be observed (1) that Aristotle's criticisms arise directly from the theory of the πόλις which he has developed in the first book, and (2) that they indicate the same appreciation of φιλία in all its forms, which has led him to devote to it two out of the ten books of the Nic. Eth." JACKSON. § 8 10 evous is infinitive, 'the endea-

your to intensify the unity of the state is not so desirable 12 Boilergs = tends, means; the meaning of a state is then first realised or ful-

filled when... 14 εξπεφ οὖν κτλ] Cp. I. I. 8 nn. (20 b, 21); III. I § 12 πόλιν τὸ τῶν τοι-ούτων πλήθος Ικανὸν πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωής, n. (447), 9 § 14 n. (560), IV(VII). 4 § 11 (759), 5 § 1 το γάρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν καὶ δείσθαι μηδενός αὐταρκες (764), 8 § 8 ή γάρ πόλις πλήθός έστιν οὐ τὸ τυχὰν άλλά πρός ζωήν αύταρκες n. (804). SUSEM.

Add IV(VII). 4- 14 δήλον τοίντν ώς οδτός έστι πόλεως όρος άριστος, ή μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθοις ὑπερβολή πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωθε εξισύνοπτος.

cc. 3, 4 Objections to communism, chiefly to the abolition of separate families. Even supposing Plato's end, i.e. the most perfect civic unity, to be desirable, his communistic scheme is not the best means to secure it. A series of detached remarks, so closely allied in some cases that it would not have been difficult to bring them together under one and the same head. See fuller details Analysis pp. 102, 103; and compare throughout Pl.

Rep. v.
The Platonic scheme, as Grote (III. 207) reminds us, is only partial communism. Modern communistic theories contemplate individual producers handing over the produce of their labour to be distributed among themselves by official authority. But the producing and labouring classes in the Republic are not communists at all: they are private proprietors with separate families, taxed only with the maintenance of a body of public functionaries, the guardians. Hence the arguments advanced by Aristotle, however just in themselves, have little direct application to the scheme which he is ostensibly criticising; they belong to a far wider enterprise on which he has embarked, an advocacy of the principle of individualism against socialism in general, beginning (1 § 2) with the inquiry into the limits of community and subsidiary 3 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστύν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μά ε λιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίων, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀποδείκνυσθαι Φαίνεται κατὰ τὰν λόγου, ἐὰν πάντες ὅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἔμὰν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔμόν τοῦτο γὰρ οἰεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖω εἶναι τοῦ τὴν 8 πάλιν τολέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν σὖν τιός ὅκαστος τὰς ὑ τὰ γι μάλλου ὁ βοιλιεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης (ὅκαστος γὰρ υἶον ἑαντοῦ φήσει τὸν αὐτὰν καὶ γυνειῶα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν στιμβαινότντων ἀσαὐτος) τὸν δ οἰχ οἴνος φήσουσιν 25 οἰ κοιναῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξί καὶ τοῖς τέκυος, ἀλλὰ πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ὅκαστος δ΄ αὐτῶν, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν 8 πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ὅκαστος δ΄ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν παραλογισμός τὰς ἐστι τὸ λέγειν πάντας, φαυφόν (τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ αὐδότοια καὶ πεονττὰ καὶ ἀντιε δὰ τὸ δεντόν καὶ δεντόν καὶ τὸν τοῦν τοῦν δεντόν καὶ

to his own constructive theory in B. III. Again, while the peculiar marriage system of the Republic would unquestion of the Republic would unquestion to the period or the period with the per

§ 1 16 τοῦτο=τὸ μίαν ὅτι μάλιστα κτλ. Even granting the utmost unity in the (civic) association to be the best, such unity does not appear to be made out by the scheme that all shall simultaneously

19 δ Σωκράτης] In Plato's Republic V 462 C: ἐν ἦτινι δὴ πόλει πλείστοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῦτο λέγουσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ούκ ἐμόν, αὕτη ἄριστα διοικεῖται. SUSEM. (137) § 2 20 'All' has two senses, (1) each individual, pro se quisque; (2) the whole body collectively. If 'all' is taken in the former sense, this is perhaps more what Socrates means (" pruposes to do").
24 συμβαινόντων] "circumstances":

the joys and sorrows of life Rep. 462 E.

viv 8 oky overs] But then it is not
in this sense that communists will apply
the term "all". The whole body collectively, not the individuals exclusively,
will have the right to say "mine" in this

sense.

26 πάντες)(ώς ξκαστος] Another instance in III. 11. 2. Also VI(IV). 4.

26 where the distinction is skilfully worked in: μέναρχος γάρι ὁ δήμος γίνεται, σύνθετος εἶς ἐκ πολλών οἱ γάρ πολλο

report of the Towns of Yap 70000 report of Yap

purposes of acception), as well arguer's kal diprial $Sec \le \frac{8}{3} \ 7i : robro (i.e. <math>robros)$ bedgera robro bloob bridgera robro bloob bridger <math>robro bloob bridger robro bridger bridger robro bridg

30 εν τοῖς λόγοις εριστικούς ποιεῖ συλλογισμούς. διό έστι τὸ πάν- (1) τας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν ώδὶ μὲν καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐ δυνατόν, ώδὶ § 4 δὲ οὐδὲν όμονοητικόν): πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐτέραν ἔχει βλάβην τὸ

λεγόμενου. ήκιστα γάρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων 10 κοινόν τῶν γὰρ ἰδίων μάλιστα φροντίζουσιν, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν 35 ήττου, η όσου έκάστω ἐπιβάλλει πρὸς γὰρ τοῦς ἄλλοις ώς έτέρου φροντίζοντος όλυγωροῦσι μάλλον, ώσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκε-

τικαις διακονίαις οι πολλοί θεράποντες ενίστε χείρον ύπηρε-

30 έστη P2-3 Qb Tb || 34 φρωτίσουσι ? Susem. || 35 ήττον ή (less than) T. L. Heath | Sour | Sour P4TbUb | 36 opertionres? Susem.

and (is) three, odd and even' (Eaton). SUSEM. (138)

Walford and Postgate would take meριττά και άρτια to be predicates of πάντες and authorepa. But five in the passage quoted above is at once an example of άμφότερα, 2+3, and of περιττά. As άμφότερα = sum of two things, so περεττά= an odd sum total, apria-an even sum total. In all three cases the fallacy is not really due to ambiguity in the terms themselves, as Aristotle admits De Soph. El. 20 § 2, 177 b 7, οὐ διττὸν τὸ παρὰ διαί-ρεσιν, unless the confusion of two things as distinct as spos and spos be said to be

due to ambiguity.
30 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις] in disputations, in dialectic. Susem.

έριστικούς] Because they may be construed both collectively and distributively (Schneider): in Aristotle's phrase they admit of σύνθεσις and διαίρεσις, illicit combination and disjunction. See De Soth. El. 4 & 6 166 a 22, 6 & 3 168 a 26, 20 § 1 177 2 33, 30 § 7 181 b 20: καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄμφω καὶ τὸ ἄπαντα πλείω σημαίνει, the words 'both' and 'all' have several meanings (Eaton). Further compare VIII(V). 8. 3: παραλογέζεται γάρ ή διάνοια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ώσπερ ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος εἰ έκαστον μικρόν, και πάντα (illicit σύνθεσις). SUSEM. (139)
31 ώδὶ μὲν] as ώς ἔκαστος; ώδὶ δὲ=

collectively.

32 ούδὲν όμονοητικόν] Since democrats may quarrel, although wartes µêr, ούχ ώς έκαστος δὲ they are supreme in the state. The individuals whose unity is Plato's main object can call nothing their own; it is only the body politic as a whole, after all, that can say "mine". § 4 Then comes a sensible practical

suggestion. Comp. Jowett, Introd. to Plato's Republic p. 166 f., who refers to the statistics of mortality in foundling

hospitals. πρός δὲ τούτοις κτλ] 'In the next place, the scheme in question has another disadvantage. The property shared by the greatest number meets with the least attention. For men care most about their private matters and less for the public concerns.' The zeal and attention of individual owners are checked and chilled by division of ownership. So with the sons who are a 'common pos-

session' of the Guardians. 35 ή όσον έκάστω ἐπιβάλλει] 'or (only at most) in proportion to their stake in them.' Since the whole clause answers to μάλιστα and ήτταν, the verb would seem to be impersonal: 'as much as it falls to each man's share' to care. For the impersonal use, see I. 13 § 8. For the meaning, Herod. VII. 23 μόριαν δσον αὐτοῦσι ἐπέβαλλε: hence Herod. IV. 115 άπολαχόντες των χρημάτων το έπιβάλλον=their due share. Camerarius cites Ptolemy as using the word to express 'proportional parts' in astronomical calculations. The same thought recurs 1262 a 3 in the words δπόστος τυγχάνει τον άριθμὸν των. If the society consists of a thousand members, the interest of each is represented by the fraction Table. But such is the tendency of human nature that the interest felt and care bestowed

will be even less than this. πρός γάρ τοῦς άλλοις κτλ] 'Each is more likely to neglect them, amongst other reasons, because there is some one else to look after them; just as with the attendance of servants it sometimes happens that the work is not so well done by many as by few.

§ 5 According to Plato's regulations, Rep. V 457 C-464 B, all the children of the Guardians, the two upper classes who are full citizens of his ideal state, are to be taken from their mothers directly after (Ι §Β τοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων. γίνονται δ' ἐκάστφ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν ιι υίοί, καὶ οὖτοι οὐγ ὡς ἐκάστου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τιχώντος ὡς τυχών

ιών ο όμοίως έστὶν υίός. ὅστὲ πάντες όμοίως όλιγωρήσουσιν, ἐπεὐ οἴπος ἔκαστος ἐμὸς λέγει τὸν εὖ πράπτοντα τῶν πολιτών ἡ κακώς, ὁπόστος τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧν, οἶον ἐμὸς ἡ τοῦ δεῦνος, τοῦ-

146 a. 4 feel Bicheler, fir ? Sussem, for P. II.Ar. Bl. Renitz seeks to prove that this above is right (Efroner v. III. p. 100 B), and in the Addenst to my critical testimate, p. List, I convolute hastly accorded. If for the accepted there must be a full step before it II. 2 Med. P. Sussem. 18 3 $_{1}$ 18 deplies 18 18 and 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 1

birth. The sickly and deformed are to be exposed, as well as the offspring of incapable parents and of unions formed in violation of the laws and magisterial authority (provided recourse has not been had to abortion in this latter case). The remainder are committed to public nurseries or crèches, in order that the real parents and children may be kept in ignorance of each other and that no favouritism may be shown. According to definite gradations of age all the Guardians alike are to treat one another and feel love for one another as parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, brothers and sisters. See n. (133). SU-SEM. (140)

38 Xúosi Nota faxed number, but merely suggested as a convenient round number by Rep. tv 423 A. 'Now each of Plato's citizens has a thousand sons, not in the sense that each of them is his son exclusively, but (in the sense) that any of them is just as much a son of any other of the elder citizens. And the consequence will be that all these fathers alike will be indifferent to him.'

sequence will be that all these fathers alike will be indifferent to him.' 39 ofx os oxforrow] Not as being children of his individually; but to any of the children (of a given year) any of the fathers (of that year) stands in a

paternal relation

1362 a 1 έπεὶ οὕτως κτλ] Almost word for word from Rep. v 463 E, πασῶν άρα πόλεων μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῆ ξυμφωνήσουσω ἐνός τυος ἡ εὐ ἡ κακῶς πράπτωντας, δ

νινδή ελέγομεν το βήμα, το ότι το έμον εθ πράττει ή ότι τὸ έμον κακώς: i.e. when any individual member fares well or ill, they will all with one accord use the expression 'it is well with mine' or 'it is ill with mine.' Hence translate: "As for if \$74 be retained, "Further] each of the elder citizens, when he uses the term 'my son' to express his sympathy in the joy or sorrow of a younger panny in the joy of sorrow of a younger comrade, uses it only in the sense of the fractional part which he himself forms of the whole body of citizens. That is, he says 'my son' or 'so and so's'; and this 'so and so's' applies equally to each of the thousand citizens or whatever the number of which the state consists." To take έμδς=my son (not my brother or my father) is justified by νίο in the preced-ing line, 6 τέκνον, 14 νίον (cp. 4 § 7). In spite of the χίλια νίοί (b 38) it is the elder generation, the 'fathers', that are meant by τῶν χιλίων ἢ ὅσων κτλ. In fact the hypothetical round numbers (see § 6 δισχιλίων και μυρίων) serve merely to pre-sent the case definitely and vividly. To ούτως corresponds οπόστος...ών, as τοθτον του τρόπου to του δείνος; mine or A's or B's, and so on through all the thousand. When a 'father' uses the term 'my son' in Callipolis he will be aware that he shares the relation with a number of

other 'fathers'.

2 'μνδ| Editors compare Soph. Antig.
565, ἀλλ' ἢδε μέντοι μὴ λέγε.

3 oloy=I mean.

.

του του τρόπου λέγων καθ΄ ἔκαστου τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ (1) 5 πολικ ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο διστάζων: ἄδηλον γὰρ ῷ συνέξη γενέ-(κ.*ο) 8 εσθαι τέκνου καὶ σωθῆναι γενόμενου. καίτοι πότερου οὕτο 13 <μρεῖτιοῦ τὸ ἐμὸν λέγεω ἔκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορείου-

τας δίσχιλίων καὶ μυρίων, ἡ μᾶλλον ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι § 1 τὸ ἐμὸν λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὸρ υἰὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ

7 [Incorrow... & mpslow] Schmidt (transposed as above) I μb·] dispus Bonitz, perhaps rightly; wt the instances in which μb· in Aristret stands without any ½ following have not yet been sufficiently explained: μαθεν with a comma after (instant of before) when δ μb· 1 μb

childless is proportionately increased.

§ 6 "And yet is it better in this fashion for each of the a,000 or 10,000 elder citizens to use the term 'mine' (of any one), all calling him by the zense name" viz. son 'or as it is used under the present system' with the addition of different names, as nephew, cousin, &c?

7 & Kacarova... Bupbaw) of course only

7 excerto...s μορωσί / Course only those citizens are meant whose age entitles them to call a boy 'son' and not 'brother' or 'grandson'. Here το αντία-inco...SUSEM. (141) With αθτό μέν κτλ may be mentally supplied δλεγωρούντας δὲ πάντον (Thurot).

8 δισχιλίων] Is this genitive after ἐκαστω, as above? Is it not more forcible if taken after το ἀπὸ- the same relation? Each calls him 'mine', (which will result in) the whole body (ρtural) calling one person the same relation of some 2,000

respic (T. L. Heath).

A different construction of \$6 is proposed by Bonitz; viz. to take fearors as the object, instead of the subject, of M-yw, and to make Swyklaw the genitive after 7s dra's Swyan, which is a correction for yw's—"is it better in this sense to call each (of the younger generation) "mire', using the same name [i.e. son] for 300 or 100,000". In the same essay

(Hermes VII pp. 102-8) Bonitz defends the MS. reading &r. (a r) on the ground that a new objection, No. 3, is there introduced. The last, No. 2 (§ 4 πρὸς δέ τούτοις...όλεγωρήσουσι) dwelt on the de-preciation which the term 'my father' suffers. "The multitude of fathers, whom each of the younger men has, is prejudicial and fatal to the loving attention which a son otherwise receives from a father." In the passage which follows (1 &rt obrus...14 thu) "the fact is viewed from the opposite side. The name 'my son' loses all value, as each one who uses it shares the problematic relationship with an indefinitely large number." With all deference to authority so weighty, it may be doubted if the two sides are opposed: at all events in a 13 (κρείττον γάρ κτλ) the point of view is the advantage of the younger generation no less than in a r

8 7 9 8 μb γsb erd) "For one and the same person is called by one man his own son; by another his own brother, or cousin; (by another) according to some other kinship either by blood relationship self-in the first instance or cless to his kin; and furthermore by another his clansman, self-in the first instance or cless to his kin; and furthermore by another his clansman, self-in the first instance or cless to his kin; and surthermore by another his clansman, self-in the first his tribesman. For it is better to be actually an own cousin than in Plato's sense as on." There is at present a kind of community in relationship; only it does not infinite tribulybulal interests.

(δλεγωρήσουσι). Comp. Susemihl Quaest.

Crit. VI p. 16 ff.

"For φράτορα, φυλέτην consult the following references: 5 § 17 n. (169), 11 § 3 with Exc. IV; III. 2 § 3 (451), 9 § 13

10 προσανορεύει τὸν αὐτόν, δ δ' ἀνεψιόν, ἡ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ (I) συγγένειαν, η πρός αίματος η κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αύτοῦ πρώτον η τών αύτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτερος Φράτορα, φυλέτην. κρεύττον γάρ ίδιον άνεψιον είναι ή τον τρόπον τουού μην άλλ' οὐδε διαφυγείν δυνατον το μή τινας 18 § 8 τον υίόν. 15 ύπολαμβάνειν έαυτών άδελφούς τε καὶ παίδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας, αὶ γίνονται τοῦς τέκνοις ποὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, αναγκαίον λαμβάνειν περί § 9 άλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὅπερ φασὶ καὶ συμβαίνεω τινές τῶν τάς της γης περιόδους πραγματευομένων είναι γάρ τισι 20 των άνω Λιβύων κοινάς τὰς γυναίκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέκνα διαιρείσθαι κατά τὰς δμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ γυναίκες και των άλλων ζώων, οίον ίπποι και βόες, αί σφόδρα πεφύκασιν όμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦ-4 σιν. ώσπερ ή έν Φαρσάλω κληθείσα Δικαία ἵππος. 25 καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δυσχερείας οὐ ράδιον εὐλαβηθήναι τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι την κοινωνίαν, οίον αικίας και φόνους [άκουσίους τούς δέ] έκουσίους και μάχας και λοιδορίας ων

12 αὐτοῦ-αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ-αὐτοῦ ΓΠ | - ή] εἶτα ? Susem. | ἔτεροι Lindau, έτερον Γ II Ar. Bk., έτεροι Bernays, έταίρου Spengel | 13 < ή> φυλέτην Bas.8 Bk., aut contribulem William | έταιρον <ή> φράτορα <ή> φυλέτην Schmidt || 27 [akouglous rous be] Bender, akouglous [robs be ekouglous] Congreve; robs be ekoucloss omitted by P2, which proves nothing against their genuineness, still should not the brackets include all four words? See Comm. | Lambin omitted και μάχας

(558); VI(IV). I4 § 4 (1321 b), 15 § 17 (1367); VII(VI). 4 § 19 (1427), 5 § 0 (1437); VII(V). I § 10 (1439), 4 § 10 (1526), 5 § 11 (1564), 8 § 19 (1626)."

SUSEM. (341)

§ 8 Yet after all parents would sus-

pect relationship from the likeness of

pect relationship from the likeriess of their own children. Comp. Jowett on the Republic p. 165 ff. 17 λαμβάνειν τὰς πίστεις] derive their convictions; so in 1 (γν11). 1. 6. § 9 19 τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους] Books of travel round the world, as in Rhet. I. 4. 13 (where see Cope's exhaustive note), Meteor. I. 13. 13, II. 5. 14. Such books were also called περίπλοι and περιηγήσειs.

Usually πραγματεύεσθαι takes περί; but once, Rhet. 1. 2. 5, it has πρόε. In Pol. IV(VII). 14. 8 we have τοῦτ' ἀν είη τῷ νομοθέτη πραγματευτέων, όπως...

20 τισι τών άνω Λιβύων | See Exc. 1. to B. 11 p. 326 ff., as regards the evidence for these customs. Comp. also L. 2. 4 %.

(11) and st. (116). SUSEM. (142) 11) and π. (110). SUSEM. (142)
24 δωτερ. .. (πνοξ) The same remark
in Hist. Anim. vII. 6. 8, 586 a 12
(Schneider). Further compare De Gener.
Anim. IV. 3. 1, 767 b 5: 6 μβ όσωδε τοῦ
γωνείνω ήδη τρόπω τωλ τέρας ἐστίν παρεκβέβηκε γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐν τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους τρόπον τινά (Eaton). SUSEM. (143) Δικαία here probably means "docile":

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Χεπορίοπ ζήπερε. 7 § 4, Μεποταίο Τ. 4. 5: φασὶ δέ τινε καὶ Ιπτον καὶ βοῦν τῷ βουλομένῳ δικαίοις ποιήσασθαι πάντα μεστὰ είναι τῶν διδαξέντων (Jackson). c. 4 § 1 25 Tas Tolavras the following

27 [ἀκουσίους τοὺς δὲ] ἐκουσίους] Can it be said that a divine law forbids involuntary homicide in the case of father, mother, &c, but permits it in other

cases? On the contrary, responsibility ceases for involuntary acts; nothing but negligence is then punishable; nor can we talk of such acts being allowed. But : ούδὰν δσιόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς πατέρας καὶ μητέρας καὶ τοὺς (1)
μὴ πόρρο τῆς συγγενείας ὅντας, ὅστερ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαθεν;
3ο ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνοούντων ἢ γρνοριζόντων, καὶ γενομένων τῶν μὲν γενομίζωταν ἐπδέχεται τὰς
\$2 νομζομένας γίνεσθαι λύστες, τῶν δὲ μὴ κοῦ-δεμίαν. ἀτοπον δὲ 10
καὶ τὸ κοινοὺς ποιήσαντα τοὺς νίοὺς τὸ συνεῖναι μόνον ἀφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώττων, τὸ δ' ἐρῶν μὴ καλῦσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρή-

29 ἀποθεν $M^{\bullet}P^{1.4}L^{\bullet}$ Ald. \parallel 30 ἀλλά] ά Π^{1} (γρ. ἀλλά corr. 1 in the margin of P^{1}) \parallel 32 μ 0 < co¹> δεμάσυ Jackson, < μ 0> ρυβεμίαν Schneider, ρυβεμίαν Π^{0} Ar. Bk. Susem. $^{1.48}$, μ 00 ℓ 1 μπ 1 12 1 32 τοκένηντε Γ Ar. and M^{0} 11st hand ℓ 1 μπ 1 10 ℓ 1 μπ 1 10 μπ 1 10 ℓ 1 μπ 1

intentional homicide is forbidden by the law of God and of nature in the case of the nearest blood relations, while under certain circumstances it is allowed in the case of strangers. So too outrage, blows, abuse are all intentional acts. On these grounds the words bracketed must be regarded as an interpolation (Bender). SUSEM. (144) 28 åv of88v δστωγ! To this Plato

28 δν σύδλν δστον] Το this Plato might certainly reply, that where relationship is abolished, crimes (even if they are still committed) cannot be aggravated by the fact of being crimes against relations (Oncken). SUSEM. (1456)
32 λύστως = expisitions. Editors compare Kep. II 36 μ. Ε. ών δρα λύσειε γε καί

32 Abross = explations. Editors compare Rep. 11 364 E: in hor of the Notes of and Abound the Abound the Horizon and Abound the Horizon and Horizon and

—128 for their great importance.
πίν δι εντλ. "All the editors assume that the words τοῦ δὲ μοβαμίαν, whether with or without Schmeider's additional control of the control of

§§ 2. δ άτοπου δὲ krh] Rêp. III. 403 Λ, Β: οιδὲν όρα προσιαστάν μανικόν οιδὲ ξυγγενε ἀκολασίας τη ὁρθο ξροπι. οἱ προσιαστόν δρα αίτη ἡ ἡθοὴ (κ. ἡ περ ὶ τὰ ἀρροδίκαι) οὐδι κανωσητόν αὐτῆς ἡραστῆ τε καὶ παιδικοῦ ὁρθοῦ ἐρῶῦ τε καὶ ἐρωμένου... σῦτο ὁ, δο ὁποις, νομοθετήσοις ἐντ γὲ οἰναϊομένη πόλει ἡ κλεῦν μέν καὶ ἔντὰναι καὶ ἀπατεθαι ώστας μέν καὶ ἔντὰναι καὶ ἀπατεθαι ώστας utter radiació tearrio, rio radio ylassi de radio... Il de ja, birne dinosta radio de proposition radio para y con esta radio y come de parte y con este per esta per

SUSEM. (146) 34 το δ' έραν μη κωλύσαι κτλ] This objection might apparently be met, like the last, n.(145), by some sort of defence. It would however be open to reply on behalf of Aristotle that if the relation of Guardians to one another is seriously to be taken as that of parents and children, brothers and sisters, it is unseemly at any rate to make such strong concessions to sensual passion—whatever may have been Aristotle's own opinion on the direction it took in Greece (see on 10 § 9). Besides, the Platonic institutions take precautions against the "marriage" of those who are actually parents and children, -a fact overlooked by Oncken, who (I. 181) attributes to Aristotle an objection which he neither did nor could bring against Plato on that score—but none at all against the "marriage" of actual brothers and sisters: comp. Rep. V 461 E, άδελ-φούς δέ και άδελφάς δώσει ό νόμος σινοικείν, Susemihl Plat. Phil. II. 171. As Aristotle does not take especial exception to this it must be assumed that he did not feel his Greek sentiments excessively outraged, any more than Plato, by incest under this form. It is also significant that he has no word of blame for the deception whereby the rulers in the ideal state are directed to ensure that as many as possible of the ablest guardians of both

sexes procreate children, and as few as

possible of those who are inferior, Rep.

35 σεις τὰς ἄλλας, ᾶς πατρὶ πρὸς υίὸν εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν (Ι άπρεπέστατον καὶ άδελφῷ πρὸς άδελφόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐρῶν § 3 μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνουσίαν ἀφελεῖν δι' ἄλλην (1 μέν αίτίαν μηδεμίαν, ώς λίαν δὲ Ισχυράς τής ήδονής γινομένης " ότι δ' δ μέν πατήρ ή υίός, οι δ' άδελφοι άλλήλων, § 4 μηδέν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν. ἔοικι δι μάλλον 41 είναι χρήσιμον τό κοινάς είναι τάς γυναϊκας Kal 1262 b βας ή τοῦς φύλαξων ήττον γάρ έσται φιλία κοινών όντων τών τέκνων και τών γυναικών, δεί δέ τοιούτους είναι τους άρχομένους πρός τό πειθαρχείν και μή νεωτερίζειν. δλως δè 10 § 5 συμβαίνειν ανάγκη τουναντίον δια τον τοιούτον νόμον ων προσ-5 ήκει τους δρθώς κειμένους νόμους αιτίους γίνεσθαι, και δι' ην αίτίαν ὁ Σωκράτης ούτως οἴεται δεῖν τάττειν τὰ περὶ τὰ τέ-§ 6 κνα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας. Φιλίαν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον είναι τών αγαθών ταις πόλεσιν (ούτως γάρ αν ήκιστα στασιάζοιεν), καὶ τὸ μίαν είναι τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινεῖ μάλισθ ὁ Σω-

35 elva omitted by M* and P¹ (1st hand, supplied by P¹) \parallel 40 force...b 3 rearreplyw Thurot transposes this passage to follow 126a a 40 reconstar, Susem. to follow 126a b 44 volutropletos, Intred. 79 \parallel & PII Bk., $\delta \gamma$ Susem.; the alteration stands or falls with the transposition

1262 b 4 συμβαίσει P⁴ T^b U^b and Q^b (1st hand, emended by a later hand) | 6 οδτων omitted by M^{*}P¹ | 7 τe omitted by M^{*}P¹, quidem William, but nothing can be inferred from this with recard to Γ

V 457 C-461 E. See Zeller's Plate p. 455, 477-8: Susemihl Plat. Phil. II 170. SUSEM. (147) χρήστις=endearments.

λημούς - enterments.

35 ds πατρ.....άπρεπέστατον] But the words &περ νίος, Rep. III. 493 B, do not bear this implication. Plato permits to the δρθδε θρωτ only such familiarities as would be unimpeachable as between father and son.

36 καl τὸ ἰρῶν μόνον (ἀπρεπέστατόν ἐστυ) according to Greek ideas. Such power lay in a 'little word' to extinguish the fiercest passions, Lawa viti 838 Β.

§ 3 37 % Duby μbe alrefar μεβερίαν] The there is no other reason assigned, but there may well be inouy under the terms quarted and eraposeable (see the quotation n. 140): especially conception of Securites' most character and the language of gallantry at the same time put into his lips by Plato. See Afpendix 1 to Dr. Thompson's Phandrus, esp. pp. 152, 61 ff. The attempt to trans-

figure and etherialize gross passion was pitched in too exalted a strain of romanticism. Plato himself renounced it afterwards. His matter-of-fact disciple simply

ignores it. § 4 is out of place here; perhaps it is a later marginal note by the author.

\$5 1702 b 3 & Nes 8] Comp. 1. 6.

5 n. "Such a law must bring about the very opposite to that which ought to be the result of well-framed laws and to that which was Socrates' own reason (c. 2.

§ 1) for thinking that the institutions regarding women and children ought to be thus ordered."

This criticism seems unfair. Such private friendships and affections as Aristotle is thinking of do not, according to Plato, promote concord in the state generally, but rather divert men's attention from the whole community into private channels, and by creating private interests tend to selfshiness and disunion. So the Spartan love of domesticity is censured; Feb. VVII 1548, Feb

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ιο κράτης, δ καὶ δοκεί κάκεινος είναι φησει τῆς φιλίας ξρηγομ (1) καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις ἴσμεν λέγοντα τὸν ᾿Αριστοτοφάνην ἀς τῶν ἐρωίντων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλιεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφυϊναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκ δύο ὅττων [ἄμφοτέρους] ἔνα: γε ἀντατθα μέν οὖν ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους ἐφθάρθαι ἢ τὸν ἔνα, ἐν τι 15 δὲ τῆ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ὑδαρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ ἤκαστα λέγευν τὸν ἐμῶν ἡ υἰὸν ἐν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα ὑδι. ὅστερ γὰρ μικρὸν γλικοὶ εἰς πολλ ὑδορ μιχθὸν ἀναίσθητον ποιεῖ τὴν κράταν, οῦτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκεύτητα τὴν ποὸς ἀλλιόλους τὴν ἀπό τῶν ἀνυμέι.

13 συμβόναι F²³Q. Th Uh Ald. Ek. (gerhaps more correct), συμφόρα P' (1st hand), συμφόρα P' (1ort) a [[[[[φροτρομη C] αρτος να] 1 4 σ th δεα Contige of rob δα Contige P (1ort) a [[[[[φροτρομη C] αρτος να] 1 4 σ th δεα Contige of rob δα Contige Normal Enternal State of the State of

§ 6 το φιλίαs] Cp. VI(IV). 11. 7: ή γὰρ κοινωνία φιλικόν. SUSEM.
11 ἐν τοῦς ἐρωτικοῦς λόγοις] Plato Symposion 192 C sq. comp. 191 A. Hug in p. x of his edition of that dialogue considers έρωτικοί λόγοι to be another title for the Symposion; but this could only be allowed if the text read "Plato in the discourses on love" whereas it is "Aristophanes in the discourses on love," and there is nothing to hinder our supplying "contained in Plato's Symposion." Moreover Plato's own theory of love in its fulness and integrity is there given to Socrates alone, who expressly combats the suggestion made by Aristophanes that it is "seeking the other half of ourselves" 205 D; cp. 212 C. Yet no doubt, in so far as Aristotle here makes use of the thought expressed by Plato's Aristophanes, Plato agrees with the latter. This much is clear, that Aristotle intends to designate Plato as the anthor of the Sympo-

sion. Susem. (148)

12 ώς τῶν ἐρώντων κτλ] The genitive absolute after Μγοντα instead of ὅτι or accusative and infinitive.

§ 7 14 ἐνταῦθα κτλ] "In this case either both will be spoiled or at least the one absorbed in the other."

15 ΰδαρή] watery, i.e. diluted)(unmixed, āxparos: Aesch. Agam. 770 ὐδαρτ σαίνευ φιλότητι, Poetics 27§ 13, 1462 b 7 ὑδαρή μόθον, a tame spun-out plot. 16 ἡκιστα λέγειν=least likely to ap-

ply the term 'mine': 3 § 5. Owing to's checkle espirit de corput they would take little pains to assert the relationship. The pains to assert the relationship that the relationship are sometimes with the resonant would probably have allowed it to be just; but would have allowed it would be reading all the Camardians was apt and whole number most nearly into the condition of one organism. Strong exclusive whole most probable with the condition of one organism. Strong exclusive to discourage; the unfriendly continents to discourage; the unfriendly continents no condition on condition of Circle et al. 200 n.).

§ 8 18 ούτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκαότητα] 'So too is it in the end with the mutual affection implied in these names': συμβαίνει sc. ἀναίσθητον είναι, 20 των τούτων, διαφροντίζειν ηκιστα αναγκαίον ον εν τή πολιτεία (I) τη τοιαύτη η πατέρα ώς νίου η νίον ώς πατρός, η ώς

τη τοιαυτη ή πατερα ως νιου ή νιόν ως πατρός, ή ως 8 αδελφούς άλληλων. δύο γάρ έστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεί κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλείν, τό τε ίδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν ὧν

24 οὐδέτερον οίδν τε ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὕτω πολιτευομένοις. < ἔοικε § 4 24 (<δή) μᾶλλον τοῖς γεωργοῖς εἶναι χρήσιμον τὸ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυb 1 <ναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παΐδας ἡ τοῖς φύλαξιν ἡττον γὰρ ἔσται φιλία

20 rokum δε å φρανίζευ and [δη Spengel: rokum «Lauφαρηθήνω», lauβορονίζεω Cameratius: rokum «δαυφορηθήνω οι διαφθαιήνω, δεν διαφρανίζεω? Schneider: rokum δια «ροβό», φρανίζεω Madrig: rokum, «δε» δαυφονίζεω Kotaes in the text, but the absolute accus, is also possible without όν || διαγικών δη διαγικής Bender (no comma before δαυφονίζεω) || 2 το Μοίη δείν βεί 97 το Ν.Δ. Βε. || όν αθτε να διαγικής Ν.Δ. (Ν.Δ. γενιόμενα Cottling Cottling

The special affections would be lost in the general sense of comandeship. This seems simplest, though it is also possible that the common sense of the common sense that other of warms or a list subject of headpoorlings, as Congreve and Sustemila hinh, or as Ridgewey Transaction us. 1 32 proposes of wards or his to be regarded to the common sense of the common sense year. He translates: "so the regard for or all is it necessary to have regard for these names" (of father and son). 21 wards as you will will withst one

21 markpa & wioù κτλ] "that one citizen should care for another as father for son, or son for father, or as one brother for another." Ridgeway aptly compares VIII(V). 11. 21 rapins is recoved λλλ μ h & than, Metaph. M. § \$6, tory b 34 τω θα γ shows thou, section in relation to a genus. For other views of the construction see Critical Notes.

struction see critical trottes.
§ 9 23 τό άγασητού has been taken
to mean (1) only, rare, unique:=μόνων
(Eaton, quoting Odysays II. 365 μόνων
έὰν άγασητό): and (2) much desired,
dearly prized, precious. SUSEM.
See Cope's note on Rhet. 1. 7, 41: καὶ

See Cope's note on Khel. 1. 7. 41: Kal 7d dyamythe (μείζου dyabbe έστι), καl τοίς μεν μόνον τοίς δε μεν' άλλων, where it must have the second meaning, as unicus in Catullus 64. 215.

§ 4 1262 a 40 γεωργοῖs] Here as often the farmers stand for the entire third class of citizens in Plato's ideal state, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πλήθος of 5 § 18, all who are neither dygours or ἐπέκευρει; properly including (§ 9) τεχπε ται and all who are engaged in trade as well as in agriculture. See 5 8 20, where all are enumerated. The strength of this class excites Aristotle's fears: see 5 88 10, 20, 22.

19, 20, 22, 41 Xpringori] Comp. VIII(V), 11.15 [Editor]. This section is the only new passage which follows § 5. For the rest, §§ 5-9 are essentially a repetition, with certain distinctive and appropriate nuances, of the objections contained in 5 another version simply to supersed them. Neither passage gives the slightest cause for suspicion of its genuineness. We must be content to set down to the occusional ration of a previous line of argument without any indication that it has occurred before. Comp. s. (164) on § \$14.

Sussel, (149)
1956 b 2 Touchross=7770 ¢0\u00e4ces;
qp. 1. 8 § 7 m. Plato would alogether
qp. 1. 8 § 7 m. Plato would alogether
qp. 1. 9 7 m. Plato
qp. 1. 9 qp. 1. 9

26 τουν γεωργών καὶ τεχνιτών εἰς τους φύλακας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τού-(1) των εἰς ἐκείνους, πολλήν ἔχει ταραχήν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπου^{*} καὶ γινώσκευ ἀναγκαῖον τους διέδυτας καὶ μεταφέρουτας (1.18) § 10 τίσι τίνας διέδασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μάλλον

810 rior τύως διδόαστεν. Ετι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλου 30 επι τούτων ἀκουγκαῖον συμβαίνειν, οίον αἰκίας ξερστας ψόκους οὐ γάρ ετι προσαγορεύουστε άδελφούς και τέκεια καὶ πατήρας καὶ μπτέρας κοὶ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας δοθέντες τοὺς φίλακας καὶ πάλει οἱ παρὰ τοῦς φύλαξι τοὺς άλλους πολίτας, ώστε εὐλαβείσθαι τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

5 περί μὲν οὖν τῆς περί τὰ τέκυα καὶ τὰς γυναἶκας ξό κουκνίας διωρίεθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐγόμενον δὲ τοῦτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπου δεῖ κατασκευέξεσθαι τοῦς μέλλουσι πολιτεύεσθαι

28 <γάρ> γυώσκευ Bernays, perhaps rightly \parallel 31 προσαγορεύσουσεν Λοταες \parallel 32 τοὺ φόλακαι before of τε Π^{p} Bk.; omitted by $M^{s}P^{1}\parallel$ 33 φόλαξι Π^{p} . Aφόλαψ εἰν Π^{p} Ar. Ek.

who as they grow up may display higher mental and moral qualities, in order that they may be received amongst the children of the Guardians and educated along with them for duties like theirs. See Republic III 415 B. IV 423 C. SUSEM. (EO)

them for duties like theirs. See Republic III 415 B, IV 423 C. SUSEM. (180) 27 πολλήν έχει παραχήν] Schlosser remarks that this requires a more detailed

proof. SUSEM (BS)
There does seem some variance between the rule laid down above, Rep.
423 C. Tim. 19 A ft h δ τ τ κατών els
τ'ρι άλλων λάβρο διαδοτέων τόλων, έταιδιαφριάτων δια αποπούνται det του άξειοι
τόλων λάβρο διαδοτέων τόλων, έταιτόλων διαφριάτων δια του διασοτέων του διασοτέων του
τόλων του του διασοτέων χρόρου
πόλου του του διασοτέων χρόρου
πόλου του του διασοτέων χρόρου
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τόλου του διασοτέων
τόλου του διασοτέων
τόλου του διασοτέων
τόλου του διασοτέων
του δι

"28 stal yuvéressus et àl. But what ham could this knowledge do in the case of the children of Grandians who were degraded? As to the children of the third class adopted as Guardians, nothing could prevent the whole body of Guardians from knowing in the end that they were of different blood. But if we assume that all the other institutions of this children would suffer no neglect, from any one or in anything, on that account, SUSEM, (IEEE)

Aristotle implies that jealousy and dis-

union would follow the recognition of the

facts.
29 τίσι τίνας διδόασι] This clause depends on γινώσκαν.

§ 10 m/sha=mbove, §§ 1—g. So in III. 4 1, 4 7 dw mbau Mypw, VIII(V), 1. 24. Obviously Aristotle shrinks with horror (as we should) from these crimes against blood relations: but there is no evidence that it is on the ground which Grote sacribes to him, "that serious mischief would fall upon the community if family quarrels or homidide remained

without religious expiation."
34 & ore example ordul "so as to be on their guard," as they might be if they used these terms of relationship.

c. 5 Objections to community of property? §1 -- 73. Sec Analysis p. 163. February 1. 163. τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἡ μη κοινὴν (1) § 2 εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ΄ ἀν τις καὶ χορὸς σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ 4 τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γιμαϊκας νευομοθετημένου, λέγω 163 εδ [τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν] πότερον κὰν ἢ ἐκεῖνα χορὸς, καθ ῶν νῦν τρόπου ἔχει, πὰσι τὰς τε κτῆσιες κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις **, οἰον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χορὸς, τοὺς δὲ

39 ἢ μὴ κοινὴν after εἶναι M°P¹. In Γ δεῖ was perhaps repeated before εἶναι | [πότερον—40 κτῆσιν]? Schmidt and then a colon after νενομοθετημένων

150g. a. [rh στηλ τήν στήνν] Sissem.] 2 πάσει Γ Sistem. 3 Feedenthal [replans rightly, ποιεία Μ΄ | πίσε α- κελε στήνει η ότα χρήσει 5 γ- πό αν στέα «- κτλ χρήσει ή τλε ατήσει ή» - τάε Spengel, " " τάι Sissem. 3 | π] γ Κοταο Onden Bermays which gives no sense | 1 χρήσει κουκό αδια βλότινο ή τλε ατήσει Κοταο Onden |] 3 κα] ή Schloser Koraes Onden, από Βετπαγ | 1 χρήσει « ή ηδυσι τόα κτήσει ή τόα χρήσει» Freudenthal, χρήσει « ζεία ατήσει μένον ή τόα χρήσει» Βικεις, μέγεια « β- Heinius Hampfe d

have no property of their own. Nevertheless the connexion of Platonic thought leaves no doubt that the entire body of Guardians is the sole proprietor of the soil, and that thus they hold landed pro-perty in common. The farmers of the third class are consequently tenants who pay a rent in kind for the farms they cultivate, this rent being a definite amount of the produce supplied to the Guardians, who have the other indispensable necessaries of life provided for them by other members of the third class in lieu of a tax levied for protection. Lastly, the common dwellings and common meals of the guardians make community of property and community of life amongst them an actual accomplished fact. See Rep. 111 416 C, IV 419, V 464 C, and comp. Zeller's *Plato* p. 481 Eng. tr. The extension of these common dwellings and common meals to women is not expressly mentioned by Plato, but it is implied in his complete equalization of male and female Guardians:—cp. n. (196) and 1.
13. 9 n. (116). Thus, as Oncken 1. 183
justly observes, "Plato has simply abolished the possession of capital by a theoretical fiat, while Aristotle B. 1 c. 8 has done his best to banish it to the remotest regions of economic life. Only landed property with the income derived from it is of any account in their philo-sophical deliberations." There is this difference between them that Aristotle believes community of property to be possible apart from community of families: whereas the fact is that there cannot be a true marriage in our sense of the term without settled and independent housekeeping of one's own. Here he is not so consistent as Plato, which is easily explained however by the fact that his whole concomic theory rests upon the antiquity, of Creek antiquity especially. And one consequence of this is that, as onchen again justly observes, his conception of property does not involve that of personal about On 188 point see

of personal model. On this point see
http://o.r. Susem. (188)
39 mohrtelay | Cognate accus after
roharescepta. The phrase recurs vi(1v).
1. 4. We find ned ds mohrtelayrat, II.
7. 1; the accusative in I. 11. 13 raira
rohareslayrat, and in rd mps alroys II. 7.

14, is not quite similar. § 2 ao Xupels exéyleure derè] separately from = independently of. Comptato Flato Placed 96 € taqués fix populs der dobbles, "to separate them." This is the sense of are in deriphous, negative the sense of are in deriphous, negative telle pats it. Compare répos de fluido PerdemaryNII, 10, 917 b 14, and NVI. EM. X. S. 1 odôbé de deuro s'pérres, nothing sway from, i.e. unille, himself.

away from, i.e. unlike, himself. 1263 a 1 ἐκείνα χωρίς = the families are separate.

2 striens) (xpirus; ownership, feesimple) (usufruct, income returned. 3 often introduces the application of the three modes of communism to land and its produce. "I mean, (1) when the estates are held separately but the crops are brought into a common stock for consumption, or (2) when the land is held in common and cultivated by the state as καρπούς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φέροιτας ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεί (11) 5 τῶν ἐθτῶν), ἡ τοὐναιτίον τὴν μὲν ηῆν κοινὴν εἰναι καὶ γεφοργεῦν κοινῆ, τοὺς ἐὲ καρποὸς ἐιαιρεῦτοία πρὸς τὸς ἰδίας χρήσεις (λόγοιται ἐξ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κοινωνεῖν τῶν

§ 3 βαρβάρων), ή καὶ τὰ γήπεδα καὶ τοὺς καρπούς κοινούς. ἐτέ-² ρων μὲν οὖν ὅττον τῶν γκωργούντων ἄλλος ἄν ἐψ τρόπος καὶ το ῥάων, αὐτῶν δ΄ αὐτοῖς διαπονούντων τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις πλείονς ἄν παρέχοι δυσκολίας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεις

8 κουνούτ] χωρίε Hampke

public property, but the produce divided for private uses, or (3) when both lands and crops are held in common." Of modern theories, (3) alone answers to what Mill PM. 2c. 11. c. 1 calls theorogically forms proposed by St Simon and Fourier. /\pm\subsection 6, 100 of ground, farmsteads, like olderdow, emphasizing the site of the property.

property.

Editors refer to Lacedamon.

(§) and Tarentum wi(vi), § to. But these instances seem hardly sufficient to establish the first form of communism: and then, see m. (r1), would suggest here also non-Helleniar tribes, to whose cosmology of the control of the cosmology of

would serve to explain severine.
7 ruwel On this second system, if
the soil is to remain common property
there must be a periodic partition, such
as is in force even now in Russia, in some
Swis controls (e.g. Glairi) and amonges
Swis controls (e.g. Glairi) and amonges
This was the characterigite feature of the
Geman mark, first known by Caster's
account of the Sweri (Edit. Call. Vt. 29).
Strabo vint. 6. 7, affirms it of the Dusta
tians, and the Greek settlers on the Accilian islands family adopted this plan,
been to country inhabited by an Arya
nee in which traces do not remain or
the wind traces to not remain or
the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces
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the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind traces the wind tra

ancient periodical redistribution," which perceded and at length model in perpetuity of occupation: Naine Village Communities 9 8. To Collect traces in the object of 8M, de Laveleye's traces in the object of 8M, de Laveleye's control of the English traces by Marchell, It was a modification of this second system which appears to have prevailed among the Village Indians of North America at Wellage Indians of North America at Medical Periodic North America at They constructed joint-temental broads and lived in large boundeds composed. They constructed joint-temental together and there are grounds for believing that they practified common living in the lonesheld 1 i.e. tomeding analogous to the price of the price of the Control Periodic North America at Medical Periodic North America at Medical Periodic North America and Periodic North America at Medical Periodic North America at Me

pp. 187, 200 ff., 535—538. § 3 8 ετέρων] a distinct body. αὐτῶν= the citizens themselves; αὐτῶν αὐτοῦς διαπονούντων=when they are αὐτουργοί,

Thucyd. I. 126.
"This remark is quite true in itself, but it makes for Plato rather than against him. His guardians are a distinct body from the yearyof and are thus in the position described as most favourable to communism" (Oncken). SUBEM. (1864)

10 τὰ περί τὰς κτήσεις is nomin., the subject of ἀν παρέχοι and not the object of διαπονούντων.

i διαπονούντων. 11. "For where all have not equal

shares in enjoyment any more than in work, indeed have very unequal shares, disastisfaction must needs be felt with those who have much enjoyment and little labour, by those who get less and have more work to do." This is the standing difficulty of communistic schemes, see Mill Pol. Econ. II. 1 § 3.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἴσων ἀλλ' ἀνίσων ἀναγκαῖον (ΙΙ) έγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν [ἡ λαμβάνον-14 τας] πολλά, όλίγα δὲ πονοῦντας τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι, 84 πλείω δὲ πουούσιυ. όλως δὲ τὸ συζήν καὶ κοινωνείν τών αν-8 θρωπικών πάντων χαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τών τοιούτων. δηλούσι δ' αί των συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι σχεδόν γάρ οί πλείστοι διαφερόμενοι έκ των έν ποσί και έκ μικρών προσκρούοντες άλλήλοις. ἔτι δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα (> 2 20 προσκρούομεν οίς πλείστα προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακονίας 8 5 τὰς ἐγκυκλίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας τοιαύτας έχει δυσχερείας δυ δὲ νῦν τρόπον 4 έχει [καί]. ἐπικοσμηθὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τάξει νόμων ὀρθών, οὐ μικρου αν διενέγκαι. έξει γαρ το έξ αμφοτέρων αγαθόν. 25 λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς είναι τὰς κτή-

12 all distance omitted by P2-3 Qb Tb Ub Ar. Ald. Bk. and P4 (1st hand; added in the margin) | 13 [ή λαμβάνωνται] Congreve, μέν ή λαμβάνωνται omitted by Ub Ald. | 18 διαφέρονται Κοταes || προσκρούουσι for προσκρούοντει Congreve || 20 χρώμεθα P1 || 22 νθν after τρόπου έχει Mº P1 || 23 και after έχει omitted by Π1 || ήθεσε II2 Ar. Bk.

§ 4 15 κοινωνέν governs τών άνθρω-πικών πάντων; "to share in all relations of human life, especially such as affect property." 17 συναποδήμων | N. Eth. VIII. 9

§§ 4, 5; συμπορεύονται γάρ ἐπί τωι συμφέροντι, και ποριζόμενοί τι τῶν els τον βίων. 18 διαφερόμενοι...προσκρούοντες] Participial construction with ellipse of copula, as perhaps in I. 5. 9 alaθανόμενα.

τῶν ἐν ποσὶ] things near at hand, immediately before us: Herod. III. 79:

ξετεινον τῶν μάγων πάντα τινὰ τὸν ἐν ποσὶ

προσκρούοντες] Comp. N. Eth. IX. 4 § 1, τῶν φίλων οἱ προσκεκρουκότες=friends who have broken with each other. 20 τds δ. τds έγκικλίους] for the daily

round of services. Cp. 1. 9. 9 (Eaton), also 11. 9. 9 n. 291. SUSEM. (155) § 5 22 6\lambda\lambda_8 \text{ roas/ras} Aristotle

never urges (1) that communism will diminish the efficiency of labour, nor (2) that it will relax the checks on an increase of population. The Hellenic idea of the omnipotence of the state precluded these objections. The conclusion at which he arrives is endorsed in the remarks of Mill Pol. Ec. ib. p. 128: "We must compare communism at its best with the régime of individual property, not as it is, but as it

might be made. The principle of private property has never yet had a fair trial in any country."

δυ δὲ νῦν τρόπον κτλ] δυ τρόπου νῦν έχει with the epexegetic ἐπικοσμηθèν κτλ is the subject of διενέγκαι: " the order of things at present existing if improved by good manners and the enactment of wise aws would be far superior ": ξθεσι, somewhat wider than morality, see § 15; ways,

habits, instincts.

[&]quot;This is in reality not so much proved as stated; still it is not laid down simply as stated; still it is not taid down simply on the strength of § 4. Oncken I. 184 goes decidedly too far in saying the attacks on community of property lack all precision and point, and that the doctrine is not refuted on its own merits like the community of families. He fails to notice what is pointed out by Zeller Platonic Studies p. 289 that the words of § 6- all will thrive better under a system of private property because then each one labours assiduously for his own advantage'apply to property exactly the same argu-ment which was used with most effect to refute on its own grounds community of wives and children and was for that reason twice advanced, 3 §§ 4-7, 4 §§ 4-8 n. (149)." SUSEM. (156)

σεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας. ˙δεῖ γὰρ πὸς μὲν εἶναι κοινάς, ὅλως (II) § 6 δ' ίδίας. αι μέν γάρ ἐπιμέλειαι διηρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρός άλλήλους οὐ ποιήσουσιν, μάλλον δὲ ἐπιδώσουσιν ώς πρός ίδιον έκάστω προσεδρεύοντες δι άρετην δ' έσται πρός το γρή-30 σθαι κατά την παροιμίαν κοινά τά φίλων. έστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ε του τρόπου τοῦτου ἐυ ἐνίαις πόλεσιν οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένου, ώς οὐκ δυ ἀδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς καλώς οἰκουμέναις § 7 τὰ μὲν ἔστι τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν' ιδίαν γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν έχων τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεί τοις φίλοις, τοις δὲ χρήται

35 κοινοίς, οίον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοίς τε δούλοις χρώνται; τοῖς ἀλλήλων ώς εἰπεῖν ἰδίοις, ἔτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν, κᾶν 28 μάλλόν τε? Susem. | 29 έκάστου προσεδρεύοντος P1 II2 Bk. (perhaps rightly) || 33 ylvor'? Susem. | 35 ws novois Susem. 1.2 tamouan William | 36 ws entray? Susem. ώs els πάσαν? Schmidt, ώs [εἰπεῖν] Giphanius, ἄσπερ? Koracs | ἀν (?) Γ

26 For δλως=in general, almost like άπλωs, comp. III. 9. 4, VIII(V). 1 § 3, 1 § 13 where it is opposed to κατά τι as here to πώs. § 6 27 The division of attention will

remove mutual dissatisfaction: the article implies 'those grounds of complaint specified above.' Each will set about his own task, e.g. the cultivation of land.
29 δι άρετην κτλ] Public virtue will

ensure that, as the proverb has it, in all that relates to use friends go shares in

"Comp. IV(VII). 10. 9 with #. (831). Giphanius observes that this favourite maxim of the Pythagoreans is purposely introduced here because Plato (Rep. IV 424 A) applied it to the absolute community of property. It is not Aristotle, however, but Plato who misconstrues it: in fact after the latter had misinterpreted it, the former restores it to its original sense. See Zeller's Pre-Socratics L. p. 345 n. 2, Eng. tr." Susem. (156 b) 31 by bylaus πόλιστω] See the com-

mendation passed on the Tarentines, VIII(v). 5. 10. Susem. (157) ὑπογεγραμμένου] prescribed, laid down

as a rule to follow. Often in Plato. Eaton refers to Laws V 734 E, νόμους πολιτείαις ὑπογράφειν, Protag. 326 D ή πόλις νόμους ὑπογράψασα; add Repub. 424 A, 449 C.

32 &s = implying that.
33 Td µèv...Td &e] either is or might become.

§ 7 34 τοῦς δὲ χρήται κοινοῦς] Here even Aristotle's political theory has a certain dash of socialism; only in

the main he stops short of the actual facts as presented in Sparta particularly, whereas Plato set out from these Spartan institutions, but only to go far beyond them. It is also justly observed by Oncken I. 183, that in general wherever, as was the case in Greece, the freemen are principally supported by the labour of strangers who are not free, there the ruling caste as a whole stands in a certain communistic relation as opposed to the servile caste. Compare further n. (166).

Susem. (158)

35 olov και èν Δακεδαίμονι κτλ] Xenophon De Rep. Laced. 6 §§ 3, 4 relates in the main the same facts, first, as to slaves and helots; and as to horses, with the more precise limitation that a sick man or any one requiring a carriage or desirous of travelling rapidly to a given place will, if he sees a horse anywhere, take it and after using it return it faithfully unhurt. As to dogs, he still more definitely restricts this usage to the chase. Those who require the dogs invite their owner to go hunting; while he, if he has not the time, readily sends them off with the pack. There is no such information in Xenophon about produce growing in the fields: what he does say is that after a meal in the country people left the remainder of the food they had prepared in store-chambers : others, detained while hunting and in need of food. might, if they had no provisions with them, break the seals of these storechambers and take what they required, leaving the rest behind and replacing the seal. Susem. (159)

§ 8 δερθώσων έφοδίων,
-τοίκο ἐν τοίς ἀγροῦς κατά τὴν χώρακ, φανερὸν (II) τοίννυ ὅτι βέλτιον εἰναι μὲν [ἔλες τὰς κτήσεις, τῆ δὲ χρήσεις ποιείν κοινάς ὅπος δὲ γήθνωνται τοιούτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου « τοῦτ ἔργου ίδιον ἐτίκ. ἔτ ἐκ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονηὶ αμιθητου ὅτου « ὁτοὰς ἔτος τὰ νομίζεω ἔδιον τί, μὴ γὰρ οὺ μάτην τὴν πρὸς νεὶν αἰτὸν αἰτὸν ἀντὸς ἔχει φιλίαν ἔκαστος, ἀλλ. ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν.
§ 9 τὸ δὲ φίλαιτοι εἰναι ψέγεται δικαίως οὐκ ἔστι δὶ τοῦτο τὸ φλιδι ἀπτός κὰλλά τὸ μάλλον ἡ δεί φιλείν, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ φίλογομματου, ἐπεὶ φιλοῦτί γε πάιτες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔκαστον.
ἐπαστον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλά μὴν καὶ τὸ χαριδασθαι καὶ βοηθήσαι φίλοις ἡ ἔτος ἡ ἔταβοις ἡδιετου ὁ γίνεται τῆς τοι τροτο ἐδιας οὐτης.
Ταιτά τε δὴ [οὐ] νυμβαίνει τοῖς λίαιε ὑτ γποιούτι τὴν πόλυς, καὶ πὸς τοις οἰνης ἐνοιούς τὸν τοι ἐνοιο ὁτος ἐνοιος τὰ ἐναιος τὰ για φιλοιος ἡ ἔταβοις ἡδιετου ὁ για ἐνοιούς τος καὶ τὸς ἐνοιος τὰς τὰς ἐνοιος τὰς ἐνοιος ἐνοιο ὁτος ἐνοιος ἐ

1169 b 1 airs's omitted by II | 3 rb omitted by CT U' and P' (1st hand; added by corr.) | 4 sat rb P' Ar, sal rb P' Mr. sal rb P' Ar, sal rb P' Mr. sal rb P' CT U', rbs Ald. | \$60e. Xysharav .cal rb \$60drayas ? Stores, accepted by Bernays | 5 tearers P' B' C' T' U' Ald. and P' (1st hand; emended by corr.) | 6 tripos II Sucen.hs | 7 os after by omitted by II' | 9 on after plo omitted by II' | 9 on after plo omitted by II' | 9 on after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 7 os after plo omitted by III' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by III' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by III' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' Sucen.hs | 1 os after plo omit Plo omitted by II' | 9 the sal rb V II' yellow II' yellow II' y

\$ 8 39 rocoères sc. elss Tŷ Zubrier voquell'eros Eppor] Undoubtedly Aristotle hopes for results of human legislation which now we only expect from the training of the control of the cont

valuative (Onchen). See notes (161) and (162). SUSEM. (160)

• The K wth) "Again, even to the pleasure we feel, the difference that it makes to call a thing our own is unspeakably great." An expression like objective feer, Boupdaron Boor, number updature.

41 μη γάρ οδ μάτην] By μη or μηποτε with the indicative, no uncertainty is intended; ibi quoque adhibita reperitur, ubi res affirmatur non negatur. "It may well be that our love for ourselves is not without a ruprose "

without a purpose."
§ 9 1263 b 2 ouk & T. & Tooro]
Comp. No. Eth. IX. 8. 1, 1168 a 28,

Rhd. L 11. 26, 1371 b 18; also Plato Lame V 731 D (Eaton). Congress quotes Mr. Eth. IX. 4 t, where even friendship and benevolence are reduced to forms of self-love, τh φλικάτ τλ πρότ τούs φλιωτ. τως εκτών πρότ έαυτὸν εληλιθέναι. SUSEM. (16)

Susem. (161)
3 καθέπτρ κτλ] "just as the love of money means to love it more than is right": Pl. Reb. 1 347 B τδ φλάργερον είναι δναθον δέγεται (Vetton). Comp. also Nic. Eth. IV. 4. 4. φέρομεν τό φλιδτιμο έπαυτοντες μέν έπι τό μάλλων ήδ όπολλοί, ψέγοντει δέ έπι τό μάλλων ήδ όπολλοί, ψέγοντει δέ έπι τό μάλλων ήδ δεί.
\$10 7 συμβαθμαί αδ συλυκανή σουν.

§ 10 γ συμβαίνα] of awkward consequences involved in α theory: συμβαίνευ dicitur ubi factis ex aliqua hypothesi conclusionibus ipsa hypothesis refutatur (Bonitz).

(Bonitz).
8 ἀναιροῦσω ἔργα] "destroy the functions."
9 σωφορσώνης] Even Zeller Phil. d.

9 σωφροσώνης] Even Zeller Phil. d. Gr. H ii p. 697, n. 7, thinks this an unfair objection, because in Plato's commonwealth a guardian is bound to continence 10 (Εργων γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὕσης ἀπέγεσθαι διὰ σωφροι (κον σύνην), διευθερίστητος δὲ [τό] περὶ τὰς κτήσεις (οὕτε γὰρ ἔσται φαιερός ἐλευθερίος ὧν, οὕτε πράξει πράξει ελευθερίον οὐδε-μίαν ἐν τῆ γὰρ χησει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆς διευθεξαι ρύτητος ἔργον ἐστῶν). εὐτηράσωτος μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαύ-ε
15 τη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλάιθρωτος ἀν εἶναι δόξειεν ὁ γὰρ ἀκροόμενος ἀρειος ἀποδέγεται, νομίζων ἔσεσθαι φιλίαν τινὰ θαιμαστὴν πᾶσι πρὸς ἄπαιτας, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅταν κατηγορῆ τις τῶν τῶν ὑταρχάντον ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ἀς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοι20 κὴν εἶναι τὴν οἰσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολιαίων καὶ ψευδριαμτομών κρίσεις καὶ πλουτείων ψευδριαμτομών κρίσεις καὶ πλουτείων

§ 12 κολακείας. ὧν σύδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν ἀλλὰ ε 11 ἐλαθεμότητα Ρ¹, ἐλευθεμότατα Μ¹ || τὸ after ἐὲ omitted by Π¹, τῷ Bernays || 13 τῆ after τὰς W³ Ald. Bk. and perhaps O³ || 15 ἄν after είναι δέξεαν ΜΥΡ¹ ||

17 rod (rot M) before polars Me Pi in espect of all women to when he is not married by the authorities, the The nonic 'community of wives being the very reverse of free indulgence of the appetites. Quite true: but then nother is this the point of Aristotle's objection. What which is nowbere possible save where monogamy is established, and in Flatch which is nowbere possible save where money and the properties of the protate of the continues, evalpoorley. We than the continues of the continues of the in this, and that \$8_0, to make an epicially agreeable impression, as a defense of the individuals montiferedom. Fur-

ther, see m. (206 b). SUSIM. (1829)
To Eyove wakay! Strictly, a goodly deed, fair to contemplate; then a "moral action" (since the motive makes the act virtuous; it must be done role saboli Freen), with that peculiar implication of "nobleness" which runs through the Nic.

12 πράξω ελευθέριου] for which private property, e.g. money, is required. Comp. Nic. Eth. x. 8. 4 τω μιν θευθερώς έχριατων πρών το μάττεν πί θευθερώς μένου δευθερώς έχριατων πρών το μάττεν πί θευθερώς iδ. § 7. Can we ascribe acts of liberality to the godds των εδ δέστουστυς διτούνο δ' el καὶ έσται αὐτοῦς νόμωσμα ή τι τοιούτου.

13 ἐν τῆ γὰρ χρήσε.... 14 ἔργον ἐστῖ]
for the use of one's possessions is the
field for the exercise of liberality. Cicero's
usus virtutis, Acad. fost. 1. 38 is analogous
to έργον in this sense.

§ 11 17 Φιλίων τινά θαυμαστήν]
Comp. Dante Purgutorio XV. 55–57,
che per quantosi dice più Incostro, i tanto
possiede più di ben ciascuno, | e più di
caritade arde in quel chiostro; 73–75,
e quanta gente più lassis i intende, | più
v' è da bene amare, e più vi s' ama, | e
come specchio, '' uno all' altro rende.

come specietos. I uno all' altro vende.

Le evidently hai in mind Platot expressions, Républic ve 45 C; 14 X, réd-oppais

Le publication et all via mind Platot expressions, Républic ve 45 C; 14 X, réd-oppais

Le publication et peut nor d'oppair Romarou de l'exploitation par le publication et l'exploitation application et l'exploitation application et l'exploitation application et l'exploitation application et l'exploitation of private proprietation the institution of private proprietation that is also all the view of the Républic. Comp. 85 cp. 31 with min. (74, 173). Substitution of private proprietation of private pri

(168)
Αδι Κερ. 465 C: τά γε μέν σμυρότατα
τών κακών δενώ καὶ Μέγων διν διτηλλητιμένο δι θέε, κολακεία το κλουτών [πένητει] άπορίας τε καὶ δλλητόνως δεας δε ...
χρηματιμούς δε δι προβη ολειτών διαμμών διαμμών
μενω. Τὰ μέν δευσιζάμενα, τὰ δὶ ξέρρούμενω. Εκίση αμοτεκ Αristoph. Εσείος αμοτικών

657 sq.
§ 12 22 dv obbt vivera: This is begging the question, though it may fairly be surmised that communism would not cure all these evils.

διά την μονθηρίαν, έπεὶ καὶ τους κοινά κεκτημένους καὶ κοι- (ΙΙ) νωνούντας πολλώ διαφερομένους μάλλον όρωμεν ή τούς χωρίς 25 τὰς οὐσίας ἔχουτας ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοι-

νωνιών διαφερομένους πρός πολλούς συμβάλλοντες τούς κεκτη-\$ 13 μένους ίδία τὰς κτήσεις. έτι δὲ δίκαιον μη μόνον λέγειν

όσων στερήσονται κακών κοινωνήσαντες, άλλά καὶ όσων άναθών φαίνεται δ' είναι πάμπαν άδύνατος ὁ βίος.

αίτιον δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει τῆς παρακρούσεως χρη νομίζειν § 14 την ύπόθεσιν ούκ ούσαν δρθήν. δεί μέν γάρ είναι πώς μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, άλλ' οὐ πάντη. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ώς ούκ έσται προϊούσα πόλις, έστι δ' ώς έσται μέν, έγγυς δ' ούσα του μή πόλις είναι γείρων πόλις, ώσπερ κάν εί τις την 35 συμφωνίαν ποιήσειεν δμοφωνίαν ή τον δυθμόν βάσιν μίαν.

25 τοθε] τῶν P⁴Q^{ta}U^b Ald. | 32 πάντως p¹ Π² Bk. | ἔσται M³ and P¹ (1st hand) | 33 Walford (as cited by Eaton) transposes πόλις to follow έσται μέν | 34 έσται was added after είναι by Vettori Bk. Susem1.2, erit William

23 Emel Kal too's Kouyd Kth] "Since we see just those people who are joint owners and who share property quarrelling far more than those who have their estates separate." Are these the συναπόδημοι of § 4? Or is the reference to com-

mercial partnerships?

25 ἀλλὰ θεωρούμεν κτλ] The cases of quarrels seen to arise out of partnerships are few, it is true; but then we compare them with the large number of those who

have separate possessions.

§ 13 29 aboveros] Compare Grote

III. pp. 217—222. "This supposed impossibility is the mode of expressing strong disapprobation and repugnance. Plato's project contradicts sentiments con-ceived as fundamental and consecrated: the reasons offered to prove it impossible are principally founded upon the very sentiment adverted to. The truly forcible objection is the sentiment itself." Plato impugns it and declares it to be inapplicable to his guardians: amongst whom as he conceives, a totally different sentiment of obligation would grow up. Similarly "if Sparta had never been actually established and if Aristotle had read a description of it as a mere project, he would probably have pronounced it impracticable."

30 παρακρούστως] "fallacy" as in De Soph. El. 17 § 3, 175 b 1, Demosth. с. Timocr. § 194, 760 27 фенакіоной кай παρακρούσεως ένεκα.

31 τὴν ὑπόθεσιν κτλ] the incorrectness of his first principle: see 2 § 2. Comp. Grote III. p. 215 f. 217 n., who from Aristotle's own admissions v(vIII). 4, άμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρη νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως μόριου γάρ έκαστος τῆς πόλεως, and I. 4. 5 τό τε γάρ μόριου οὐ μόνου άλλου έστι μόριου, άλλά καὶ ἀπλῶς άλλου, argues that "the broad principle is com-mon to him with Plato," though "each has his own way of applying it."

General Objections to the scheme of Plato's Republic : §§ 14-28. § 14 Here too it would have been as

well to state that these remarks are nothing new, but only a repetition of c. 2, although as new points arise out of them (see Analysis p. 104) there is much greater justification than there was in the case of c. 3 88 4-7 and c. 4 88 4-8; cp. n. (140). SUSEM. (164)

33 προϊούσα] advancing (to a certain degree of unity), "if its unity be carried far"; explained by γενομένη μία μάλλον

34 ώσπερ κάν κτλ] "as if one were to turn the concord of parts into unison, or the rhythm into a single step." See Probl. xix. 38 § 3, 921 a 2, συμφωνία κράσίς έστι λόγου έγόντων έναντίων ποδς άλ-

35 συμφωνία = consonance of the voices singing one part with the instruments playing another: cp. Probl. XIX. 39, §16 άλλά δεί πλήθος δυ, δίσπερ εἴρηται πρότερου, διὰ τὴν παι-'ω' δείαν κοιὐν<u>ήν</u> καὶ μίαν ποιεύν καὶ τόν γε μέλλοντα π<u>αυδείαν</u> εἴσήτειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταίντης δεσεθαι τὴν πόλεν σπου-δαίαν, ἄτοπον τοῦς τοιούτοις οἴεσθαι διορθοῦν, ἀλλά μὴ τοῦς 4ο θέσει καὶ τῆ φιλοσοφόια καὶ τοῦς νόμοις, ὅσπερ τὰ περί τὰς κτήτεις εὐ Λικεδαίμουν καὶ Κοίτητ τοῦς ουσοιτίοις ὁ

1164 νομοθέτης έκοίνωσεν. δεί δὲ μηδὲ τοῖτο αὐτό ἀηνοείν, ὅτι χρή (p. s.)
προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόινω καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, εἰν οἶς
οὐκ ἀν ἔλαθεν, εἰ ταῦτα καλώς εἰγεν πάντα γὰρ σχεδόν
εἴρηται μέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν οὐ συνήκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρώνται

39 < δάν > διαρθούν Spengel | 40 ήθεσι p¹ 1264 a 1 διαθυσες P³-8-4 and P¹ (corr.), διασιώνησε M¹ and P¹ (1st hand) || μħ Π¹ || Bk² Omits αντὸ || 2 δθεσι Aτ., δθρεσιν Bernays (hardly right)

Chappell History of Music pp. 11 f., 16. Whereas in δμοφωνία one or more sets of voices or instruments give the same notes. Similarly ρυθμός, ή της κυτήσεως τάξις (Pl. Laws II 665 A), is the orderly succession of steps in dancing or notes of music of certain definite lengths. The unit or element of which long successions of 'times' are composed is Básis, 'step' in dancing, 'foot' in metre. This is clear from Metaph. XIV (N) 1. 10, 1087 b 33, τὸ δ' ἐν ὅτι μέτρον σημαίνει, φανερόν, και έν παντι έστι τι έτερον ύποκείμενον, οΐον έν άρμονία δίεσις (in music a quarter-tone, the smallest interval), exδε μεγέθει δάκτυλος ή πους ή τι τοιούτον, εν δε μυθμοίς βάσις ή συλλαβή. Instead of the regular orderly sequence of Báses, steps in dancing or feet in recitation, of various lengths, there will be only a single monotonous step or a single beat. § 15 36 πρότερον] §§ 5-8. SUSEM.

§ 10 30 προτερον] §§ 5—6. 30 sess. (165) 37 κοινήν ποιεύν] widen it so that all shall share in it.

τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν κτλ] Comp. 7 § 8 n. (238), and below §§ 18, 19. Susem. (165 b) 39 τοῦς τοιούτοις=such direct, com-

pulsory measures, as Plato proposes.
40 ξθεσι, φιλοσοφία, νόμοις] Comp.
φόσις, ξθος, λόγος of IV(VII). 13. 11 π.
(887). SUSEM. (186)

φιλοσοφία] in the wider sense, 'culture' as in 7 § 12. So Rhet. II. 23. 11 of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, perhaps a

Epaminondas and Pelopidas, perhaps a quotation from Alkidamas. An approximation to Isocrates' use of the word for 'literary training.'

τά περί τὰς κτήσεις] . Aristotle's fond-

ness for social institutions of the Cretan and Spartant type—see § 7, nr. (159)—she res seen in a new direction, of which we shall hear neer in o. § § 3 to . (541), to § 5 to . (541), to § 5 to . (541), to § 6 to . (541), to . (541), to § 7 to . (541), to .

that the long time which has elaysed without a communistic state makes it the less likely that one ever will be established, as no originating cause seems forthcoming adequate to start it.

4. 00 ordinary have not been systematized. A synthesis' is wantied. A synthesis' is wantied or you're you by you'real Much that is

But Aristotle might fairly have argued

matteed. A synthesis 'in wunting, "one's b' of spearagl Minch that is required as impracticable. Assuming in fast the earth, and doubtless the race of men upon it (8 § 31 m.), has always existed and always will exist Artistotle shares the conviction of Plato and most other Greek thintees that there has not consider the converse of the converse of humanity, but it has begun and been carried on, in ammer similar irtinot quite the same, for immerchibe times over and over again. Hence to a greater or less over again. § 17 γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα δ' αν γένοιτο φανερόν, εἴ τις τοῦς ἔρ- 11
 6 γοις ἴδοι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην οὐ γὰρ

δυνήσεται μ) μερίζων αὐτὰ καὶ χωρίζων ποιήσαι τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν εἰς συσσίτια τὰ δὲ εἰς φρατρίας καὶ φιλιζε. ἄστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένου πλὴν μὴ γεωριο γεῶν τοὺς φύλακας: ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῦν ἐπι-

§ 18 χειροῦσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οιδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιπείας τίς ἔσται τοῦς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὐτ εἰρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης οὐτε ράδιον

7 abrû» Ald., abriw Thom., abrobs Böcker, ab Bernays, árra Jackson, abrika Welldon || 8 φατρίας Με P²⁻³ Qb Το Ald. Susem.²⁻³, φατριάς P¹ || 9 οὐδον after Δλά Με P¹ || 10 καὶ νῶν τοἰονο Trieber

executer correlations are sisted before, and there is nothing new under the sun; all discoveries have been already unde and discoveries have been already unde and religious and the sun already and a sun already religious area. The sun already are superrelation and the sun already area of the (1891). Has however would have the (1898). Has however would have the clience of the sun and the sun already that the himself has but made such a religious and collected instantions haberton of help and the sun already and the sun already solely in this combination of old material, as all the elements of his ideal state were to be found previously isolated, some in Sparts and Creft of these stronger the port of the sun already are superport and creft of the sun already are possible to the sun already are superticated. Comp. Zeller's Potro p. 483 f. SSESM. (1897)

SURSEL, (487)

For Many Control a throng expression from K. E. Hermann The Materical dements of Flate's isdeal of a talet, in Conservation of the Control of Flate's isdeal of a talet, in Conservation of the Control of Flate's isdeal of a talet, in Conservation of Concess: he has but applied the abstractions of science to produce a formal and harmonions combination. It is at least mannier, the true starting-point of Flate, and Armonions of Control of Concess in the Starting-point of Flate, and Armonions of Control of Concess of Concess of Control of Contro

a high degree the stamp of originality. §17 5 τοις εργοις] "actually in process of formation." The plural is used as well as the singular εργφ with or without

the article, in prose or poetry.

8 ds σωσσ'ral Sec n. (166). That
Plato too intended this, was shown in z.
(153) on § 1. From the expression here
and in § 15 we might be led to believe
that this was not the case. Comp. § 19 n.

troph, as an (107), as 7 min (154), of 10 min (154), of 1

SEM. (169)

10 καὶ νῦν] Here again, as so often in these chapters and elsewhere, νῦν does not mean 'at the present time' but 'actually', and ποιείν ἐπιχειροῦσιν is but a

into the and at the present time to the actually', and words' engagedown is but a limited control of the actual time of the entire polity which (these) members of the community share. Vet the bulk of the state is made up in effect by the bulk of citizens other than the guardians." For el dhow workras, see \$20, and n. on a \$4.

είπεω. καίτοι σχεδον τό γε πλήθος τής πόλεως τὸ τῶν δλ. (II) λου πολιτών γίωται πλήθος, περί ἀν σύδεν διάρισται, πότε λου καὶ τοῦς γεωργοῖς κοικὸς είναι δεῖ τὸς κτήσεις ἡ [εα] καθ ἔκαστον ἰδιας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παίδας ἰδιοις 81 ἡ κοινούς, εἰ μὰν γιὸρ τὸν απότυ τόρτον κοινά πάντα πάν- 10 του, τί διοίσουστι οὐτοι ἐκείνων τῶν ψυλάκων; ἡ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ἡτόπομένουστὶ τὴν ἀρχήν απότω; ἡ τὶ παθώτες ἐποιφονόσι 20 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μὴ τι σοφίξωνται τοιούτον οἰον Κρῆτες; ὁκείνοι γιὰρ τάλλα ταυτά τοῖς δεύλοις ἐφέντες μόνω ἀφη δερ ρήκαστι τὰ γυμισίατα καὶ τὴν τῶν δπλων κτίστου, εἰ δὲ κα-

15 cal after ἢ untranslated by William and Ar. || 1 fo sel after ἢ untranslated by William and Ar. || 1 fo sel after ἢ untranslated by William and Ar. || 1 fo sel after ἢ untranslated by I for Ar. || 1 for after property of the Ar. and transpose air for to follow so depth || 1 selforer ℙ Pla Bekk. Bernays, but reafforer ℙ (cort.) || 1 verquerfor Ar. for produced Property of Property Ar. for produced Property of Proper

§ 19 17 εl μέν γdρ κτλ] Aristotle might well have spared himself the consideration of this possibility. It is strange that he has not learnt from Plato whether this third order of citizens is to have community of families and of property; whether, in other words, just those characteristics which, like their education, are distinctive of the two upper classes in the ideal state, are to be extended to the third, or not. It is not easy to imagine a stronger case of ina-bility to transport oneself to an op-ponent's sphere of thought. In fact he cannot be acquitted of very culpable carclessness in the use of the work he is carcinessies in the use of the work he is criticizing. As regards community of property at any rate, Plato has most expressly said Rep. 111 417 A, IV 419 that nothing of the kind is to exist amongst citizens of the third class, leaving room for no doubt whatever as to his real opinion. Nor is Aristotle even consistent. For in 4 § 4 above he has, with better reason, raised an objection which is only intelligible if these institutions are not supposed existing in the third class of citizens. Comp. § 24 n. (179); also n. (168) and the references there given. SUSEM. (170)

18 η τι πλείον κτλ] See Critical Notes. The sense we require is not, "what compensation will those receive who submit to their rule?" (which is repeated in the next sentence), but "what

advantage will the rulers have over their subjects?" The older commentators endeavoured to extract this by taking resistence of the replace of the depth of the replace of the depth of the replace of the depth of the replace of the

20 σοφίζωνται]=devise or contrive (Eaton).

olov Kpūres] See on 9 § 3 n. (281) and Exc. III. This statement is confirmed by the skolion of the Cretan poet Hybrias there quoted. See also IV(VII).

Hybrias there quoted. See also IV(VII).

10. In. (800). SUSER, (371)

21 role 60those (4/4rre) "while allowing their serfs the same rights with themselves in other things, have deprived the hilbited.). As we now know, olecte was the proper term for these serfs, but they are called &@ilos pazzine in the inscription of Gortve.

"The arguments in §§ 20—24 (d &6, sabdare,...,resprior yuvalkes) are in the main quite correct, but apply just as much to Aristotle's ideal state as to Plato's (Oncken). Yet see n. (177)." SUSEM. (172)

Comp. Grote III. pp. 213—215, who lays stress on the spiritual pride, and contempt for the δημος, certain to be nurtured in the breasts of the guardians.

θάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀλλαις πόλετς, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔσται τὰ ι τοιαῦτα, τῖς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας; ἐν μιᾳ γὰρ πό-15 λει δύο πόλεις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ ταιὐτας ὑπεναντίας ἀλλήλαις. ποιεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν φίλικας οἰον φρουρούς, τοὺς δὲ 8 η γεωρρούς καὶ τοὺς τεχγίτας καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοις πολύτας. ἐγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ δύα ἀλλοι ταῖς πόλευν ὑπάρχειν φησὶ κακά, πάνθὶ ὑπάρξει καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ Σο-50 κράτης ὡς οὐ πολλών δεήσουται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, οἰον ἀστυνομικῶν καὶ ἀγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλουν τῶν 82 τοιούτων, ἀποδιδούς μένων τὴν παιδείαν τοῦς ἀλλαλω. ἔτ ἐκ 82 τοιούτων, ἀποδιδούς μένων τὴν παθείαν τοῦς ἀλλαλω. ἔτ ἐκ

κυρίους ποιεῖ τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποφορὰν φέρου-24 Congreve brackets μιὰ

§ 20 23 έκείνοις=τοῖε άλλοιε ποΜτοιε, the citizens of the third class. τὰ τοιεῦτα] family life and separate possessions.

24 τίς δ τρόπος τῆς κοινωνίας]
What will be the means of uniting them?
How will they associate as fellow-citizens
with the two upper classes, who have
such dissimilar institutions?

6ν μιζ γάρ κτλ] This is the very reproach which Plato levels at the existing politics: ἐκάστη αὐτῶν πόλεις εἰσὶ πάρπολλια, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλεις...δύο μέν γὰρ κῶν στοῦν ῷ πόλεια ἀλληδιοκ, ἡ μέν πενήτων, ἡ δὲ πλουνίων Rợi. IV 422 Ε; and VIII 5ξ1 D (Eaton). SUSEM. (178)

551 D (Eaton). Susem. (173)
26 οδον φρονρούς] Rep. 111 415 D, E;
IV 419 άλλ' άτεχνώς, φαίη άν, ώστερ έπίκουροι μισθωτοί έν τῷ πόλει φαίνενται καθήθαι οὐόδν ἄλλο ἡ φρουροῦντες.
Susem. (174)

27 molVrag is predicate; "his cidiges are the farmers and the artisans, &c."
As Grote justly remarks, this is a larger and more generous conception of the mean of the common of the c

δειντική του δειν

(163). Susem. (176) καὶ τούτοις] just as much to the citizens of Callippils (ἐδ. δθεν δὴ ἐπάρξει τούτοις ἀστασιάστοις οὐσι); for by 1, 27 the farmers, artizans &c. who make up the third class, are citizens.

λέγει δ Σωκρ.] Κερ. IV 425 C, D: ή καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορανομικὰ άττα ἡ ἀστυνομικὰ ή ελλιμενικὰ ή δσα άλλιτοτοιαῦτα, τούτων τολιμέρομέν τι νομοθετέυ; άλλ' οἰκ άξιον. Cp. n. (163). Susem. (176)

31 dστυνομικών καλ άγορ.] Comp. IV(VII). 12.7 n. (865). Susem. (178 b). "Laws concerning city-police and market-police." Dionysius says of the Roman aediles (vi. 90) σχεδον δολασί πως κατὰ τὰ πλάστα τοῦς παρ' "Ελλησιν ἀγορασύροι».

37 Take alone with role sheker. Tak objection proceeds from an oaste apprehension that in outward sapert the ideal objection proceeds from an oaste apprehension that in outward sapert the role state would not greatly differ from an ordinary Greek city, in spite of its standing army, half Amazons, and its government of experienced military officers distinguished as savunts, who (like the distinguished as savunts, who (like the distinguished as savunts, who (like the landia) are at another stage of development, and belong intellectually and morally to a wholly different world from the mass of the population.

\$ 22 33 viplous ... \$\delta\text{optornal}\$ How precisely the councion is to be understood was explained in \$\mu\$, \$(\pi_3)\$ on \$\mathbb{I}\$. It results is much as Aristotle represents it, and this is certainly managed differently in his own pattern state. \$\text{State}\text{Left}\$ \tag{2} \text{Left}\$ \tag{2} \text{Left}\$

τας: ἀλλά πολύ μάλλου εἰκὸς εἰναι χαλεπούς καὶ φρονη-(II) 35 μάτων πλήρεις ή τὰς παρ' ἐνίοις εἰλωτείας τε καὶ πενεστείας 823 καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γιὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως εἴτειν μή, νύν γε οὐδὲν διώρισται, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐχομένων, τίς ἡ τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ μύμοι τίνες. ἔστι δ' οὕτε

τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι τίνες, έστι δ΄ οὕτε 30 εὐτε 30 εὐτε 40 διαφέρου μικρό», τὸ ποίοις τινὰς εὐτα 52 τούτους πρὸς τὸ σφέροθα την τού φιλάκων κοινωνίαν. ἀλλά 164, μην εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναίκας ποιήσει κοινώς τὰς δὲ κτήσεις εἰδίας, τίς οἰκουριήσει ώστερ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰν ἀγρῶν οἱ ἀνδρες αἰτῶν; κὰν εἰ κοιναί αὶ κτήσεις καὶ αὶ τῶν σεργῶν γυναίτ

κες * * . ἄτοπου δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶυ θηρίων ποιείσθαι τὴν πα-15 5 ραβολήν, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύεω τὰς ηυναίκας τοῖς 8 25 ἀνδράσιν, οἶς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν. ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχωντας ὡς καθίστησιν ὁ Σωκράτης: ἀὲ γὰρ ποιεί τοὺς

35 TEMBET DE 18 1 36 [kal boohdas] or kal <racutrat> boohdas Susem, kal repeates Schneider, puedas or <racutrat> boohdas Schmidt | 37 biopartat</r>

real replanders Schneider, puedas or
8 or outer boohdas Schmidt | 37 biopartat

real replanders All Susem.
30 Touchs Turus P**** Q** Elk. || clrut < 8ct>

Scaliger <8ct> clrut Spengel

1264 b 3 ຂອ້າ...ງພາຍົດຮະ. These words in Π^2 come before 2 ພ້າ ສະຄຸ (p¹ corrected this in the margin): Sylburg and Bk. bracket them; Schneider and Koraes transpose them to precede 2 τ is observations, Koraes reading 1 et τ e for et γ e. Thurot first discovered the lacuma

τε και άνδρεξοι, ταξαμένους παρά των άλλων πολιτών δέχεσθαι μωσθώ τῆς φυλακής τοσοδτον όσον μήτε περιείναι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μήτε ἀνδείν.

άποφοράν] a rent in kind.

34 χαλιπούς κτλ] troublesome and full of arrogance.

35 τὰς παρ' ἐνίοις...πενεστείας] See 9 § 2 n. (280). SUSEM. (178) 36 δουλείας] Ridgeway Transactions

p. 142 thinks the word means "the setf populations of states like Argos and Crete, called Γυμνήσιοι at Argos, and "Αφαμώται in Crete," quoting Thue. v. 3w where the word is used of the Helots, †p & ή δουλεία ἐτανιστήται. So also by Plato, Lαυν 7/6 D of the Mariandyni.

"\$ 23 dr' draysala srh] We are recalled to \$ 18; the question, repl do obbb bidopera, is the tenure of properly amongst the ordinary citizens. "Whether it is equally necessary here" < as in the case of the Guardians, to have communism > "or not, has certainly not been determined, as matters stand." rains."

=κουὰ πάντα of line 17 above.

37 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐχομένων] "Nor about the following points: what consti-

tution and education and code of laws are in force in the case of the citizens at large."

40° Sc. διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ στάξεσθα. The construction as in 1260 to ft n. § 24 ἀλλὰ μὴν κτλ] But supposing he intends to leave their property in individual ownership, and yet to introduce community of wives, where are the women to be found to superintend household matters as the men manage the work in the fields?

"What was said in n. (170) applies again to this argument in the mutilated state of the text." Susem. (179)
1264 b 4 b 76v 9pplov] Rep. V

1264 b 4 ex τῶν θηρίων] Rep. V 451 D. Susem. (180) ποιείσθαι τῆν παραβολήν, ὅτι] should show by a comparison from the lower animals that.... In Rhet. II. 20 § 2, § 5

παραβολή=simile. § 25 γ άεὶ γὰρ κτλ] In the Plato-

nic state the government is not actually in the hands of the same individuals in perpetuity. None except members of the highest order, the philosophers, are eligible as rulers, but they enter the ruling body by rotation. Susem. (181) αὐτοὺς ἄρχουτας, τοῦτο δὲ στάσεως αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ παρά (ι τοῦς μηδὲν ἀξίωμα κεκτημένοις, ἤπουθεν δὴ παρά γε θυ-§ 28 μοειδέσι καὶ πολεμικοῦς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ

§ 88 μοειδέσει καὶ πολεμικούς αὐφρασι», ὅτι δε αναγκαιου αυτφ τι ποιείν τολε αὐτοὺς ἄρχουτας, φανερών οἱ τὰρ ότι μὰν ἄλλοις ότι δὲ ἄλλοις μέμικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός, ἀλλὶ ἀὶ τοῦς αὐτοῖς, ψησὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐδὺς γιωριένοις μίξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ΄ ἄργυρον, χαλκον δὲ καὶ στίδηρου § Μ τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἕσεσθαι καὶ γεωργοῖς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ

3 πτους τεχνετιαις μεκκουσιουν εσεσυσια και τεωργως. Ετ θε και 16 την εὐδαιμονίων άφαιρούμενος τών φυλάκων, δικην φησί δείν εὐδαίμονα ποιείν την πόλιν τὸν νομοθέτην. ἀδύνατον δὲ

9 η nowher $\delta \eta$ $\mathbb{P}^{1.6}$ \mathbb{Q}^h \mathbb{T}^h \mathbb{U}^h $\mathrm{Ald.}$ and \mathbb{P}^a (corr. h), $\hat{\eta}$ nowher $\delta \eta$ \mathbb{P}^a (1st hand), $\hat{\eta}$ nowher $\delta \eta$ \mathbb{P}^a , $\hat{\eta}$ nowhere $\delta \eta$ \mathbb{P}^a , excess $\delta \eta$ \mathbb{P}^a , $\hat{\eta}$ now $\delta \eta \delta \eta$ \mathbb{P}^a (1st hand) of $\delta \eta$ $\delta \eta$

9 dξίωμα = dignity, valuation. There is no such distinction in Aristotle (as there is in Thucydides) between your own estimate, dξίωσες, and that of others, dξίωμα.

10 buyaoskir...dopairs] The members of the second order of citizens, Guardians in the narrower and inexact the first class (Agyaerva) are furnfled eff. For after they have attained the age of twenty, only the better qualified smongat which was the control of th

thirty only the very abbest receive instruction five years longer in philosophy (dadevoted to practical life, after serving in higher commands, they are at length received into the highest order, the rulers proper; see Zey, Yun 56 of 16, comp. s., Yun 56 of 16, comp. s., Plate p., 48 or. (169). In the Aristotchian model-state, however, all citieses in later life may attain to a share in the goverment and administrative; provider, are lightle. See on III. 1 § 10. (149). It § 5 (471), 13 § 17 (599), are lightle. See on (1571), 13 § 18 (599), are lightle. See of (1571), 13 § 18 (598), and Ear. 10. (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571), 18 (1571)

(786), § 7 (790), 10 § 13 (839), 15 § 9 (935). SUSEM. (182) § 26 ört 8ê dwayk. krk] "Aristotle apparently does not observe that Plato's myth does not answer its purpose, as it

does not recognize the promotion of επίκουρα to be φέλακες." JACKSON.

13 \$\phi\pi\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\cdot\0\c

eiθθ's γιν.] directly they are born, at the moment of birth: eiθθ' of time is not good Greek. § 27, 28 This relates to one of the

§ 27, 28 Ins relates to one of the most brilliant and striking episodes of the Republic: the objection of Adelmantus at the opening of B. Iv that Socrates has insufficiently provided for the happiness of his guardians: 419

to impresses or no granulant. 419
15 is Rs 2...17 weapstray) Here Arisotole is guilly of a further piece of care-lessness. Plate ocertainly say, 420, 16 of the pale rolling BA erover is the whole and the property of the pale rolling. All forms for pullarra the plate of the property of the plate of the p

εὐδαμονεῖν δλην, μὴ τῶν πλείστων ἡ [μη] πάντων μερῶν ἡ (II)
τινῶν ἐχόντων τὴν εὐδαμονίαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αἰτῶν τὸ εὐδαι20 μονεῖν ἀνπερ τὸ ἄρτιων τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τῷ δλορ
ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηθετέρος, τὸ δὲ εὐδαμονεῖν ἀδύ28 νατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ οἱ ψύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες ἔτεροι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἶ γε τεχιῦται καὶ τὸ πλήθος τὸ τῶν βαναύτων.

6 ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία περὶ ἡς ὁ Σωκράτης εἰρηκεν, ταὐτας ΙΙΙ
25 τε τὸς ἀπορίος ἔχει καὶ τοῦτων οὐκ ἐλάττοις ἐτέρας σχε- (κ. 3)
δὸν δὲ παραπληριόνς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχει τοὺς ὅστεραν γραφέτας, διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνταθα πολιτείας ἔπισκέγασθα μικρὰ βέλτιων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῆ πολιτεία περὶ
ολίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, περί τε γυναικῶν
30 καὶ τέκνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, καὶ περὶ κτήσεως, «καὶ
ν «περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποὶς τοῦν ανολικων» καὶ
ν «περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποὶς τόμεσθαι τῶν Φιλλεων» καὶ

§ 2 3x της πολιτείας την τάξιν (διαιρείται δὲ εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ

18 ng wiswow ŋ τῶν rokatrus μερῶν Bojesen | 1 ci μỳ Vettori, but then ci μỳ τῶν-των should be transposed to come after 19 τωῦ | 1 [πi] πίντων Lindau Zellet [Pikl]. d. Gr. 11 ii 698 n. 2)—the easiest alteration. Bisse transposes the second μỳ to procede τινῶν | 1 γ το τωῦ απίπτε by Bojesen | 1 το δόντην Μτ P (κατ. h) αν η αποπαίτε by Bisse | 1 πο δόντην Μτ P (κατ. h) αν η αποπαίτε by William | 1 δ τ λ is omitted by Π Bis. | 30 ond is inserted after τόνων by Π P | After πέγκευ Sussem. inserts the clause καὶ της λωβάκων from 16 q b q, 105 g a 1; farted p. γρ f. | 1 the last καὶ με κατ λ ? Schmidt, accepting the transposition | 3 1 κθ | γλρ Π β.κ. Bis.

τι βλέψαντας δεί λέγειν αθτής, άλλ' els πάντας τους πολίτας: where see note. Susem. (184)

18 η τινών κτλ] "or unless at least certain definite parts," viz. the most important, "attain happiness." SUSEM. (185)

of yelp rule adries exh] "For happiness is not a thing of the same sort with evenness, which may be an attribute of the sum (of two numbers) where it is not an attribute of either of the numbers themselves." The sum of two odd numbers, 3+5, is even.

c. 6 Comparison of the Republic and the Laws: § 1-5. Examination of the polity proposed in the Laws: § 6-22. See Analysis p. 104. Introd. p. 33 with notes; Zeller Platonic Studies p. 203-207, and pp. 1-144 generally; Oncken 1. 194-209; Van der Rest pp. 18 - 344.

181-344. § 1 27 Erravea] In the Laws. Evidently Aristotle assumes the work to be genuine. According to Diog. Laer. III. 37 it was published by Philip of Opus after Plato's death.

28 περὶ ἀλίγων κτλ] "has precisely determined very few things." In this comparison of the Republic with the Laws Aristotle's tendency to look for definite results (noticed above, c. 2) is especially prominent. He is in no way concerned to exhaust the differences between the two polities: indeed the whole discussion started with the dogmatic inquiry, 'what are the limits of community in civil life?' 1 § 2. But one cannot help seeing that the deepest ground of this difference, the altered philosophical standpoint and the change in the conception of the state, has escaped him: had he clearly recognised this, he would not have expressed himself as he has in § 5 (Zeller). See however § 4 (T. L. Heath).

31 την τάξιν] Understand διώρικε, though the change of construction is unusual. 32 πλήθος τών οἰκούντων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ (ΙΙ: προπολεμοῦν μέρος τρίτον δ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ <u>βουλευόμενον καλ</u>

§ 3 κύριου τής πόλεως), περὶ δὲ τόιν γεωργών καὶ τόιν τεχυιτών, 35 πότερου οὐδεμιάς ή μετέχουσεί τινος ἀρχής, καὶ πότερου ὅπλο δεί κεντήσθαι καὶ τούτους καὶ συμπολεμείν ή μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδεν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ τὸς μὲν γιναίκας οίται δείν συμπολεμείν καὶ παιδείας μετέχειν τῆς ἀτῆς τοις φίλαξιν, τὰ δ΄ ἄλλα τοις ξέωθαν λόγους πεπλήρωκε

39 λόγοις after $\pi e\pi \lambda '$ ήρωκε Susem. $^{1.6}$ following William's translation: it is omitted by M* P¹ Bender

§ 2 32 For the repetition of els compare IV(VII). 14 § 12, and possibly 12 § 6. 33 προπολεμοῦν] Plato's word Rep.

Typicov S' ke rootraw) Comp. n. 18a Sussam (186). Supply dert. "The deliberative and supreme (executive) body of the state (is) a third order formed out of these latters." He quite correctly takes the degeners to be a committee chosen out of the efucepors: specially trained military officers, of mature experience with the meaning of the state of the stat

out of the frikospos: specially trained military officers, of mature experience and of great eminence in science, are from time to time coopied into the first of the coopied in the coopi

the other. § 3 34 περί δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν κτλ] Here Aristotle contradicts himself again: see on 5 § 17 n. (168), § 19 (170), § 24 (179), 6 § 5 (195). For at 5 § 25 above he recognised quite rightly that even the members of the second order are to have no real share in the administration: whereas now he expresses doubt whether some part in it may not fall to the third order, and whether they too are not to go out on military service! If there is one thing which Plato has made clear it undoubtedly is his principle of the di-vision of labour. This, which he puts into the foreground, prohibits the shoemaker from ever attempting to be at the same time a tradesman or a carpenter or a farmer: à fortiori it prohibits the artizan or farmer from serving likewise as soldier: and either of them, or even the soldier, from ruling. See Zeller Plato p. 470 f. SUSEM. (187)

37 οἰδὰν διώρικεν] Yet see Rep. v 468 A. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὰν κτλ] Consult the note following. Susem. (188)

38 συμπολομοίν] Rep. V 451 E, 457 A, 466 E, 471 D. 30 τοις Εωθεν κτλ] But in the Repub. Plato treats of the community of children and wives V 457 B-466 D, of the regulation of property relations III 415 D-415 tion of property relations in 415 D-417 E, of education II 376 E-III 412 E, VI 502 C-VII 535 A, X 595 A-608 B, of the division into the three orders of citizens, II 367 E-376 E, III 412 C-IV citizens, ii 307 E=370 k, iii 412 C=1.445 E, v 465 E - v 466 D=-v 15 cc. C, vii 535 A=541 E (comp. ii 376 E=111 412 B, vi 502 C=-vii 541 B) of the women's share in the duties of the guardians v 440 A=457 B, so that this whole work is literally filled with what Aristolic has here cited; only the first two books lay the foundation for it and the eighth and ninth enlarge upon the other forms of govern-ment. Thus independently of the discussions on the immortality of the soul x 608 C-621 D nothing is left which could come under the head of these discussions which lie outside the subject. The treatment of the above questions is no doubt crossed over and over again by dissertations on metaphysics, the theory of cognition, psychology, and ethics This is what Aristotle really means, and he might from his standpoint consider them as not properly belonging to the subject. But that is no correct standard of judgment. What should have compelled Plato to write a purely political work in the Republic? Why might it not have been his intention to present a work in which the specially political discussion was only an organic member of a more comprehensive whole? SuseM-

"In answering the question What is

40 τὸν λόγου* και περι τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τινα δεί γίνεσθαι (ΙΙΙ) $^{1265}_{64}^{24}$ τῶν ψυλάκων. τῶν δὲ νόμεον τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον μέρος νόμοι 2 τυγχάνουσιν όντες, όλίγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἴρηκεν. καὶ ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιείν ταίς πόλεσι κατά μι-

40 τον λόγον untranslated by William, Ar., [τον λόγον] Susem, 1.2; but Γ is uncertain and it is better to follow II2, as I now think, or else with Mo P1 to omit Moyees

the subject of a given Platonic dialogue? it is convenient to distinguish the subject of the conversation from the subject or subjects of the work. Thus in the case of the Republic, though the thesis as duesνον δικαιοσύνη άδικίας is the subject of the conversation between Socrates and his friends, it may fairly be said that the work is concerned with the καλλίπολις, the theory of ideas, and some minor matters. It is however the thesis &s duesνον δικαιοσύνη άδικίας which gives unity to the composition. Hence, although one of the incidental discussions may have, in consequence of its originality, both for the reader and for Plato himself (week πολιτείας ήν το κεφάλαιον Τίπαευς 17 С), a special interest, it is unreasonable to regard what is alien to it as in any way irrelevant. In fact Aristotle's remark is no more than the expression of his characteristic dislike of Plato's indirect method of approaching the doctrines which he wishes to enforce." JACKSON. § 4 1265 a 1 τῶν δὲ νόμων κτλ]

This is quite incorrect: in the Laws about equal parts are taken up with constitutional theory and with legislation, and the constitution in the narrower sense is treated much more fully than in the Republic (Suckow Form der plat. Schriften 132 f.). Aristotle (n. 466 on III. 3. 9) agrees with Plato in including under the constitution, in the wider sense, the regulation of education. From his point of view therefore the whole of the Laws from the middle of B. v to the end of B. viii with a large part of B. XII may be said to be mepl ris moderelas, while books IX, X, XI and the rest of B. XII are a code of laws, popul. Susem. (190)

Oncken (I. 194—199) appeals to this passage in support of his view that the first four books of the Laws, and part of the fifth, are a later spurious introduc-tion (τὸ προοίμιον τῶν νόμων, 734 E) with which Aristotle was wholly unacquainted.

2 καὶ ταύτην βουλ, κτλ] "and while endeavouring to make it more universally applicable to the existing states he gradually works it round to the other polity once more," κοινοτέραν=common to many states, an average polity. Cp. § 16

and VI(IV). 2. 4. "When he wrote the Republic Plato "When ne wrote the Repussur Franco looked upon the pattern constitution there described as by no means impracticable. He declares that its immediate introduction might be secured without difficulty under a definite condition, which though not indeed easy, nor of frequent occurrence, was yet by no means impossible: v 471 Cf., 473 C, vI 497 A f., 499 B
—502 C. In the Republic moreover he knows nothing of any pattern state of the second rank, holding an intermediate position between the first and the existing constitutions. But in the Laws he has changed his view on this point. The form of the state described in the Republic (though he still holds it to be the best) is an impracticable ideal: v 730 A f., vii 807 B, IX 853 C, cp. 874 E f.; III 691 C f., 692 B f., IV 713 C f. For that reason he now replaces it by a second best scheme of constitution which approximates much more nearly to the actual constitutions, not without expressing the apprehension that if the attempt were made to call this into life much in it would have to be abandoned, so that the actual result would be only a pattern state of the third order: V 739 A-E, 745 E ff., cp. VII 805 B. Here too the possibility of thus realizing it, though only to a limited extent, is made dependent on a condition, very similar though not entirely the same as the condition which is indispensable for the realization of the state planned in the Republic; namely, that it should be undertaken by an absolute prince (τύραννος) with an inclination for philosophy, young, of good disposition and as yet uncorrupted, in conjunction with a philosophic Tapied, in conjunction with a plantsophic lewgiver: 10 709 E ff., V 735 D. Cp.
Zeller Plat. Stud. 16 ff., Plato (Eng. tr.)
p. 483, 522 f., 531, 538 f., 546; Suckow,
op. 4. 133; Susemihl Plat. Phil. II. 619,

German trans, of the Laws 976 ff. Aris-totle seems to have rightly apprehended

this relation between the two: at all

§ ο κρὸν περιώγει πάλων εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ (Ν ς τῆς τῶν γυνακκῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τὰ ἀλλα ταιτὰ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις καὶ γὰρ παιδέλαν τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπε-

1265 a 4 els] πρὸς Π2 Bk, | 6 δίδωσιν P4 Ub Ald.

cent in a year an expected by many minion which is supported. by many moderns, most recently by Oncken ep. 4. L. 201, that the state of the Lamu is only meant to be a transitional form to mediate and prepare the future introduction of the from the foregoing to be utterly untenable. On the contrary his words plainly amount to this; that Plato intended in the state mediate to that of the Republic and the existing states, but in reality he has unconsciously followed the Republic so much more closely than the existing states, that restinct. Su Sussessing 10.

§ 5 4 έξω γάρ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν κτλ] But supposing—what is not indeed the case (see next note)-that this really were the only difference between the two schemes, is it not after all one so essential that any further discussion of a really essential identity between them is thereby precluded? And so far as this might yet be possible, does not Aristotle's ideal state come pretty nearly as close to that of the Republic as does that of the Laws? At any rate, of the three points which Aristotle lays stress upon as justifying his criticism, he too expressly approves of the two latter ones: c. 7 § 8 n. (238); 9 § 2 (279), § 31 (341); 10 § 8 f. (365); 11 § 10 (393): IV(VII). 9 \$\ 3, 4, 8; IO \ 9 (831), \ 10 (834), Introd. p. 22 n. (3). His own ideal of public education also, so far as he has developed it, coincides in very important particulars with the directions in the Laws: see on IV(VII). 17 § 1 n. (950), § 15 (970): V(VIII)- 4 §§ 7-9, nm. True, Plato's divergence comes out in that dialogue also when he insists on the education of women in common with men, on their taking part in military service and in the common messes, thus rendering true domestic life impossible; nor perhaps is Aristotle willing to follow him in assigning by law a definite limit to personal property: see § 15 n. (213), 7 § 4 n. (233). But he, too, demands, exactly like Plato in the Law, that the land in the possession of private persons should be divided into equal inalienable

indivisible lots twice as numerous as the families of citizens (IV[VII]. 10 88 Q-11, see also nn. on 11. 5 § 1, 6 § 15): and that for this purpose the number of citizens be maintained perpetually the same, \$\\$ 10-13, 7 \\$ 5 nn. He is only more decided and consistent than Plate in not shrinking in the least from the horrible expedient of abortion, as a means of securing this (Introd. 34, 56, IV(VII). 16 § 15 f. nm.); while Plato, who had made the same regulation under certain circumstances in the Republic (see on II. 3 \$\ 5. 6 n. 140), had in the Laws abandoned it, and had left the number of children to be produced unrestricted, in the hope of adjusting the matter in a milder way: n. (208) on 6 § 10. In this respect then Aristotle's ideal state stands even nearer than that of the Laws to the state depicted in the Republic, and makes a more severe and destructive attack upon married life. Lastly he too requires written enactments fixing the age at which marriage is advisable and compulsory (IV[VII]. 16 \$\$ 1-10, nm. 937, 940); in fine, whereas his view of marriage is wholly different from Plato's, and ethically regarded a modern view (Exc. 1, to B. II p. 327), it is actually realized in only a very mutilated fashion. Thus in criticizing Plato he has at the same time uninten tionally passed judgment upon himself. SUSEM, (192)

Sussif. (189)

7 walkday rip adrip) This is only relatively tree. The alt-ensential feature relatively tree. The alt-ensential feature relatively tree. The alt-ensential feature for the philosophers, see Zeller Fill. 4. Ge. 11 i fp. 1. (Eng. tr. Plata 466, 497 fs.) and in the Learn 466, 497 fs.) and in the Learn 466, 497 fs.) and a girculture are at any rate free members of the state: in the scheme of the Learn, the former are alies not settled permanently in the country, while the Learn, the former are alies not settled permanently in the country, while the Seb D fs.; viii S ag c 1, S ag 0, S g 0

χομένους ζήν, καὶ περὶ συσσιτίων ώσαύτως πλην ἐν ταύτη (III) φησὶ δεῖν εἰναι συσσίτια καὶ γυναικών, καὶ την μὲν χιλίων 10 τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δὲ πεντακισχιλίων.

§6 τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους ⁸ λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ [τὸ] ζητητικόν, καλῶς δὲ πάντα ἴσως γαλεπών, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πλήθος

9 kal before gunukûn omitted by Γ (?) and by P^1 (1st hand, added by corr.1) \parallel 12 $\tau \delta$ before Gythick omitted by $M^{\bullet}P^1$

is, not beyond the elementary principles of mathematics: Laws VII. However a certain survival of the philosophic rulers of the Republic is still retained by the formation of a higher council of state, the so-called 'nocturnal assembly.' It is to consist of the most educated and capable men in the community over fifty years of age; moreover certain of the most distinguished magistrates belong to it in virtue of their office; while vounger qualified citizens, if at least thirty years old, may be admitted as extraordinary members by cooptation, and are then instructed by the council in its own sciences, philosophy, higher mathematics, including astronomy and theory of music. But this higher college is destitute of political power and is restricted to its moral influence simply; it endeavours thereby to guide public opinion in such a manner that the elections to public offices may fall, wherever possible, upon its ordinary and extraordinary members. See Laws 1 632 C. XII 951 D ff., 961 A ff. Cp. n. (970) on Ιν(VII). 17 § 15. SUSEM. (198) καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων κτλ] Laws V 741 E,

VII 806 D-807 D, VIII 842 D, 846 D, XI 519 D f. SUSEM. (194) αναγκαίων = necessary for support, cp.

dvayκαίων = necessary for support, cp.
III. 5. 3, IV(vII). 10. 7 where the antithesis
is to τα els εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περισσάαν.
8 καὶ περί συσσιτίων ώσαύτως] Here

Aristotle is perfectly aware of the fact which he appeared to have forgotten before, 5 § 17 n. (168), § 4 n. (179), that even in the ideal state of the Republic Plato had required there should be common messes for the guardians. SUSEM. (189) TANH by TANTH XTA As a matter of

messes for the generalists of the second of the messes common to the women are assumed by Plato in the state of the R-publit, as was stated in n. (153) on \S § 1; but in the changed sphere of the state in the Lxw he finds himself obliged expressly to lay down this requirement and assign reasons for it, as he intends to

maintain it in the later scheme: VI 780 D ff., VII 806 E, cp. VIII 842 B, 847 E. Further compare I. 13 § 9 n. (116), II. 7 § I n. (231 b). SUSEM. (196)

18. (2) 1. (2) 2. A. where New York of the property of the property of the minimum, or chapter in when as only the minimum, or chapter greyther as the survey is palme are we proceeded row. Stu-SEM, [197] Yet Grote (Plate III. p. cof n. b) observes that the understanding of Aristotle himself on the point is one material evidence that this was intended by Platto. Comp. Peliticus 1920 E for the possible number of the rulers.

10 πεντακισχιλίων] More precisely 5040; Laus V 737 E, 740 C f., 745 B ff. etc. Susem. (198)

§ 6. 11. vb. pb ob verb] "Now all the discourses of Scortase display genius acuteness originality research." require, out of the common, extraordinary; cp., and the common contractionary; cp., and the common contractionary; cp., and the common contractionary; cp., and the common contraction of the thought than with some editors of the style. (Thus Gotting Communications of Art. As 11. 3 gives for equiple "contractions" and the common contraction of the common contraction of the contr

12 καλῶς δὲπάντα] sc. ἔχειν, for everything to be right: "but to be right on all points may well be a hard task." χαλεπά τὰ καλά. Bernays however renders χαλεπάν=too much to ask.

13 τὸ νῦν εἰρ. πλήθος] The construction changes; he begins as if δεήσεται were to follow.

δεί μη λανδάνειν στι χώρας δεήσει τοῖς τοσούτοις Βαβυλανίας (II 15 ή τινος άλλης ἀπεράντου τὸ πλήθος, ξέ ής άργοὶ πενταιασχίλιοι δρόγονται, καὶ παρά τούτοις γυναικών καὶ θεραπόν-8 τουν ἔτερος δχλος πολλαπλάτιος. δεί μὲν οὐν ὑποτθίεσθαι (« κατ' εἰχήν, μηδὲν μέντοι ἀδένατον. λέγεται δ' οἱς δεί τὸν 4 νομοθέτην πρὸς δύο βλέποντα τιθέναι τοὺς νόμους, πρός τε 10 τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔτι δὲ καλώς ἔχει προσθέγναι καὶ ποὸς τοὺς γειντιώντας τόπους, εἰ δεί τὴν πόλιν ξῆν ναι καὶ ποὸς τοὺς γειντιώντας τόπους, εἰ δεί τὴν πόλιν ξῆν

14 Βαβυλωνίας] Cp. 111. 3. 5 n. (462). Susem. (200) 15 άπερ. το πλήθος] unlimited in

έξ ής κτλ] But how does this calculation agree with that made about Sparta in 9 §§ 16, 17? Compare nn. (306), (311). Even granting that the present is the more correct statement, how much smaller must we imagine the number of citizens to be in Aristotle's own ideal state according to the data given IV(VII). 4 §8 5—14? (Schlosser). Suppose these data Suppose these data reduce the number by one half, one half the same objection would still apply to Aristotle. On the other hand it is interesting to observe how near his penetrating intellect comes to a discovery of the fact, that the idleness which belonged as a right to a privi-leged minority of freeborn landholders was really the fundamental evil of the Hellenic state. Confined however to the circle of opinions current in his own age and nation, the philosopher turns back when on the very threshold of the truth: and follows Plato in adopting this fundamental evil as an inalienable primary good for his own model state. SUSEM. (201)

§ 7 17 86 μλν οδν...μηδίν μέντοι αδένατον] "We should frame our scheme on the most favourable supposition, yet not so as to be impracticable." Cp. Laws V 742 E: τδ êt μλ δυωτά οτ' δυ βούλοντο [ματαίας βουλήσεις], sc. ὁ διακοσμέν. "ποτίδεσθαι κατ' εύχτή! Α reference

ύποτίθεσθαι κατ' εὐχήν] A reference to the expression used by Plato Law IV 709 D εδξασθαι δύναιτο...καὶ νομοθέτης. Repub. VII 540 D μὴ παντάπασιν ἡμᾶς edyds alpyebru, άλλλ χαλεπά μέτ, δινατά δέ της καὶ οἰκ άλλη η εἰκριναι; τὸ, τη εἰκριναι τὰ τος καὶ το

(750). SUSEM. (202)

18 Myerau 8 as 8st κτλ] This is not expressly to be found anywhere in the Laws, but Aristotle had a perfect right to infer it from τν 704—709 and ν 757 D. SUSEM. (2021)

747 D. SUSEM. (2008)
20 Fin 85 scholies red.] But this even
Plato himself has by no means overlooked; see Lenuw v 737 c fyrm 6 h v/h
60rs innebe cole 60,000 fg/60g v/hyrer for
Acythis 8 page by 10 fg for 12 x fu n n/h
orcegious n 60xes (Schlosser). Aristotle
brings the same objection against Phaless,
7 \$ 14 ff. (Eaton). Compare n. (210) on
6 \$ 13. SUSEM. (2004)

Cp. IV(VII). 2. 18 τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐάν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα πρὸς ποίους ἀσκητέον.

βίου πολεμικόυ (οὐ γὰρ μόνου ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν τοι-(ΙΙΙ) ούτοις χρήσθαι πρός του πόλεμου όπλοις ά χρήσιμα κατά την § 8 οἰκείαν χώραν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω τόπους)· εἰ δέ 25 τις μή τοιούτου ἀποδέχεται βίου, μήτε τὸυ ἴδιου μήτε τὸυ κοινον της πόλεως, όμως οὐδὲν ήττον δεί φοβερούς είναι τοίς πολεμίοις, μη μόνον έλθοῦσιν εἰς την χώραν άλλα καὶ āπ[ελθ]οῦσιν, καὶ τὸ πλήθος δὲ τῆς κτήσεως ὁρᾶν δεῖ, μή ποτε ε βέλτιον έτέρως διορίσαι τῷ σαφῶς μᾶλλον, τοσαύτην γὰρ 30 είναι φησι δείν ώστε ζην σωφρόνως, ώσπερ άν εί τις είπεν § 9 ώστε ζην εὐ (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καθόλου μάλλου, ἐπειδη ἔστι σωφρόνως μέν ταλαιπώρως δὲ ζῆν): άλλὰ βελτίων ὅρος τὸ

22 πολεμικόν Muret, πολιτικόν ΓΠ Ar. Bk. δπλιτικόν Montecatino, <ήγεμονικόν καί μή μόνου > πολιτικόυ Thurot | πολιτικόν μή μονωστικόν Γ, πολιτικόν μή μονωτικου P1, πολιτικου μή μονώτερου Μ1, πολιτικου μή μονοτικου P4 (in the margin):--all glosses | 23 δπλοις | δρίοις Oncken, νομίμοις ? Susem. | 25 < καl> μή Schmidt || 28 ἀποῦσω Bender | 30 ef is omitted by Π1. Were this right eliver would have to be altered, with Bas.3, to effreseν | 31 êπesδή Susem. επι δ' Γ Π Ar. Bk. Susem.1.2

wrote "perhaps explained by Pl. Protag. 322 Β πολιτικήν τέχνην ής μέρος πολεμική, absolutely political and having therefore as one ingredient πολεμική." The expression recurs IV(VII). 2 § 3, §§ 5, 6 (a probably spurious chapter) and 6 § 7, where see Critical notes.

23 α χρήσιμα κτλ] Cp. VII(VI). c. 7 §§ 1—3 (Eaton). Susem. (205) § 8 · 24 el δέ τις μι' τοιοῦτον κτλ]

"But if any one refuse to approve of a life such as this" i.e. warlike "for the state at large any more than for the indi-vidual." Whether war is the end of the state is a question debated IV(VII). 14 § 13 f., 15 §§ 1—6. Plato in the Laws I 628 C, VII 803, VIII 829 A, holds that it

is not. 28 τὸ πλήθος really belongs to the dependent clause. "Whether perhaps it might not be better to define otherwise, by a clearer definition, the amount of property which one man may hold." It is

characteristic of the writer to require analysis and precise definition, 70 outles, τὸ διωρισμένου.

τό διωρισμένου.
29 τοσαύτην γάρ dval φησι] Laus
29 737 D γής μεν έπδοη πόσους σώφρονας
δυτας Ικανή τρέφειν πλείωνος δ΄ οδδέν προσδεί. With what follows compare 7 § 7 n.

(237 b). SUSEM. (206)
31 καθόλου μάλλου] "For this (term) is too vague (cp. μία μάλλου, 2 § 2) since men may live frugally and at the same time wretchedly": literally, in hardships

and distress. § 9 σωφρόνως here and IV(VII). 5 § 1. and σωφροσίνη III. 4 § 16 can only mean 'parsimoniously', 'parsimony'. But iII. 5 § 16 (an only mean 'parsimoniously', 'parsimony'. But iII. 5 § 16 n. (162), '7 § 12 n. (242), I. 13 § 2 f., § 6 (112), IV(VII). 1 § 4 (691), 3 § 3, 15 § 2—4, 16 § 8 the meaning is temperance or self-restraint in reference to eating and drinking and the appetite of sex: and it is from this side that the virtue is depicted in Nic. Eth. III. cc. 10, 11 (1117 b 23 ff.). There however Aristotle himself explains how extravagance leads to profligacy and to excesses in this direction, and that ἄσωτοι, properly a spendthrift, comes to mean a profligate; ib. IV. I § 3, 1119 b 30, § 35, 1121 b 17. In Nic. Eth. IV. 3 § 4, 1123 b 5, 4 § 4, 1125 b 13 σώφρων has yet another meaning: viz. modest. Lastly, Van der Rest observes that the next objection brought against Plato affects only a certain inexactitude of expression and not the thought, which is no other than that followed by Aristotle, of a right mean between excessive wealth and excessive poverty: see esp. Laws v 741 Ε: χρηματισμός γάρ οὐκ ἔνεστω ἐν τῆ τοιαύτη κατασκευῆ: and next note. Susem.

32 opos] A better definition would be, to live frugally and liberally. "Comp. το το ταξαιγ από πεταιγ.

το την την του μέσου στοχαστέω;

ντ(τν). 11. 4 των εθτυχημάτων ή κτήσις ή
μέση βελείστη πάντων." SUSEM. (207)

σωφρόνως καὶ έλευθερίως (χωρὶς γὰρ έκατέρφ τῷ μὲν τὸ (ΙΙ τρυφάν ακολουθήσει, τώ δὲ τὸ ἐπιπόνως), ἐπεὶ μόναι γ' 35 είσὶν [ἔξεις] άρεταὶ περὶ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας χρῆσιν αὐται, οἶον οὐσία πράως [μὲν] ή ἀνδρείως χρήσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν, σωφρόνως δὲ καὶ έλευθερίως ἔστιν, ώστε καὶ τὰς ἔξεις ἀναγκαῖον είναι § 10 περὶ αὐτὴν ταύτας. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰς κτήσεις Ισάζοντα τὸ ε περί τὸ πλήθος τών πολιτών μή κατασκευάζειν, άλλ' άφεί-40 ναι την τεκνοποιίαν άδριστον ώς ίκανως άν δμαλισθησομένην

είς τὸ αὐτὸ πλήθος διὰ τὰς ἀτεκνίας ὁσωνοῦν γεννωμένων, ^{(265 b} őτι δοκεί τούτο καὶ νύν συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις. δεί δὲ τοῦτ' οὐν ὁμοίως ἀκριβώς ἔγειν [περί τὰς πόλεις] τότε καὶ νῦν' νύν μέν γάρ οὐδεὶς ἀπορεί διὰ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας εἰς όποσονούν πλήθος, τότε δὲ ἀδιαιρέτων οὐσών ἀνάγκη τοὺς πα-5 ράζυγας μηδέν έγειν, έάν τε έλάττους ώσι το πλήθος έάν τε 33 έκατέρω Koraes, έκάτερον Γ Π Ar. Bk. | τώ] τὸ Π² Ar. Bk. | τὸ] τῶ Π²

Ar. Bk, and Ma (1st hand) # 34 τψ] τὸ Πa Ar. Bk. # τὸ] τῷ Pa Qb Ar. Ald. Bk. | ἐπιπόνως | laboriese vivere William, no doubt an addition of his own: hence ξῆν Susem. 1.2 erroneously | 35 [ees] Susem. | aperal] alperal written by an unknown hand in the margin of the Munich copy of the Aldine, first found in Vettori and wrongly defended by Bekker, Madvig, Bernays: omitted by Schneider as a gloss upon etes , yours | et II1. Apparently William translated from the following order: aurai al egeis elolo doctal mepl tip egu vip obolas, Ar. from the following: autal al aperal elsin exer the north the north the obsides | 26 mer is omitted by P II2 Bk. 1 37 έξεις Susem.2, χρήσεις ΓΠ Ar. Bk., alptoeis Madvig: Bernays conjectures περί τάς κτήσεις άναγκαϊον αύτάς είναι ταίτας, not happily | είναι after 38 αύτήν Π2 Bk. 40 ἀνομαλισθησομένην Madvig for ἀν ὁμαλισθησομένην

1265 b 2 [mepl rds mohers] Bender who also conjectures round of only offer to for bei δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ | 4 περίζυγας Γ M* and P1 (1st hand), and the scribe restored this after pl had emended it to παράζυγας

33 χωρίς] if the two be separated.
34 τὸ ἐπιπόνως (ζῆν). 35 dperal...airai] These are the only

virtues that have to do with the use of property. olov = I mean

§ 10 38 lodforta] Laws v 740 B— 74t A. Susem. (207 b) "Tis strange that while equalizing their

roperties he should not regulate the num-bers of his citizens."

39 άλλ' ἀφάναι κτλ] This too is very inexactly expressed. All that Plato able to effect, is to keep the number of citizens unalterably the same: i.e. exactly

in the Laws intends, indeed all that he is 5040 elder men, as many younger men, with twice that number of women. All beyond that number must, as he expressly prescribes, go abroad, to found colonies, One son and one daughter, then, is the normal family: only when there is childlessness or death does it become necessary that there should be other children in order to marry heirs or heiresses, and to be adopted by the childless (Schlosser). As it stands at present, the polemic does not touch Plato. If Aristotle held the means proposed by Plato to avoid an excess of the prescribed number to be impracticable or impossible to realize be should have proved his point, as he easily might have done. Susem. (208)
§ 11 1265 b 2 οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκριβῶς=

άκριβέστερον: "whereas that requires to be fixed with a great deal more nicety in the supposed case than at present." Cp. 7 § 18 ούκ ίσων n.

4 παράζυγας] the cadets; like παρή-

(III) § 12 πλείους. μάλλου δὲ δεῖν ὑπολάβοι τις ἀν ώρίσθαι τῆς οὐσίας τ΄ την τεκνοποιίαν, ώστε άριθμοῦ τινὸς μη πλείονα γεννάν τοῦτο δὲ τιθέναι τὸ πλήθος ἀποβλέποντα πρὸς τὰς τύχας, ἄν (p. 35)

συμβαίνη τελευτάν τινας των γεννηθέντων, και πρός την § 13 τῶν ἄλλων ἀτεκνίαν. τὸ δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς 11 άλλαις πόλεσι, πευίας αναγκαῖον αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, ή δὲ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν. Φείδων μέν οὖν ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὢν νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, τοὺς οίκους ίσους ωήθη δείν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πλήθος τών πολιτών, 15 καλ εί τὸ πρώτου ἀνίσους είγου τους κλήρους πάντες κατὰ μέ-§ 14 γεθος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις τοὐναντίον ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μέν τούτων πώς ἄν οἰόμεθα βέλτιον ἔχειν, λεκτέον ὕστερον έλλέλειπται δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχον-ε

11 άλλαις Γ M*, πλείσταις P¹ II² Ar. Bk. (πλ over an erasure P*) | 12 [Φείδων... 17 ύστερον] Schmidt | 14 καί] κατά Bernays | 15 τοδε κλήρους before άνίσους Π² Bk., before είχον Μ* Pl | πάντας Bk.2 | 17 αν after βέλτιον Π2 Bk.

οροι έπποι, supernumeraries outside the traces, the elder brother being the yokehorse, Wytos Immos.

§ 12 6 Τακε μάλλον with της ούσίας. 7 ώστε άριθμοῦ τινός] Statistics will have to be collected to determine on the average how many children die before reaching maturity and how many mar-riages are without issue. "Thus," says Schlosser, "the idea of political arithmetic is no novelty." Aristotle is a precursor of Malthus (Eaton). Comp. also Exc. п to В. п. Susem. (209)

Grote III. 228-231: Plato and Aristotle saw clearly the law of population, but did not recognise the common element in the positive and prudential checks sufficiently to coordinate them, as Malthus did.

8 These "accidents of life" are before Plato, Laws v 740 C-E, cp. Grote III. p. 229 n. (g). Perhaps what Aristotle deprecates is the 'laisser faire', ἀφεῖσθαι, to leave it to the citizens at their own discretion.

§ 13 το τὸ δ' άφεισθαι κτλ] Aristotle (?) repeats this 7 § 5. Susem. (209 b) 12 ή δὲ πενία κτλ] See Lates V 744 D; also the account of the transition from oligarchy to democracy Rep. VIII 555

D-557 A. Φείδων ὁ Κορίνθιος] Nothing is known of any such ancient lawgiver of Corinth. He is supposed to be different from the better known Pheidon of Argos, about whom see VIII(v). 10. 6. Yet he is called

a Corinthian by the scholiast on Pindar Olymp. ΧΙΙΙ. 20; τοῦτο δέ φησιν, ἐπειδη Φείδων τις άνηρ Κορίνθιος εύρε μέτρα καί στάθμια. This is one of the serious difficulties in this chapter mentioned Introd.
p. 33 n. 4, 14 (4). There is always the heroic remedy; see Critical Notes and
M. Schmidt in Jahrb. f. Phil. CXXV.

1882. p. 822.

16 έν δὲ τοῦς νόμοις κτλ! Α decidedly unfounded assertion, as was explained in the note on § 10. Aristotle (?) repeats this objection against Fhaleas, 7 § 5: comp. n. (204) on § 7. Susem. (210) § 14 17 υστερον] IV (VII). 10 § 11 f.

and esp. 16 § 15 f. n. (946). From the latter passage it is seen of what means he is thinking. To prevent any increase in the fixed number of the citizens Aristotle sanctions the procuring of abortion. Cp. Introd. p. 56 and n. (192) on § 5. SUSEM. (211)

18 έλλέλειπται κτλ] Latus V 734 E: the warp is necessarily stronger and firmer than the woof, δθεν δη τούς μεγάλας άρχας έν ταῖς πόλεσαν ἄρξοντας δεῖ διακρίνεσθαί τινα τρόπον ταύτη καλ τοὺς σμικράς παιδεία βασανισθέντας έκάστοτε κατά λόγον. As a matter of fact this objection of Aristotle's is altogether unfair. In the Laws Plato has done exactly that which Aristotle here requires: he has prescribed for all the citizens of his model state the same course of training, on the ground of which he expects them to discover for themselves which among them

τας πῶς ἔσονται διαφέροντες τῶν ἀρχομένων. φησὶ γὰρ (II 20 δεῦν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐτέρου τὸ στημόνιον ἐρίου γίνεται τῆς κρόκης, §16 οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔχειν δεῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους. ἐπεὶ

δὲ την πάσαν οὐσίαν ἐφίησι γίνεσθαι μείζονα μέχρι πενταπλασίας, διὰ τί τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄν είη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι τυψς; καὶ τῆν τῶν οἰκοπέδων δὲ διαίρεσιν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, μή ποτ' οὐ 25 συμφέρει πρὸς οἰκουομίαν δύο γὰρ οἰκόπεδα ἐκάστος ἔνειμε

19 fews II Bit. \parallel 20 &00] by Kornes; Conting would cent & \bar{w} here or in 21. Bergk, while defending $b\bar{w}_0$, suggested $<00 > b\bar{w} < b\lambda b + Finf. Abhand. p. 65 n. 2 (Leipz. 1883) <math>\parallel$ 21 & \bar{u} III \parallel [Fred...60 decay] Schmidt, perhaps rightly, on m. (213) (214) (215) \parallel 25 couplets MF-II-Ald. and Fr²³ (1st hand), couplept TP-OF-TV-BE, and \bar{v} few m and a later hand in F³

are better fitted for the warp and which for the woofs, and to vote accordingly at the election of magistrates. What other means has Artistotle at his command for his own ideal state? Besides it must not be forgotten that by the institution of the Noctumal Assembly (as explained in n. 193 on 8 9.7 Plato sinced at making especial provision for a staff (personnel) more highly qualified to administer the

more highly qualified to administer the government and to hold offices of state. The assertion then that this simile is all that we learn from him as to the character of those qualified for the government is a mistake due to a too hasty perusal of the dialogue in question. There might certurily have been good reason for a doubt ratify have been good reason for a doubt to the company of the company of the but here no such doubt is expressed. SUBER. (2023)

It is the professed object of the Efinomis to expound the course of study for the Nocturnal Assembly which is to aim at controlling the election of magistrates. But nothing can be inferred from Aristotle's silence respecting it: Zeller Plate

p. 616 n. (50) Eng. tr.

20 στημόνιον...κρόκης] Zeller Platonic Studies p. 107 took these terms in the Laws to refer to the appointment of magistracies and of the laws for them. But in Fl. Politicus 283 B, 309 B, the brave and energetic natures are the warp and the geniler and weaker natures the woof. 21 864) Taking up the preceding

δεῦν of line 20.
§ 15 It would certainly relieve the chapter to reject this section, as M. Schmidt proposes.

22 ptgps nerramharias] Here and 7 § 4 Aristotle (?) has mistaken Plato's meaning, asifhe had permitted the accumulation of moveable property to the amount

of four times the value of the real estatebelonging to the family. As a matter of fact in Lawev Y₇₄₄ E (cf. v1 yy₇ E fi.) he only allows the increase of the total property to this fourfold value; consequently only the acquisition of three times as much personal property. The recurrence of the mistake at least favours the assumption that both passages are by the

or the mistake at least invours the assumption that both passages are by the same author. SUEEM. (213) 23 διάπ⁴ τοῦτ οἰκ ἀν τὰ μπὶ τῆς γῆς κτλ] This objection is simply incomprehensible. There is not the least provision for an increase of landed property in Aristotle's own ideal state: see IV (VII).

But is the inconsistency proved? "Plato would assign to each man two objects Lawa 745 E, or, as Aristotle puts it, oladrela, oladas: Aristotle recommends two Abjace, not two obsjects or regular establishments" (Jackson). To this I reply that Plato too repeatedly uses the expres§ 16 διελών χωρίς, χαλεπόν δὲ οἰκίας δύο οἰκεῖν. ή δὲ σύνταξις 🤅 όλη βούλεται μέν είναι μήτε δημοκρατία μήτε όλιγαρχία, μέση δὲ τούτων, ἢν καλοῦσι πολιτείαν: ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων έστίν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ώς κοινοτάτην ταύτην κατασκευά-30 ζει ταις πόλεσι των άλλων πολιτειών, καλώς εξρηκεν ζσως εί δ' ώς άριστην μετά την πρώτην πολιτείαν, οὐ καλώς. τάχα γάρ την τών Λακώνων τις αν ἐπαινέσειε μάλλον, ή καν § 17 ἄλλην τινὰ ἀριστοκρατικωτέραν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ώς δεῖ 10

27 βούλεται after μέν M*P1 | 29 [εἰ μέν...1266 a 6 δημοκρατικά] Schmidt, probably rightly, cp. n. (223) | 30 πολιτείαν H3 Bk. and P2-3 (1st hand) γρ. πολιτειών P^o (corr.1 in the margin), in P^o πολιτειών was written over it by a later hand, but again erased | 32 715 after & H2 Bk.

sion κλήροι. Even supposing that, in contradistinction to him, Aristotle really intended to provide only one of the two estates with a dwelling-house, how can he have believed that to farm two estates in separate localities would thus be made easier than if they had dwellings upon them? Is it not clear that the opposite will hold good? Nay more, what idea are we to form of two such detached properties, one near the town and one in the country, unless there are farm-buildings and a house upon the latter? If this be so, the above supposition is à priori im-possible. Even Plato does not arrange that the country house shall be a regular establishment in the sense of being always inhabited, but the son who inherits succeeds to it as soon as he is grown up and married, and so sets up the second establishment there (Laws VI 775 E f.). In Aristotle's best state such an appropriation of the second dwelling-house is certainly excluded, because there, when the heir marries, he succeeds his superannuated father as citizen and consequently as proprietor of both the family properties (see note and Excursus on IV[VII]. 16 § 10, 1335 a 32-35): but that is the sole point in which Aristotle diverges from Plato in this matter. To what purpose he would destine this second house can only be conjectured: it may be to lodge the superannuated father, perhaps with the lands belonging to it as a sort of retiring pension. In any case the inconsistency, as Aristotle's text has come down to us, is unquestionable. Susem. 26 διελών χωρίς=distinct, separate homestcads.

§ 16 ofvratis] The entire arrangement of the constitution tends neither to oligarchy nor to democracy but to something intermediate known as Polity. Plato's citizens are the heavy-armed men: Laws VI 753 Β, πάντες μέν κοινωνούντων τής των άρχέντων αίρέσεως, δπόσοιπερ άν όπλα Ιππικά ή πεζικά τιθώνται καὶ πολέμου κεκοιpωνήκωσω. This is the criterion of a

'Polity'. 28 πολιτείαν] Compare III. 7 § 4 with the notes and references there given. SUSEM. (216)

29 ώς κοινοτάτην κτλ] "as the most universally adapted for cities at large" VI (IV). c. II with n. (1282) on § I. SUSEM. (217)

31 πρώτην=highest, normal. So δ πρώτος συλλογισμός. Comp. 1. 2. 5.

32 Plato's arrangement Rep. B. VIII implies this. 33 фриттократикитера»] i.e. a constitution which, like the Spartan, has the character of an Aristocracy to a greater extent than Polity. The term may be thus explained: true Aristocracy coin-cides with Aristotle's best constitution; but in a transferred and secondary sense this name is earned by such constitutions as combine aristocratical with oligarchical and democratical elements, like Carthage, or only with democratical elements, like Sparta; this is stated v1(rv). 7 \$\ 2-4, cp. vi(iv). 9 \$ 6 ff., 2 \$ 1 n. (1133), \$ 4 n. (1141), 10 \$ 1, 11 \$ 2. Further consult Excursus 1. on Bk. III and the notes to III. 5 § 10 (521), 13 § 9 (595), § 11 (597), § 13 (601), § 24 (614); 14 § 15 (633), 17 § 3 (677), § 5 (678): VI(IV). 2 § 2 (1136—7). Of course such mixed constitutional forms are nearer to the true Aristocracy than is Polity, which is a blending of Oligarchy and Democracy: VI(IV). cc. 8, q. Sec on this the notes to

την άρίστην πολιτείαν έξ άπασων είναι των πολιτειών μεμι- (ΗΙ) 25 γμένην, διὸ καὶ την τών Λακεδαιμονίων έπαινούσιν (είναι γάρ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐξ ολιγαρχίας καὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας φασίν, λέγοντες την μέν βασιλείαν μοναρχίαν, την δὲ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν ολιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατεῖσθαι δὲ κατά την των εφόρων άργην διά το έκ του δήμου είναι τους 40 έφόρους οδ δε την μεν εφορείαν είναι τυραννίδα, δημοκρα-(3 τεισθαι δὲ κατά τε τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον τὸν 1266 8 καθ' ήμέραν). ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις εἴρηται τούτοις ὡς δέον συγ 11

| 30 τών omitted by M*PI, [τών] Susem.1.2 | 40 έφορίαν Π3 and P8 (1st hand,

emended by a later hand) III. 7 § 4 (536, 538); VI(IV). 2 § 4 (1141), 7 § 4 (1237). SUSEM. (218) § 17 33 δίνοι μὸν σᾶν κτλ] Cp. IV(VII). 14 § 16 π. (911), VI(IV). 1 § 6 π. (1123). Thus we learn that two schools of political theorists, to one of which Ephoros perhaps belonged, dissented from the writer's opinion and agreed in regarding monarchy, oligarchy, and de-mocracy as elements of the Spartan constitution; while the second school (40 of ôè) added tyranny as a fourth element. It is strange that in this passage Aristrange that in the passage Art-stotle (?) takes up no definite position in relation to the two views and does not oppose to them his own. Presumably he judged it sufficient, in order not to enter on a longer digression, to have denominated this constitution a mixed aristocracy. From the explanations which he has devoted specially to it we learn that he looked upon the council of Elders as the aristocratical, the Ephors as the democratic element in it, 9 §§ 19-28, but at the same time also as in a certain sense related to reparvis: see on 9 § 20. He finds another democratic ele-ment, though such in intention only, in the common messes, 9 § 32. He regards the Spartan kingship as far too limited to give the constitution any particular colouring: III. 14 §§ 3, 4; 15 §§ 1, 2; 16 § 1. It is still more strange then that Aristotle(?) only mentions here the views of those other theorists on this subject, passing over in total silence that expressed by Plato himself in the Laws IV 712 C ff. (cp. III 692 A f., 693 E), a view which stands much nearer to his own, representing the Spartan constitution as

1 See on this Introd. p. 35 n. 3 and Susemihi's critical edition p. LXII.

mainly a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, but with the addition of the royal office and an element akin in one view to ruparvis, in another to democracy, viz. the Ephors. Plato himself tells us, Laws XII 962 E, that he was not the first to pronounce a mixed constitution the most excellent in practice: οἱ δὲ σοφώτατοι, ώς οξωται, πρός ταθτά τε (liberty and dominion over others) και τὰ τοιαίτα ξύμπαντα [βλέποντες νομοθετούνται], els έν δὲ οὐδὲν διαφερόντως τετιμημένον έχοντες φράζειν, els δ τάλλα αύτοις δεί βλέπειν; presumably his predecessors were to some extent the same who are here noticed. Compare further Excur-sus I to Bk. III. SUSEM, (219)

Isocrates Lacedaemonios μάλιστα δημοκρατουμένους τυγγάνειν dicit Αγευρας, § 61 (Spengel).

§ 18 1266 a 1 èv bè τοις νόμοις κτλ] Laws III 693 D f. elai πολιτειών οίον μητέρες δύο τινές...καὶ τὴν μὲν προσαγορεύειν μοναρχίαν δρβόν, τὴν δ' αὖ δημοκρατίαν: Persia is the extreme case of the one, Athens of the other: δεί δη οδν και άναγκαΐου μεταλαβεῖυ ἀμφοῦυ τούτουυ: 701 Ε; VI 756 Ε μάσου δυ έχοι μουαρχικής καί δημοκρατικής πολιτείας ής del δεῖ μεσεύειυ την πολιτείαν: cp. IV 712 D f. However what Plato really says in these passages is somewhat different, viz. that a good con-stitution must hold the mean between democracy and monarchy. Moreover he expressly guards against being supposed to derive anything in his mixed form of the state from ruparvis, IV 712 C: riva δή ποτε πολιτείαν έχομαν έν νῷ τῆ πόλει προστάττει»;...οξον δημοκρατίαν τινά ή όλεγαρχίαν ή άριστοκρατίαν ή βασιλικήν. ού γάρ δη τυρανίδα γέ που λέγοις άν: and in the Republic he has already himself

κεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννί-(III) δος, ὰς ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἄν τις θείη πολιτείας ἢ χειρίστας 4 πασῶν. βέλτιον οὖν λέγουσιν οἱ πλείους μυγνύντες ἡ ἡ γὰρ ἐκ

1266 a 3 $\chi explorous P^2$ and P^3 (18t hand, emended by a later hand) $\parallel \pi \hat{a} \sigma w P \parallel$ 4 $[\hat{n}_{ij}, 5 \, \beta e \lambda r t_{ij}]$ Riese, see Comm.

prononneed democracy and ruparels to be the two worst governments, the latter as the extreme of despotic rule, the former as the extreme of liberty. Aristotle however everywhere else calls Oligarchy and ruparels the two worst forms of government, see on VI(IV). 11 § 21 n. (1305): so that here he contradicts himself. According to the statement in the Laws it is no doubt true that every unlimited, i.e. pure and unmixed, monarchy coincides with τυραννίς: 111 691 D-701 E, IV 710 E, 712 C ff. : kingship or limited monarchy and limited democracy are intermediate or mixed forms. Hence it would certainly be no incorrect expression of Plato's thought in the Laws, that the right constitution should hold a mean between democracy and ruparvis. But from this it does not in the least follow that it must be compounded of the two: for it would also be a mean between them if it were compounded of forms which approximate partly to the one partly to the other, in order thus to blend freedom with order or authority. 'In the passages in question Plato is speaking of monarchy and democracy as principles of all government, not of certain constitutions, since he finds the principle of authority more clearly stamped on the one, that of liberty on the other' (Henkel). Consequently, to make the state in the Laws a combination of oligarchical with democratical elements is not inconsistent with his require-ment. Besides, it is also incorrect to call these the only constituents of the mixed form and so to make the constitution simply a Polity (πολιτεία): for it de-serves to be called a mixed aristocracy with far greater right than the Spartan constitution: see on § 5 (193), § 14 (212), § 21 (229); Susemihl *Plat. Phil.* II. 624 —631, Translation of the *Laws* p. 980; also Zeller Plato p. 535 f. Eng. tr. Nor is this state of the Laws without a certain monarchical head; for in so far as it too is preeminently an educating institution, such a post is filled by the highest official who presides over education. However Henkel (Studien 65) is quite right in inferring from all the foregoing

that the monarchical element of the state is rather to be looked for in the magistrates collectively, in virtue of the extended powers assigned to them. But this by no means excludes the substantial correctness of Oncken's remark (op. c. 1. 209): "taken literally monarchy and democracy are incapable of reconciliation: for where one rules, all cannot rule, and conversely. But if a reconciliation or blending of the two is thought of as possible at all, it can only be understood in this way, that the numbers are set aside as unessential and the mode of government emphasized as the essential feature. In that case, however, the nomenclature is quite suitable to the case before us." The highest magistracy, apart from the council, in Plato's state of the Laws, the 36, or (including the officer who presides over education) the 37 voucφύλακες, have an approximately monarchical authority in consequence of the large powers entrusted to them*; in the sense in which Aristotle himself(?) admits that the double kingship of the Spartans is called monarchy, § 17, and the board of ephors a rupanis, though there were five of them: and further, designates the people in the most extreme democracy as a many-headed monarch. Taken literally, the union of oligarchy and democracy, as Aristotle finds it in the molinela, is just as impossible as that of monarchy and democracy. Susem. (220)
4 βέλτιον οὖν κτλ] That is, in the

4 βΔντων οἶν κΝ) That is, in the particular case there given (e.p., n. 22) they are more in the right; they either leave out tynany, the worst form of government, altogether and combine other leave out tynany, the worst form of government, altogether and combine to the analytic control of the compact of the comments, oliganchy and monarchy, to distinctly better. The two schools of political theorists and eulogists of the Lacethenomian constitution noticed of the Lacethenomian constitution noticed were true (1266 a. (a.)) that the best polity according to Plato is one competitive according to Plato is one competitive.

 Only Oncken's assertion, that Plato intended the council to be irresponsible, is a decided mistake, and all the inferences which he has attached to the assertion fall to the ground.

5 πλειόνων συγκειμένη πολιτεία βελτίων]. ἔπειτα οὐδ' ἔγουσα (Ι φαίνεται μουαρχικόν οὐδέν, άλλ' όλιγαρχικά καὶ δημοκρατικά μάλλου δ' εγκλίνειν βούλεται πρός την όλιγαρχίαν. § 19 δήλου δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀργόντων καταστάσεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ

έξ αίρετών κληρωτούς κοινόν άμφοῦν, τὸ δὲ τοῦς μὲν εὐπορωτο τέροις ἐπάναγκες ἐκκλησιάζειν είναι καὶ φέρειν ἄρχοντας ή τι ποιείν άλλο των πολιτικών, τούς δ' άφεισθαι, τούτο δ' όλιγαργικόν, καὶ τὸ πειράσθαι πλείους ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων είναι

pounded of democracy and tyranny, then the general statement in a 4 might justly be made: for any three, or more, forms would make a better mixture than these two. Susem. (221)

ή γάρ ἐκ πλειόνων κτλ] 'This state-ment made thus universally is not in keeping with the philosopher's thought. He does not blame Plato for not combining elements enough, but because he would construct a polity out of the two corrupt elements' (Riese). On Aristotle's own principles a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, or even of oligarchy and democracy, must be better than one of oligarchy, democracy, and repuvis. As was shown in the last note, the preceding sentence, rightly understood, is a simple deduction from what has been laid down above, and needs no additional reason, least of all one which erroneously extends it beyond the limits of this right interpretation and lays it down as universally true. The chapter contains difficulties enough, but this is beyond the limits of all that we dare attribute to Aristotle bimself: surely this illogical generalization is interpolated. We shall however be obliged to go some way fur-ther than this, I think. For even one who, like myself, either rejects or mistrusts Schmidt's other atheteses in this chapter will nevertheless be unable to deny that the entire passages §§ 16—18, 1265 b 29 el μέν...1266 a 6 δημοκρατικά, and § 22, 1266 a 22 ws...25 σκήψες, do and § 22, 1266 a 22 &s...15 oxfyls, do most violently interrupt the connexion and leave the impression that they are non-Aristochelian. This suspicion is strengthened by the strange statements noticed in m. [120, 220). SUSEM. [222] 5 Kyowra S.- fi br reis request related propagated voiler. See m. (220). 7 kyolivas—to betray a tendency towards as in vitt(v). 7.

towards, as in VIII(v). 7. 7. § 19 8 το μεν γαρ εξ αίρετῶν κλη-ρωτούς] "For selection by lot from a body elected previously by vote belongs to both" i.e. the lot to democracy, the voting to oligarchy [or aristocracy]. This took place in the election of the council, of the magistrates charged with the police of the city (dyopav)you and darvelue), and of the superintendents of the games (dyusals disberal): Laues VI 756 B—B, 763 B—D, 765 B—D. SUSEM. (223)

See R. Dareste Le système electoral des

Lois de Platon in Annuaire de l'association pour l'enc. des études grecques. XVII. 1883.

pp. 65—74. ο το δε τοῦς μέν κτλ] Laws VI 9 τὸ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κτλ] Laws Vì 764 A: ἔτω δ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸι ξολλογον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐπάναγκες δ' ἔστω τῷ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρώτων τιμημάτων, δέκα δραχμαΐς ζημιουμένω, έὰν μη παρίω έξετάζηται τοῦς ξυλλόγοις, τρίτω δὲ τιμήματι και τετάρτω μη ἐπάναγκες, άλλὰ ἀξήμιος ἀφείσθω. SUSEM. (224)

10 depew is suffragium ferre, to vote: with acc., to vote for certain candidates for office.

καl φέρειν ἄρχοντας] As a matter of fact this regulation only applies to the election of the superintendents of the games (dyumlas dilholiéras) Laws VI 765 C. and of the council vi 756 B-E: but Aristotle does not come to speak of this

latter election until § 20. SUSEM. (225)

II τοὺς δ' ἀφασθαι] Not however at the election of άγορανόμοι and άστυνόμοι, Laws 764 A: χειροτωνείτω δὲ πῶς πώντα δ δὲ μὴ βέλων, ἐὰν εἰσαγγελθή πρὸς τοὺς

έρχωντας, ξημιούσθω. SUSEM. (226) τούνο δ'] This δὲ is resumptive of δὲ in line 9. Cp. τούνο δὲ μιμεῖται, 2 § δ. 12 καὶ τὸ πειράσθαι πλείους κτλ] Of these two statements the latter, viz. that the highest officers of state are to be elected from the highest classes of the census, is quite incorrect. Even for the Guardians of the Laws (νομοφύλακει) no such regulation is found: Laws VI 753 B, 766 A f.: nor for the supreme board of control (εύθυνοι) XII 945 E ff.: nor again for the military officers (στρατηγοί, εππαρyou, dohapyor, raffapyor) 755 B ff. And as

13 τους άρχουτας, καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημά- (ΙΙΙ) § 20 των. όλιγαρχικήν δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς αἴρεσιν. αἰροῦν- 12

regards the former statement, instead of arrangements to secure the election of a majority of the officials from the richest citizens, the truth is that only in the case of a minority, namely the dστυνόμοι, is it provided that they shall be of the highest class on the register, while the superintendents of the games (dθλοθέται) must be elected from the third or the second class. Susem. (227)

13 τας μεγίστας sc. άρχάς. τίμημα is a property qualification, census. See Laws

744 B-E. § 20 14 την της βουλης αίρεσιν] Thus described in Laws 756 B-E: The council shall consist of 360 members. If we divide the whole number into four parts of ninety each, we get ninety coun-cillors for each class. First all citizens shall vote for members of the council taken from the first class; they shall be compelled to vote, and, if they do not, shall be duly fined (πρώτον μέν έκ τών μεγίστων τιμημάτων άπαντας φέρεν ξε ἀνόχκης, ἢ ζημαοῦσθαι τὸν μὴ πευθόμενον τῆ δοξάση ζημία). When the candidates have been elected some one shall mark them down; this shall be the business of the first day. And on the following day the election shall be made from the second class in the same manner as on the previous day (τη δ' υστεραία φέρειν έκ των δευ-τέρων τιμημάτων κατά ταύτα καβάπερ τη πρόσθεν); and on the third day an election shall be made from the third class, at which every one may if he likes vote and the three first classes shall be compelled to vote (τρίτη δ' έκ τῶν τρίτων τιμημάτων φέρειν μέν τον βουλόμενον, ἐπάναγκες δὲ είναι τοῦς τῶν τριῶν τιμημάτων); but the fourth and lowest class shall be under no compulsion, and any member of this class who does not vote shall not be punished. On the fourth day members of the council shall be elected from the fourth and lowest class (τετάρτη δὲ φέρειν μέν έκ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ σμικροτάτου τιμήματος ἄπαντας); they shall be elected by all, but he who is of the fourth class shall suffer no penalty, nor he who is of the third, if he be not willing to vote; but he who is of the first or second class, if he does not vote shall be punished; he who is of the second class shall pay a fine triple the fine which was exacted at first, and he who is of the first class quadruple.' The number of

candidates thus nominated is reduced

first, by election, to 180 of each class and next, by sortition, to go from each class. The passage continues: 'On the fifth day the rulers shall bring out the names noted down, in the presence of all the citizens, and every man shall choose out of them under pain, if he do not, of suffering the first penalty; and when they have chosen 180 out of each of the classes, they shall choose one half of them by lot, who shall undergo a scrutiny: these are to form the council for the year' (Dr

Jowett's translation). Plato's object is to give the numerically smaller and wealthier first and second classes not only their half of the senators, but also a preponderant influence in the return of the other half, which they will secure provided there are abstentions enough among the poorer citizens. It is obvious that Aristotle is referring to the proceedings of the first four days, What is the number returned from each class? (a) Grote thinks 360, Plato III. 363 n. 9.
(β) Stallbaum, J. G. Schneider follow older editors in assuming it to be ninety, but omit to explain what takes place on the fifth day. (γ) Mr Cope supposed that on each successive day each class voted for go candidates belonging to a given class, so that the abstentions of classes III and IV might, in the extreme case, reduce the roll of candidates published on the fifth day from 1440 to 1170 (360+360+ 270+180). Perhaps none of these suggestions is correct; the proceedings of the first four days are in reality a nomination of candidates, not an election: there is no limitation to the number of candidates nominated, each citizen presumably recording a vote, i.e. sending in one name. The votes recorded are taken όσων and published on the fifth day (έπει-δὰν δ' ἐνοχθώσι, τούτους μὲν κατασημόγια-θαι...πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα τὰ κατασημοθέντα ἐκόματα Εξωνεγκών μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοιτας Ιδάν πάσι τοῦς πολίταις). The voting on the fifth day is confined to these duly nominated candidates, and as 180 must be then selected from each class (&x\&fayras) Plato appears to assume that more than that number will be nominated on each

of the first four days. αίρούνται μέν κτλ] For all are bound to elect from the first class, and then again equally [i.e. in like manner] from the second: and next from the third, save that it is not compulsory on all (to vote),

15 ται μέν γάρ πάντες έξ ανάγκης [άλλ] έκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, είτα πάλιν ίσως έκ τοῦ δευτέρου, είτ' έκ τῶν τρίτων, πλην οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες, <άλλ'> η τοῖς [ἐκ] τῶν τριῶν [ἡ] τιμημάτων, έκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου [τῶν τετάρτων] μόνοις ἐπάνανκες τοῖς § 21 πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις: εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀφ' ἐκάστου τιμή-20 ματος αποδείξαι φησι δείν αριθμόν. Εσονται δή πλείους οί έκ τών μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους διά τὸ ένίους μή § 22 αίρεῖσθαι τών δημοτικών διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάνανκες. ώς μὲν οὖν: ούκ έκ δημοκρατίας καὶ μουαρχίας δεῖ συνεστάναι τὴν τοιαύ-

την πολιτείαν, έκ τούτων φανερόν και τών υστερον δηθησομέ-25 νων, όταν ἐπιβάλλη περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας ἡ σκέψις:

15 έξ ἀνάγκης, from Plat. Laws VI. 765 B ff. Schmidt (and probably Ar.), ἐπάναγκες Γ II Bk., [ἐπάναγκες] Schlosser Susem.1 | [ἀλλ'] Madvig, ἀλλ' transposed to 17 before π Susem.1: άλλά <πρώτον> Lambin, πρώτον Bender, as Muret before him changed άλλ' into 4' (=90) # 16 tows Nickes (Plato has κατά ταὐτά), toous Γ II Ar. Bk. Susem.1 | τοῦ τοίτου Oncken | 17 [πλην] Madvig | οἰκ [πασω] Bender | <άλλ'> † Susem-, † ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Bender, πλην Göttling in his edition and Madvig. # Göttling in Fenaer Lectionskat. 1855, efra < 6'> ex run rolτων οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες <πλην ἀλλ'> ή τοῖς [ἐκ] τῶν τριῶν [ή] τιμημάτων, ἔκ τε κτλ έκ τών τοίτων. πλην <άλλ'> οὐ πάλω ἐπάνανκες ήν τών τετάστων τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τοίτων <φέρειν μὴ βουλομένοις> · ἐκ δὲ κτλ Schmidt | εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες πλήν τοις έκ των τριών εξτ' έκ των τετάρτων μόνοις Welldon | [έκ] Susem. (Plato omits it) | τριών τιμημάτων Göttling Jenaer Lectionskat. ut sup., from Plato; τρίτων ή τετάρτων Γ Π Ar. Bk., τριών [ή τετάρτων] Göttling in his edition. Madvig; Engelhardt Spengel Bender and Jowett omit τρίτων ή | 18 [τῶν τετάρτων] Engelhardt Bender Susem.; but [τοῦ τετάρτου] with Sylburg is perhaps as good: τῶν τεττάρων Camot Sepulveda's mss. Vettori2 (and a marginal note from his own hand in the copy of his 1st edition in the Münich Library), τῶν τιμημάτων Göttling in the Fenaer Lectionskat. I. c. | endrawees < To > Schmidt | 20 80 III (emended by pl) | [22 ώs...25 σκέψες] Schmidt, probably rightly, cp. n. (223) | | < cleσθαι > δεί Schmidt | συνεστάναι Π1 P8 (1st hand) P2 (corr.1), συνιστάναι Π3 Bk. and P2 (1st hand-altered by corr.1) and P3 (corr.1), perhaps rightly | 24 <καl> έκ τούτων Schmidt

but only on those of the three (higher) classes, and (in electing candidates) from the fourth (class) it is compulsory only on the first and second. § 21 19 εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων κτλ] More ac-

curately stated, there is first an election of 180 candidates belonging to each class out of the larger number first returned, and in a similar manner: secondly, a selection of one half of these, go from each class, by lot, to make up the whole number of 360.

Vide supra. Susem. (228)

20 δσονται δή κτλ] Thus those who

belong to the highest classes and who are superior men will be a majority (of the voters); because through the absence of compulsion some citizens of the popular party will abstain from the election

21 βελτίους] I.e. men who take a higher interest in political life. So far, then, even this oligarchical regulation contains an aristocratic element. Susem.

§ 22 24 τῶν ὕστερον...σκέψις] VI(IV). c. 7 and esp. cc. 8, 9, 11. Susem. (280 25 ἐπιβάλλη=devolves (upon us): sec

έχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αίρεσιν τών ἀρχύντων τὸ ἐξ αίρετῶν (III) αίρετοὺς ἐπικιθύννου. εἰ γάρ τινες συστῆναι θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πλήθος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αίρεθήσωται βούλησω. 7 τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ- Ⅳ

τροι το πλήθος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν πούτεν αἰρεθήσουται βοθλησι».

7 τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῦς νόμοις τοῦ IV
30 του ἔχει τὸν τρόπου ἐιοὶ δὲ τινες πολιτείαι καὶ ἄλλαι,
αἶ μὲν ψιλοσόφων καὶ ἔἰνωτῶν αἶ δὲ πολιτικῶν, πὸσια (κ. x)
δὲ τῶν καθεστηκικῶν καὶ καῖ δὲ πολιτικῶν, πὸσια (κ. x)
ἐν τὴν καθεστηκικῶν καὶ καῖ δὲ πολιτικῶν, πὸσια (κ. x)
ἐν τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκινα κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἄλλος
ὅς κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὖτε περὶ τὰ συσείτια τὰν γυναικῶν,
8² ἀλλὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄρχουται μάλλου. δοκεί γάρ
τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐὐκι [ἀνογκαίον] μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλὸς πορὶ γὰρ στόντων πωείσθαὶ φαι τὰ στάσεις πάν-

on I. 13. 13 and reff. there given. A further use of the participle is seen in the Gortynian inscription lately found, of επιβάλλωντε—ωδ επιβάλλων, the next of kin on whom certain obligations devolve. Cp. λεπτέων κατά τον έπιβάλλωντα λόγων De gen. απίπι. 1. 2. 1, 16 a 3: and Pol. VI[IV]. 13 § 7 τὸ τουν επιβάλλων.

26 74 & alpraw alproval 'it is unsafe to elect from a larger number previously elected.' This would be done in the election to the Council, and in the election of νομοφόλιατε. First 300 were chosen, then out of these a hundred, and out of the hundred thirty-seven. It was partially so in the election of the Supreme Board of Control. Susem. (231)

27 συντήκαι] This apparently portends something like the wire-pullers and caucus of our day. Comp. VIII(V), 2-, 0-7 Examination of the polity proserved of the property of the second of the \$1 31 For the antithesis comp. 1-, 5 πalvariowra † φλολαφοθείνει, II 1-2- 1 ούε describyrous τράξενα πολιτικέα ούδ διατικουόκη. Δολλ δεταθεικών Ελαντεύοντε βαντικούκη. Δολλ δεταθεικών Ελαντεύοντε βαντικούκη. Δολλ δεταθεικών Ελαντεύοντε φωτικό γένα φοβοδρικώ μὴ δετογραφικών φλοκοφόρια πέροξε ἢ μαι παθειτικού ξεκα φλοκοφόρια πέροξε ἢ μαι παθειτικού ξεκα φλοκοφόρια πέροξε ἢ μαι παθειτικού γενο βαντικού του διατογραφικών στο διατο 33 refrum dup.] that of the Republic and that of the Law.
35 evertira two yunaukw] Comp.
5 s with n. (195) also n. (153) on 5 s and (170) on 1. 13. 9. Susem. (231 b) 36 raw drawyadow] the necessary considerations of every-day life as opposed

Lawrence Frimmet Property Free Execution, also pp. 149, 156 ft. 323, 30 & deckless...mpress] From c. 8 ft (comp. Exec. It to B. It) it is clear that Phaless was younger than Hippochanos: the figure of the first property of the first position of the first property of the first property of his. This conjecture finds support in the apparent meagreness of his proposal, its lack of all firsthed execution as com-

§3 φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσας εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο χ 1266 δ δέ κατοικιζομέναις μέν εύθύς οὐ γαλεπόν ώστο ποιείν, τὰς δ' ήδη κατοικουμένας έργωδέστερον μέν, όμως δὲ τάχιστ' αν δμαλισθήναι τώ τὰς προϊκας τοὺς μέν πλουσίους διδόναι μέν λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μὴ διδόναι μὲν λαμβά-§ 4 νειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέγρι μέν τινος 6 ώετο δείν έαν, πλείον δὲ τοῦ πενταπλασίαν είναι τής έλαχίστης μηδενί των πολιτών έξουσίαν είναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον.

δεί δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς οὕτω νομοθετοῦντας, ὁ λαν- ε 10 θάνει νῦν, ὅτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πλήθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλήθος τάττειν έὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρη τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ νω-

1266 b 2 δ' ήδη Γ, δή P¹ Π², δὲ M⁴ Ar. ∥ 3 τὰs omitted by M⁴ P¹, [τὰs] Susem. 1 perhaps rightly | 5 [Πλάτων...8 πρότερον] ? Susem. The brackets are necessary if Schmidt is justified in rejecting 1265 b 21-26 (see Comm.) | 6 êas omitted by II1, [έαν] Susem.1, but see Dittenberger op. c. p. 1359 f. | 9 μη Bender | 12 τον τε

νόμον Bas,8, του γενόμενου Μ«U»

pared with the Platonic schemes (comp. nn. 255, 256 on 8 §§ 3, 4). According to Aristotle's account, Phaleas thought there was no more to be done when once he had demanded an equal division of the land into inalienable and indivisible lots, and the preservation of this equality by a uniform education which is not more minutely described, and when he had recommended the degradation of artizans to the position of public slaves. He had nothing to say about the size or number of these lots, about moveable property, or in fact hardly anything else. The spirit and tendency of these proposals strongly suggest the idea expressed by Böckh Staatshaushaltung der Ath. 1. p. 65 and Roscher Thukydides p. 247 that they concealed a random state that he wanted to restore, in his Dorian native town especially, the old aristocracy of well-born landholders. Henkel Studien p. 165 further remarks in support of this view that popular rule found its way first into Byzantium, B.C. 390, and thence to Chalcedon, under the influence of the reviving strength of the Athenian Demos: Xen. Hellen. IV. 8, 27, Theopompos Frag. 65 in Athenaeus XII 526 D. At the same time, he adds, it must be remembered that the absence from Phaleas' scheme of the warlike spirit of a chivalrous aristocracy, and his silence as regards everything military, are great hindrances to this hypothesis. Susem.

§ 3 1266 b 1 eithis should be taken with the participle.

2 τάχιστα] The expedient of modern writers for bringing about this much desired equality is limitation of the right of bequest.

§ 4 6 kav=laisser faire. 8 kal mportpov] 6 § 15 n. (213). Hence if that § be bracketed the same suspicion attaches to this one. Susem.

§ 5 9 δε δὲ μηδὲ κτλ] This remark was made before, 6 § 10—13, cp. π. (210). It is strange that Aristotle does not refer

back to that passage. SUSEM. (234) II vrepalon = exceed, rise above. 'If the number of children becomes too great

for the size of the property.'
12 ἀνάγκη...λύεσθαι] Schlosser thinks
this remark unfounded, because Phaleas is only speaking of landed property, as Aristotle says himself, § 21. And he re-minds us of the custom in some parts of Germany where only one child (the eldest, or the youngest, or any one whom the father chooses) succeeds to the real estate and provides portions for the rest at a fair valuation. But he should have reflected that Phaleas Plato Aristotle all alike exclude the sons of citizens from engaging in any trade. SUSEM, (235) ρίς τῆς λύσεως φαϊλιου τὸ πολλούς ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πέντητας (IV)
8 εξηνοι γάρ μη νεωτεροποιούς είναι τοὺς τοιούτους. Εὐτι μὲν κ
5 οῦν ἔχει τιὰὸ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν πολιτικήν κοινωνίαι τῆ τῆς οὐσίας ὁμαλότης, καὶ τοὺν πάλαι τινὲς φαίνωνται διεγγοικότες, οἰον
καὶ Σόλων ἐνομοθέτησεις, καὶ παρ ἀλλοις ἔστι νέμος ὁς καλύει
κτάσθαι γήν ὅστην ἀν βολυγταί τις, ὁμοίος ὁὲ καὶ τὴν
οὐσίαν πωλεῖν οἱ νόμοι κωλύουσιν, ὅσπερ ἐν Λοκροῖς νόμος
20 ἐστὶ μὴ πωλεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φαιερὰν ἀτυχίαν δείξη στυμβεβη8τ κιτῶν, ἔτι ἐτ τοὸς παλαιούς κλήρους διασήζειν (τοῦτο δὲ λυθὸν καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα δημοτικὴν ἐποίησε λίαν τὴν πολιτείαν
αὐτόν οὐ γάρ ἔτι στυψβαινεν ἀπό των οἰρομένου τιμημά- (κ. 8)
των εἰς τὰς ἀργὰς Βαβίζευγὶ ἀλλ. ἔστι τὴν ἰσότητα μὲν ε

18 desory Ald. Ek., debogy of dogs Ar., debogy $P^{0.44}Q^b$ T^b U^b \parallel 19 of phish such Eucheler, probably right \parallel 24 for \parallel es $\tau \delta$ $P^{0.4}$ U^b Ar. Ald. and P^a (1st hand, $\gamma \rho$, for corr. in the margin), et Q^b T^b

xωρls=quite apart from the violation of the law, it is a defect that many citizens should decline from wealth to poverty. Comp. 5 \$ 2. γωρls ἀπό.

poverty. Comp. § 8, χωριέ από.

13 φαίλου κτλ] Comp. 6 § 13 π. and

17(VII). 16 § 15 fi. π. (αμό.). SUSEM. (288)

14 βεγον to be taken as b 2 ἐργω
δόντρον 'it is hard for such people not to

encourage sedition.' In III. 15. 8 also

έργον δετλα it is improbable, in the same

way as μόλις 'with difficulty' comes to

mean 'hardly very.'

88 6.7 The influence which equality of passessions must exercise upon civil society was recognized (1) by Solor's legislation, (2) by incur which for insulition the factors, (3) by incur which for a limit to the law of Levil, as the law of Levil, as the law of Levil, as at Lexan, where the disme of the law altered the constitution to an advanced democracy, when the law appeals of the law of Levil, as the constitution to an advanced democracy, the law appeals of the law appeals of the law of the law altered the law appeals of the law appeal

Čompare c. 12 § 10 (Philolanos at Thebes), 111(1), 4. 9 (the Aphytaeans and Oxylos in Elis), 111(1), 7. 9 (Thuris), 15ce further Laweleye et. 6. pp. 161—156 Eng. trans., A. Lang Baup XIII, esp. ps.; "all attempts to restrict the sale of land and to keep it parcelled out in small custom." An early ceptal distribution (Maine's Village Communities p. 81), perhaps a periodic redistribution, was a tradition to the early lawgivers of Greece. Long after them Phalesa, and Plato in

the Laws, 744 E, desire a return to the

old ussge.

847 µbv. Δµµλότης] At this point
then Aristotle's own socialism begins
to come out more clearly than before.
See notes on § 87 (158), § 15 (166);
6 § 10—14 (108—211), and 7 § 5 (234).
Further comp. n. (192) and Introd.
p. 33. SUSSM. (280 b)
17 Like the law of Oxylos prohibiting

mortgage, Vul(Vi). 4.). Solim's sensityfeas, or relief measure, restored mortaged stands to their proprietors: γ²/₂ puplanes τ'βς γ²/₂ per 1 [δρατ 1 δράθων τουτοχοί τεντήθεια γ²/₂ γ με 1 δρατ 1 δράθων τουτοχοί τεντήθεια γ²/₂ γ με 1 δρατ 1 δρατ 1 δρατ 1 δρατ 1 meat must also have tended somewhat to equality. But in addition to this Schömans, Antipulity D- 330 Eng. tr., represent Schon seamenting a special law, that there Schon seamenting a special law, that there shine of landed property: Grate (ttt. bl) thinks to such inference borne of thinks to such inference borne of the

the present passage.

παρ άλλοις] It is not known where.

19 ἐν Λοκροῖς] Presumably the Epizephrian Locri, where Zaleucus was legis-

lator, ε. 12 § 6. § 7 22 και πορι Λευκάδα | Cp. VII(VI). 4. 9 ής δε τό γε άρχαῖων έν πολλαῖς πόλεοι νουμοθετημένον μηθέ πολεῖς ἐξάνοι τοὺν πρώτους κλήφους with ποιε, and on the custom at Sparta, c. 9 § 14 n. (300). SUSEM. (2871)

24 άλλ' for μλν κτλ] But then there may be equality of possessions and

25 ύπάρχειν της οὐσίας, ταύτην δὲ ἡ λίαν εἶναι πολλήν, ώστε (τρυφάν, ή λίαν ολίγην, ώστε ζήν γλίσχρως. δήλον οὐν ώς ούχ ίκανὸν τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας ποιῆσαι τὸν νομοθέτην, ἀλλὰ § 8 τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέου. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ τὴν μετρίαν τάξειεν οὐσίαν πάσιν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος μάλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας 30 όμαλίζειν ή τὰς οὐσίας, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστι μή παιδευομένοις ίκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἀν εἴπειεν ὁ Φαλέας ὅτι ε ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτός οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν τούτοιν ἰσότητα δείν ύπάρχειν ταις πόλεσιν, κτήσεως και παιδείας. § 9 άλλὰ τήν τε παιδείαν ήτις ἔσται δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν 25 είναι καὶ την αὐτην οὐδεν οφελος. ἔστι γάρ την αὐτην μεν είναι καὶ μίαν, άλλά ταύτην είναι τοιαύτην έξ ης έσονται προαιρετικοί του πλεονεκτείν ή χρημάτων ή τιμής ή συναμ-\$ 10 Φοτέρων, επεί στασιάζουσιν ου μόνον διά την ανισότητα της: κτήσεως, άλλά καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν, τοὐναντίον δὲ περὶ 40 έκάτερου (οί μέν γάρ πολλοί διά τὸ περί τάς κτήσεις ἄνι-1267 2 σου, οί δὲ χαρίευτες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι ὅθεν καὶ εν δε li τιμή ήμεν κακδε ήδε και εσθλός),

27 ποιήσαι έσται Γ apparently | 28 τάξει M*P1 | 31 αν είποιεν M*, είποι αν P2-4 Ob Tb Ub Ald, Bk, and a later hand in P3, effrorty P3 (1st hand) # 38 evel ... 1267 a 17 πολιτείαs = 1267 a 37 έστι...b 13 έατέον. See the text arranged in parallel columns Introd. p. 80 f. | êrei Spengel, êre F.H Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text, on ?Susem. # 30 &cd Trip omitted by M*, &cd by P1

1267 a 2 8 Ms Pl.2.8 Ald. | sal omitted by F and Ms (1st hand)

yet the equal shares of citizens may be either immoderately large or excessively small.

small.

26 γλίσχροκ] stingily, 'so as barely to make a living.' Demosth. c. Arixt. 680, 25 ών μικρά και γλίσχρο (κρίμοτε ο κοθομέτε), c. Paut. γλίσχρος και μόλα: Plato Rep. VII 553 c γλίσχροκ και κατά σμικρόν φειδόμενος καί έγγαξόμενος, thriftily

σμικρόν φεισομενος και εφγαζομενος, ιπιπιμη αnd gradually, by saving and working. 28 του μέσου στοχαστέον] See this more precisely defined in c. δ §8, 9; $\Gamma(V\Pi)$. 5 § 1, with the note: also VI(V). 11 § 2 ff., as quoted in n. (207).

SUSEM. (237 b)

§§ 8, 9 Men's desires need to be regulated no less than the amount of their lated no less than the amount of their property: this Phaleas must admit, at he holds that there should be a public education, though he does not give a detailed scheme. Crime springs from ill-regulated desires (a) for the necessaries of life, (b) for its superfluities, and for the gratification of the passions generally, (c) for higher gratifications. Phaleas can only cure the minor social evils due to (a), but not the ambition which produces a tyrant.

30 τούτο δ' ούκ έστι κτλ] Compare with what follows 5 § 15 n. (165 b); see further on 9 § 12 n. (296) and Exc. II on

Bk. 11 p. 333. Susem. (286) 36 ξ ής=ῶντε ἐκ ταύτης. \$10 38 στασιάζουσι] Cp. VIII(v). 1. 11 πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ

στάσις. 40 This opposition of al χαρίεντες, the educated or enlightened classes, to the mass of ordinary men recurs in Nic. Eth. 1 5 88 3, 4. There joined with πρακ-τικοί, in Pol. VII(VI). 5. 10 with νοῦν Excertes.

1267 a 1 tay to at sc. al Krifoets. 2 Homer Iliad IX. 319. SUSEM. (239) The exclamation of Achilles, as one of

the nobles, at the levelling policy which he attributes to Agamemnon.

8 11 οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος (IV) είναι νομίζει την ισότητα της οὐσίας, ώστε μη λωποδυτείν διά τὸ 5 ριγούν ή πεινήν, άλλα και όπως χαίρωσι και μή ἐπιθυμῶσιν

έὰν γὰρ μείζω έγωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, διὰ τὴν

§ 12 ταύτης ἐατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν, οὐ τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην μόνον, άλλά καὶ ἄνευ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ήδουαίς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βρα-8 10 χεία καὶ έργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες δύναιντο δι' αύτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἄν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ § 13 φιλοσοφίας ἄκος. αι γάρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ άδικοῦσί νε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἄλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, οἶον τυραννοῦσιν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶσιν (διὸ καὶ

3 θ' Susem.3, δ' ΓΠ Ar; Bk. Susem.1-8 in the text | 8 ανευ έπιθυμιών or άνεπιθύμητοι (cp. Clem. Al. Strom. VII. p. 742. A. B.) Bojesen, αν έπιθυμοῖεν ΓΙΙ Ar. Bk., αν μὴ ἐπιθυμώσω? Schneider following Lambin's translation, Bernays omits the words | 11 δύναυτο] βούλουτο P1 H2 Ar. Bk. perhaps rightly | αὐτῶν P1, αὐτῶν Γ Mº P9.5-4 Ald. | 12 ἐπαὶ Π Ar. Bk.: ἔτι or ἐπεὶ <δ'> Rassow. Then the apodosis begins with 4076. William does not translate \$\epsilon \pi et et et and άδικοῦσι δὲ Susem.1.2 erroneously for άδικοῦσί γε

§ 11 Shilleto pointed out that these three causes of crime strongly resemble those which are mentioned in Rhet. I. 12. 17 άδικούσι δὲ τοὺς έχοντας ὧν αὐτοὶ ένδεείς η els τάναγκαία ή els ύπεροχήν ή els άπολαυσιν; where see Cope's note.

6 ἐἀν γὰρ μεξω] sc. τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας 'For if the desire goes beyond the necessaries of life.' Compare ιστοια τως πεσειατεί οι πεσ. Compare Νίς. Είλ, VII. 4. 2 1147 b 23 ff. έστω τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ποιούντων ἡδονήν, (νίχ. τὰ σωματικά, e.g. τὰ περί τὴν τροφήν,) τὰ δ' αἰρετὰ μὲν καβ' αὐτὰ έχοντα δ' υπερβολήν; these are οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα; νίκη, τιμή, πλοθτος are examples : and VII, 14. 2 1154 a 15 ff. των δε σωματικών άγαθών 2 115 μ 15 μ. Του νε οματικών η τρουν έστων ϋπερβολή, καὶ ὁ φαϊλος τῷ διάκευ τὴν ὑπερβολήν (sc. φαϊλος) ἐστών, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς ἀναγκαίας (Congreve). Susem. (240) § 12 8 ταῖς ἀνευ λυπών ἡδοναῖς]

Comp. Nic. Eth. VII. 12. 2 1152 b 36 ff. énel kal ávev hónys kal énebulas elolv hδοναί, οΐον αλ τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἐνέργειαι: X. 3. 7 1173 b 16 ff. άλυποι γάρ είσιν αξ τε μαθη-ματικαί και τών κατά τὰς αίσθήσεις αξ διά της δοφρήσεως, και άκροάματα δέ και όράματα πολλά και μνήμαι και έλπίδες. Taken from Plato Phil. 51 B-52 B where occur αὶ περίτὰ καλὰ λεγόμενα χρώματα καὶ περί τὰ σχήματα, καὶ τῶν ὀσμῶν αἰ πλεῖσται, και αι τῶν φθόγγων; also αι περι τὰ-μα-θήματα ἡδοναί. (Eaton.) Susem. (241) One could hardly have supposed that this last was a fruitful source of crime.

9 akos] Here is a digression into the region of practical suggestions and expedients, in the same spirit as VII(VI). c. 5,

το ενγασία] constant employment.
 σωφροσύνη] Cp. n. (206 b) on 6 § 9.
 SUSEM. (242)

Here this word means self-restraint generally, and not thrift, as before,

11 wapd piloropias] As in 5 \$ 15, 'culture.' The education of the citizens and the elevation of the masses are the leading ideas of B. v(vIII).

12 αι γάρ άλλαι sc. ήδοναι.

12 αι γαρ εποται δι. γροτιοι ανθρώπων δέονται] Compare Nic. Εth. Χ. γ. 4 1177 α 27 ff. των μέν γάρ προς το έξη άναγκαίων..., τοις δε τοιούτοις viz. τοις πρός το ζην άναγκαίοις, Ικανώς κεχορηγημένων ο μέν δίκαιος δείται πρός ούς δικαιοπραγήσει και μεθ' ών, όμοίως δὲ και ό σώφρων και ό ἀνδρείος και τῶν ἄλλων ξκαστος, ο δέ σοφός και καθ' αὐτὸν ών.. δμως αὐταρκέστατος: ΙΧ. 4. 5 1166 a 26 f. (Eaton). Susem. (243)

§ 13 14 τυραννούστιν ούχ ένα μή ρ.] 'It is not to keep out the cold that men be-come tyrants. Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 6. 7 1134 b 6 ff. μισθὸς ἄρα τις δοτέος < ἐπεὶ οὐθὲν αὐτῷ πλέον εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἴπερ δίκαιος>, τοῦτο δὲ τιμὴ καὶ γέρας ὅτψ δὲ μὴ ἰκανὰ τὰ 15 αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἄν ἀποκτείνη τις οὐ κλέπτην άλλὰ τύραννου) ἄστε πρὸς τὰς μικρὰς ἀδικίας βοηθητικός μόνου §14 ὁ τρόπος τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας. ἔτι τὰ πολλὰ βούλεται 9

κατασκευάζεω έξ οὖν τὰ πρός αὐτοὺς πολιτεύσονται καλός, δεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ηειτικώντας καὶ τοὺς ἔξουθεν πάιτας. το ἀναγκαίου ἀρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι πρός τὴν πολε 11 μικὴν ἰτχύν, περὶ ἦς ἐκεῦνος οὐδὲν εἰρηκεν, ὑμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς κτήσεως. δεὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς χρήσεις ἰκαιγὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλά καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξοιθεν κυ-δύνους. διόπερ οὖτε τσσούτου δεὶ πληθος ὑπάρχειν ἀν οἱ 5ς πλησίου καὶ κρείτσος ἐπιθυμήσουται, οἱ δὲ ἐγοντες ἀμύνους

ού δυνήσουται τους επιώντας, ούθ ούτως δλέγην ώστε μή δύ-818 νασθαι πόλεμου όπενεγκεῖν μηδέ τῶν ∫σων και τῶν ὁμοίως ἐκεί- ὑ ΄νος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν διώρικες, δεί δὲ τοῦτο μή λαυθάνειν, [ὖ] τἰ συμόξος πλήθος οὐσίας. Γοως οῦν ἄριστος ὁρος τὸ μή λυστσυμόξος πλήθος οὐσίας. Γοως οῦν ἄριστος ὁρος τὸ μή λυστ-

1122 a 3 ff.: meanness is shown in petty gains,—those who take on a large scale, despots who plunder cities and not temples, are called reruped, deepers, disease, but not mean, drehelbeper (Eaton). SUSEM. (244)

(244)
διδ] The crime is greater because the excuse is less: it is not διδ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα.
Hence the higher reward given to those

who punish it. § 14 19 Set 84 kr\lambda] The same criticism as was passed on the Lews, 6 § 7. That the constitution must necessarily have reference to the maintenance of the military force follows directly from the assumption of the military régime which Plato and Aristotte make without reserve.

Cp. again VII(VI). 6. §§ 1—5. § 15 24 πλήθος sc. τ ης κτήσεως. ὧν = ώστε τούτων: 25 & ης. § Q.

ωστετούτων: as & ήτ, § 9.
25 ol πλησίον=οί πέλας, Rhet. I. 5.
17 where see Cope's ποίε.
Διώνων τοὺς ἐπόντας may perhaps

be defended by Plato Phaedrus 260 B πολεμίων άμίνων. But see Critical Notes. 27 πόλεμον...όμοδων] to support ω war even with an equal or similar power, fora καὶ όμοου = a state of the same stand-

ing, an equal.
§ 16 We should not fail to decide
what limit to property is advisable.

25 84 8 m³/₂ This limitation has been sufficiently noticed in the preceding § 15, yet the repetition might be patient, it is now appeared under a new form, much sharper and better defined. This would make the patient of 15 miles of 15 mile

29 ἴσως οἶν...31 οἰσίαν] 'Perbaps the best limit of wealth is that its excess 30 τελεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι διά τὴν ὑπερβολὴν πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ'(IV) 81 οῦτος ὡς ἀν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οἰον Εὐβουλος Αὐτοφραδάτου μελλουτος ᾿Αταρνέα πολιορκεῖν ἐκδιευσεν αὐτόν, σκεψάμενου ἐν πόσος χρόνος λήψεται τὸ χωρίον,

λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου τὴν δαπάνην ἐθέλειν γὰρ ἔλατ-35 τον τούτου λαβοὰν ἐκλείπειν ῆδη τὸν ᾿Αταρνέα ταῦτα δ εἰπὰν ἐποίησε τὸν Αὐτοφραβάτην σύννουν γενόμενον παύσα-818 σθαι τῆς πολιοοκίας. ἔστι ιὰν οῦν τι τὰν συμθεούντον τὰ 11

34 telebrar box T^2 (defore William) | 35 etcharco IPBE, || 37 for $\mu b = 0.5$ decarron, with which goes by $\phi t = 0.00$, is believed by Susem. to be another recension of the preceding 1466 b 38 $\theta v t = 1.26 p$ a 17 walvelax. See Introd. p. 81

should not make it profitable for the stronger to stated us, but should leave them no motive for no doing which they stated the state of the state of the state is stone had been less. 'The ellipse may be filled up thus, 45N 'drive redupin's the restriction of the state of the state of the restriction of the state of the state of the wealth should never tempt aggression; the should the state of the state of the state of the place. That is, we should aim at being the 'lean wity dog', with whom their neighbours are glisd to make common first 'lean wity dog', with whom their neighbours are glisd to make common state of the state of the state of the state of the Radulities' vs. and the tooker sheep'.

A less simple rendering has been proposed: 'that is the best limit of wealth when a stronger power does not find it profitable to make war upou as foot the sake of the exzest of the booty to be gained over the cost of victory, but when (even if it conquers us) it is no better off than if it had not made so great an acquisition.' This saits the sequel better, but somewhere, obtain, besides leaving a harb genitive absolute: AN' Great on updopted the weakther part by the control of the part of the weakther part by the control of the part of the weakther part by the control of the part of the part of the should be the control of the part of the part of the part of the part part by the control of the part of the

coletan. It can hardly be right. § 17 During the last years of Artascreas Microson and at the commercethe confusion in Asia Micro, more arcularly owing to the revolt of Artabassa, the sating of Hyngia Lydis and Paphlagonia, suggested the idea of wresting at heart of the sating of Hyngia Lydis and Paphlagonia, suggested the idea of wresting at Asia from the Persians. The require means for effecting this were secured, and it was even jousible to malatini the it was even jousible to malatini the it was even jousible to malatini the trust even for the same time of the politrade, and at the same time eloph politrade, and at the same time eloph poli-

øs, i.e. probably one of Plato's scholars, like his freedman and successor Hermeias. Through the medium of his business he found he could execute such a scheme as this, and make himself absolute ruler (répayes) of Atarneus on the Aeolic coast of Mysia, and of the stronghold of Assos in the Troad with the adjacent districts : Vita Aristotelis in Westermann's Bioypáφα p. 402, Suidas s.ev. 'Αριστοτέλης, 'Ερμείας, Strabo XIII. 610. Böckh (Hermeias of Atarneus in his Ges. Kl. Schriften VI. 183 ff.) tries to show, as others have done, that this event happened before 359 B.C.; that in 359 Autophradates as general of the Persian king marched against Artabazos and took him prisoner, and that in the course of this same campaign he laid siege to Atarneus. The suggestion by which Eubulos raised the siege is, as Böckh remarks, one worthy of a banker. We know that he maintained his power down to his death: also that it was not before 345/44 that his successor, the eunuch Hermeias, Aristotle's friend (see I. 6. 9. n. 56) was over-thrown by the Rhodian Mentor, the Persian commander-in-chief, and that solely by stratagem deceit and treachery. SUSEM. (247)

Bergk's posthumous paper On the chronology of king Artaxerxes III, Ochos, in Rhem. Miss. XXXVII. 1882. pp. 355—36a fixes the fall of Hermeiss and the escape of Aristotle and Xenocrates to Mitylene (and thence to Athens) in the year 345/44-Comp. Sustenihl in Bursian's Jahresber.

XXX. 1882. pp. 4-7.
36 σίννουν γενέσθαι, to become thoughtful, to reflect.

That §§ 18—20 are parallel to §§ 10— 13 has been explained Introd. p. 80 f. § 18 37 εστι μέν...38 πολίταιs] Comp. line 3 ἐν ἄκος...4 οὐσίαι. τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας εἶναι τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ μη) στασιάξευν (πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μην μέγα οὐδὲν οἱς εἰπεῖυ. καὶ γηὰ ἀν οἱ ωρχαρίευτες ἀγαμακτοῖει [ἀ] ὡς οὐκ ἴσων ὕντες ἔξιοι, διὰ καὶ ξιθ φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἔτι δ΄ ωιδιὶ ἡ πουγρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἰκανὸν ὁ κωρβολία μόνου, όταν δ΄ ἤθη τοῦτ ἢ πάτριου, ἀεὶ δίουνου

τόν διαβόλλα μόνου, όταν δ΄ ήδη τούτ ή πάτριου, αεὶ δέουται τοῦ πλείουος, έως εἰς άπειρον ελθωσιν. ἀπειρος γὰρ ή τῆς ἐπιθυμίας φύσις, ής πρός τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ξοῦ ζάσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μάλλον τοῦ τὰς οὐτίας ὁμα-1. ὁλίξειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπεικεῖς τῆ φύσει τοιούτους παρασκευίς.

ζειν ἄστε μη βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτέιν, τούς δὲ φαίλους ἄστε μη δύνασθαι' τούτο δὲ ἐστίκ, ἀν ήττους τε ἀσι καὶ μη ἀδικάν-§αι ται. | οὐ καλῶς δὲ οὐδὲ την ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας εἰρηκευ. ποῦ 10 γὰρ την τῆς γῆς κτῆσιν ἰσάζει μόνου, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δοῦλον

38 form after elbus II² Bk., perhaps Γ ; possibly right $~\parallel~$ 40 dr II² Bk., omitted by II¹

1267 b 5 άρχή is corrupt: ἄση Scaliger, ἄσοι Schneider, ἀρωγή Μ. Vermehren, ἀλκή? Madvig probably right, <ἀπαλλαγή»> or <larpelas> ἀρχή Schmidt; ἀρκεί Κοταes, certainly not right

38 πρός τό μη στασιάζειν recalls στασιάζουσι of § 10.
39 ου μήν μέγα κτλ] α 16 ώστε πρός τὰς μικρὰς άδικίας κτλ.

καὶ γὰρ ἄν κτλ] "For even then (têr lou al κτήσεις, ξ 10) the higher classes would be discontented, as they lay claim to something more than an equal share, and hence are often found aggressive and factious."

40 ούκ Ισων] Δλλά πλείωνο: on the ground that they deserve something more than an equal share, something proportionately greater. Comp. III. 13, 13 and Thue. VIII. 89, 4 πάντεν τήρ αιθημισμόν εξεύουν ούχ όπων Ισοι άλλά καὶ πολύ πρώτου αίντο διαστου είναι. In Thue. 1, 132 8, 2 μή Ισοι «περιθετίοι».

3 29 a coff it. Suppled. This refers to the so-called fearure, a grant of public money to provide for shows or public money to provide for shows or public money to provide for shows or public money to provide for short public money to provide for short public money to the state of an ordinary seat in the theatre, we of an ordinary seat in the theatre, or of an ordinary seat in the theatre for every clinic present. Given on the state chest to the leaster of the state for the state for the state of the state

τρίτου δ' ef τωνς...ἀκος. § 21 The argument from inconsistency is pressed from opposite sides here and in 6 § 15. Phaleas must have meant

to include personal property, § 3το δεττ & καὶ δεόλων κτλ] Comp. Rhet. 1.5.7 πλαίτου δὲ μέρη νομισματος πλήθος, γῆς χωρίων κτῆτας, ἔτι δὲ ἐπέπλων κτήται καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων, where Cope explains πτπλα as "moveables" opposed to fixtures, such as houses and land. Hence furniture, even if of bronze, Xen. Oncon. Ix. 6, Thue. III. 68 καὶ βοσκημάτων πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευή (IV) πολλή τῶν καλουμένων ἐπίπλων ἢ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἰσό-

82 τητα ζητητίου ή τάξιυ των μετρίαυ, ή πώντα ἐατίου, φαί-13 υνται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευάζου τὴν πόλω μι-15 κράν, εἰ η' οἱ τεχνίται πάντες δημόσιοι ἔσουται καὶ μὴ 823 πλήρομιά τι παρξέρυται τῆς πόλεους. ἀλλ' εἰπερ δεὶ δημοσίους εἰναι τοὺς τὰ κουαὶ ἐγραζομένους, ἐεἰ καθάπερ ἐυ Ἐπιδάμυφ τε, καὶ Διόφαντός ποτε κατεσκεὐαζευ 'Αθήνησι, τοῦτου ἐνευ τὸν τολάτο.

20 περί μεν ούν της Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδον εκ τούτων ἄν τις θεωρήσειεν, εξ τι τυγχάνει καλώς εἰρηκώς ή μη κα-8 λώς Ἱππόδαμος δε Εὐουφώντος Μιλήσιοςί, δς και την τῶν V

16 δel] δh P³⁺Q²⁺P UP J Ar. Ald. and P' (18 hand, emended by corr.) µ föd | and with a comma after 16 efter βernays; if no, φρυφμόνους «μόσων» Susens; probably right, but see Comm. The same sense can be obtained by Well-don's punctuation efter δh θμοσείασε efter, not'e 1 noval φρυφμόνου δές, απόθεσφο μετικό από με προτειώ βαστικο που βαστικο π

§ 22 15 δημόσιοι = public servants. Such were the executioners and physicians always (see III. 11. 11 δημιουργό = larγόs): also νανπγγοί and others, Plato Gorg. 455 B with Dr Thompson's note, Politicity 250 A.

250 Α. 16 πλήρωμά τι παρέξωνται τῆς πόλεως] Εχακτίγ Plato's expression Rep. 371 Ε πλήρωμα δή πόλεως εἰσί και μισθωτοί (Eaton). SUSEM. (248)

Comp. III. 13. 13, vi(iv). 4. 12. § 23 17 ἐν Ἐπιδάμνω κτλ] "No one but a political dreamer or dreamy politician like Phaleas could hatch the thought that the handicrafts throughout the city should be carried on by public slaves. The proposal made at Athens by Diophantos, we do not know when, was that only the artizans who worked for the community were to be public slaves"; Böckh Staatsh. 1. 65. [not in the Eng. trans.] This was certainly the case at Epidamnos. With the present text this sense can only be obtained by interpreting the words robs rd kowd covatoucross to mean 'those who do common work for the whole community'; and we should be forced to assume that even Phaleas' proposal went no further than this, which is very improbable. Hence the alteration suggested by Bernays is tempting. The anchon of the year Ol. 95, a= 39/54 was named Diophantos, but he can hardly have been the man. "Achia relates that the people of Epidamnos allowed any one who liked to settle amongst them as a resident, Επιδάμινας Επιδημέδε καί μετοκάν πραγών τη βουλομένες. V. H. III. 15" (J. C. Schneider). But this fact constitution of Epidamnos set further III. 16 § 1, VIII(V) t. § 10, 4 § 7 ms. SU-SEM, (289)

Bernays renders: "But if (this proposal is to be tried), state-slaves ought only to be employed upon works for state objects, and the arrangement must be made as it is found in Epidamnos and as Diophantos, wanted to introduce it at Athens."

c. 8 Examination of the scheme of Hippodamos of Miletus. This chapter is analysed p. 105 f.
§ 1 22 'I=moSaµos] See Excursus

§ 1 22 'IwwoSauos] See Excursus II to B. II p. 331 ff.: also K. F. Hermann De Hippodamo Milesio (Marburg 1841). Susem. (250)

This chapter is treated slightly by Hildenbrand pp. 58—61, Oncken I. 213—218, Henkel 162—165. See also πόλεων διαίρεσιν εξρε καὶ τόν Πειραιά καττεμεν, γενόμενος (V) καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν οἵτονο ς εδωτε δοκεῖ ἐνίους ξὴν περιεργότερον τριχών τε πλήθει καὶ κόμης, ἔτι δὲ ἐσθῆτος εὐτελοῦς μὲν ἀλεεινῆς δὲ οἰκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεριωνὸς χρόνους, λόμος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν εἰκαι βουλόμενος,] πρῶτος τῶν μὴ πολιτευομένον ἐνεχείρησὲ τι περὶ πολιτείας βε εἰπῶν τῆν ἔτη ἀρίστης. κατακειάμε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν πλήθει το βε εἰπῶν τῆν ἀρίστης. κατακειάμε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν πλήθει καὶ τὴν μερίανερος, εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη διηρημένην ἐποίει γὰρ δη ψεν μέρος τεχνίτας, δε δὲ γεωργούς, τρίτον δὲ τὸ πρυβατολικαί τὰ ἀπλα ἐξονο, διήρο ἐεἰς τρία κεὸ τὰ πρυβατολικαί τὰ ἀπλα ἐχονο, διήρο ἐεὶς τρία μέρο καὶ» τὴν εκαὶ τὸν καὶν τον καὶν τὸν καὶν τον καὶν τὸν καὶν τον τον καὶν τὸν τὸν τον καὶν τον καὶν τον καὶν τον καὶν τον καὶν τον καὶν τον τον καὶν τον τον καὶν τον τον τον καὶν τον καὶν τον τον καὶν τον τον τον τον τον τον τον

33 repoit (not respoit as Susem.¹ gavo) | \$^{2-4}Q^n Tr() U^n | 1 of signal sérpar relavar-où III A. Ilb. Bernays and γ_p . p^1 in the margin, sabarer-poil Bender, oberpar Ridgeway, sceptieres Welldon | $\frac{1}{8}$ fri $\frac{3}{8}$ omitted by T^n Sepulvedràs codices Bender Ridgeway Welldon, $\frac{1}{8}$ relavays $\frac{1}{8}$ os $\frac{3}{8}$ yer $\frac{1}{8}^{2-1}T_1$, revealeds 10 U or Ar. Ald. | $\frac{3}{8}$ μ b omitted by M^nQ^k | $\frac{3}{3}$ π^2 L' and U^k (corr.), π^2 M^1 $P^{1.5.5.4}$ Q*T 10 M of 10 (1 (s) and 10 10 cash 10 γ cash 10 γ

M. Erdmann On Hippedamos and symmetrical town architecture in Greece in Philologus XLII. 1883. pp. 193—227.
22 δs καλ...28 βουλόμενος Fülleborn

23 κατέτεμεν] cut out, i.e. laid out the streets; Pindar Pyth. 5. 84 εὐθύτομον κατέθηκε...σκυρωτὰν δδόν.

25 [W συρφήστρον] was held to be somewhat affected in his way of life. In the following words deθήres must be taken with whydes according to the reading of IP adopted in the text. It is word like adequate, the reading of IP too Ridgeway, who quotes Acachyl. Suppl. ad for πόσιμα, meaning fashion or style of dress), or possibly an λυανισμές or see-pender and Wellton respectively.

τριχών τε πλήθει και κόμης] In Sparta it remained the custom, on account of war and warlike exercises, to wear long 28 λόγος) a man of learning, as in V(VII), to 3 and often in Hierodotts (Congreve). Suidas calls him μετευρολήγοι. § 2 30 τή ν πόλω? Jonchen 1. 214 π. (1) takes this to mean that in the 10,000 are included not the citizens only but the entire free population. But according to the design of Hippodamos § 7, not merely those who have marked to the citizens although the citizens although the second of the citizens although the second of the citizens although it must be concoded.

to Aristotle's criticism §§ 8—1-2, that his end could hardly have been attained in such a manner. Susem. (263) § 3 33 δίγειο δ ds τρία μέρη κπλ] So too Aristotle IV (VII). cc. 9, το. (Eaton.) Cp. m. (365) on II. 10 § 8. Susem. (265). χώραν, την μὲν ἰερὰν την δὲ δημοσίαν την δ' ἰδίαν ὅθεν (V)
35 μὲν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἰεράν, ἀφ' ὧν

δ' οἱ προπολεμοῦντες βιώσονται, κοινήν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ητωρητῶν §4 ίδίαν. ὤετο δ΄ εἶδη καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μόνον περὶ

οῦν γὰρ αἱ ἐδιεαι γίνουται, τρία ταῦν' εἰναι τὰν ἀριθμόν, [6+0] ὑβριν βλάβην θάνατον. ἐνομοθέτει δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον ἐν 40 τὸ κύριον, εἰν δ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖν τὰς μὴ καλῶς κεκρίσθα δοκούσαν δίκας' τοῦνο δὲ κατεκκείαξεν ἐκ τινῶν γεκεξ ρόντον αἰρτοῦν, τὰς δὲ κρίσεις ἐν τοῦς δικαστηρίοις οὐ διὰ

ψηφοφορίας ὅετο γίνεσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλά φέρειν ἔκαστον πινάκτον, ἐν ῷ γράφειν, εἰ καταδικάζοι ἀπλῶς [τὴν δίκην], εἰ 35 ἰφὲ F^aQ^aT^aL^a and P^a(1st hand, emended by corr.^a) | 37 δί καὶ ἀδη Γ

apparently, possibly right | α ο δεί Π¹
1268 a 2 ψετο omitted by W³L* Ald., in P⁴ inserted in the margin | β 3 κανα-δικάζει P⁴ and 1st hand of P^{2,5} (emended by corr.¹) | τ²p δίκην omitted by Π¹

35 de sur Ser N. Here there is just a germ of Flatch's ideal state, when we consider that the soldiers answer to the second order, and the artisans and farmers together to the third order of citizens in the Republic. However even when viewed in this light the differences between the two schemes are as great as the rescublances. But the state proposed in the Lours may be described as hardly only of the state of the sta

og. c. p. 16s L. Susem. (265) § 4 37 erro κπλ] See Exc. II. to B. II p. 335. Susem. (265 b) δβραν and βλάβη answer to crimes against the person and against property. Not precisely however; for δβραν implies insult; it is whatever wounds the feelings

insult; it is whatever wounds the feelings or honour, whether accompanied by violence or not. Whereas \$\tilde{\text{Phi}}\text{pm}\$ miles loss or damage sustained, whether to person or properly. See \$R\$\text{At}\$. 11.2.6, U. 2.5 with Cope's excellent comments.

30 \$\text{evapolera} 8\text{L}\$...] This idea of a court of appeal is further evidence that

court of appeal is further evidence that Hippodamos had a fine sense for jurisprudence. It is appropriated by Plato also Laws VI 767 C—E, XII 956 C f. (Oncken). Cp. also Exc. II. Susem. (286)

40 το κύρων = the supreme court. § 5 1268 a 1 σο δια ψηφοφορίας] In the Athenian courts the voting was secret: each juryman (διαστή») received two ballots, one for condemnation, the other

for acquittal; and there were two urns, one of copper, into which the ballot containing the verdict was thrown, the other of wood, into which the other, unused ballots were thrown. The ballots for voting were either differently coloured stones or small metal balls, or even differently coloured beans or shells. At what time the one or other of these were used is not known. Stones were certainly the most common; a black stone served for condemnation, a white one for acquittal: with balls of metal, one with a hole in it served for the former purpose, a whole one served for the latter purpose. Equality of votes was counted as acquittal. (Meier and Schömann Attische Process 720 ff.) SUSEM. (257)

Aristotle himself is our authority for the voting at Athens: see Frag. 1548 b 5-41 of the Berlin ed.

a JAA 4/60w Searrow w7l, Nearly the same arrangement was actually introduced amongst the Romans: a fact which shows how clearly this proposal testifies to a legal mind of great originality. At Rome the voting was by tablets in the manner here proposed, leaving it to the indices to affirm not simply condemnation (C) or acquittal (A), but also a vertical to the control of the cont

able to realize to himself the proper meaning of the proposal is a further proof of its originality. (L. Stein.) Comp. n. (268) on §§ 13—15. SUSEM. (268)

δ' ἀπολύοι ἀπλώς, κενόν <ἐῶν>, εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, τοῦτε διορίξειν. νῦν γὰρ οἰκ φὲτο νενομοθετῆσθαι καλώς' ἀναγκάἐκ ξειν γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖ [ί] ταῦτα ἡ ταῦτα δικάζοτσε. ἔτι δὲ νόμον ἐτίθει περὶ τῶν εὐρισκάντων τι τῆ πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖε παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμα τελευτώντων ἐκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι τὴν τροφήν, ώς οἶπο τοῦτο το παρ' ἀλλοις νενομοθετημένου ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν 'λθήναις οὖτος ὅτο νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις τῶν πόλεου. τοὺς δ΄ ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἰρετούς εἶναι πάντας δῆμου δ' ἐποίει τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεους' τοὺς δ΄ αἰρεθέντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κοινῶν καὶ ἔνικοὰν καὶ ἀσόκαντῶν.

15 τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀξιόλογα τῆς Ἱππο-

4 arables M° PC, arablera L· | Meier (De louis damnaterum p. 8)
| 1 6 † a cuitted by Γ M°, § rains omitted by Γ M°, § rains omitted by Γ M°, § rains conitted by M°, § rains conitted by M° and F¹ (as thank and F² (as thank), enemoded by conitre?") | who row flows after to algorous IF Els. | 14 cal ξουωών omitted by M° and F² (ast hand, supplied by p² in the matrin)

§ drawpedfaw to, rhe share, § 6 9 she of sure schi | first as if this law had not been made before chewhere. So It. F. Herman De Hippolame p. 444-46, and the state of the st

οθτος, ποι μήτως τρ. Lysias 14 § 10 ετόλμησε ἀναβήναι, ότι οἰκ Εξετόμμονο τη πόλει δίκην λαμβάτει: 27 § 16 ώντος τοῦ δεείδους ἀλλί οἱ τῆς δημίας αἰτοῖς μέλου: Χεπ. Δρτ. V. 1. 13 ἀν οἰκ ἀνεγκαῖον τὸ κλέπτεις, αἰτίς τὸν κλέπτοντα. Τhe clause is virtually oblique, and the negative is is virtually oblique, and the negative is

reproduced unchanged.

10 for St., New Here as often rive as things are, "under the existing system" not simply a now, as Spengel explains it. Unless one follows Spengel in an untensheat according to the text, the drift of the passage can only be a censure upon Hipperson of the control of t

already at the time in force at Athena." We cannot however prove the date of this Atherian regulation (on which Williamowitz Asia Afgainsteen p. 36 may take moved as the mount of the Atherian would seem to make it entire than the treatise of Hippodamos. It is quite possible that Arisatche's consure is unfair, for who is to inform to Hippodamos. It is quite possible that Arisatche's consure in unfair, for who is to inform to Hippodamos. It is quite possible that Arisatche are considered in the control of the Atherican Control of Hippodamos. It is quite possible that Arisatche are control of the Atherican to the Atherican Control of the Ath

II p. 332. SUSEM. (260)

12 δήμον...πόλεως] It would seen that Hippodamos did not state whether all three classes were eligible (Oncken). See however n. (262). SUSEM. (261)

13 robs 8' alpeθένταs] the magistrater elected to have the charge of state matters and of the affairs of foreigners and minors in the city.

δάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις πρώτον μὲν τήν (V) § 8 διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν. οἴ τε γὰρ τεχνίται καὶ οἱ γεωργοί και οι τὰ ὅπλα ἔγοντες κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οί μέν γεωργοί οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ τεχνῦται οὕτε γῆν οὕτε 20 οπλα, ώστε γίνονται σχεδον δούλοι τών τὰ οπλα κεκτημένων. § 9 μετέχειν μεν οὖν πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων καθίστασθαι καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ πολιτοφύλακας καὶ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν) μη μετέχουτας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οδόν τε Φιλικῶς ἔχειν 25 πρός την πολιτείαν; άλλα δεί και κρείττους είναι τους τα όπλα 6 γε κεκτημένους αμφοτέρων των μερών τοῦτο δ' οὐ ράδιον \$ 10 μη πολλούς όντας εί δε τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δεί τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν της πολιτείας καὶ κυρίους είναι της των άρχοντων καέτι οί γεωργοί τι χρήσιμοι τῆ πόλει; τεχνίτας ταστάσεως:

30 μεν γάρ αναγκαΐον είναι (πάσα γάρ δείται πόλις τεχνιτών), (p. 42) και δύνανται διαγίνεσθαι καθάπερ έν ταις άλλαις πόλεσιν από της τέχνης οί δὲ γεωργοί πορίζοντες μὲν τοῖς τὰ όπλα κεκτημένοις την τροφήν εὐλόγως αν ησάν τι της πόλεως μέρος, νῦν δ' ίδιαν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ταύτην ίδια γεωρ-§ 11 γήσουσιν. έτι δὲ τὴν κοινήν, ἀφ' ής οἱ προπολεμοῦντες ἔξουσι τ 36 την τροφήν, εί μεν αὐτοί γεωργήσουσιν, οὐκ αν είη τὸ μά-

17 of omitted by Me Pl, [of] Susem.1 | 25 and omitted by H2 Ar. Bk, | 26 ye omitted by Mo P1, [ye] Susem.1.2 | 34 13/a] 18/av H1 | yewpyologu Ar. Morel Bk.

16 τάξως] scheme, polity: cp. 10 § 4, 11 § 8. The fuller phrase is τάξες της πολιτικής κοινωνίας Ι. 2. 16, οτ της molirelas II. 6. 1, where the sense of

in II. 2 § 4, or II. § 9, or III. I. I.

dπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις πρῶτον] Aristotle
criticizes (§§ 8—15) (1) the entire division criticizes [88 0-15] (1) the entire division of into classes, (2) the special position of the agricultural class, (3) the innovations in the administration of justice.

§ 8 20 800Aol This partly explains the proposal of Phaleas to make them

§ 9 21 μετέχειν μέν οὖν πασών κτλ] Yet Aristotle seems to assume this to have been the intention of Hippodamos. SUSEM. (262)

Obviously he is applying his own standard πολίτης ὁ μετέχων ἀρχῆς.

22 πολιτοφύλακας] what sort of ma-gistracy Aristotle understands by this word is not clear and is not sufficiently explained by the notice, VIII(V). 6 § 6 n. (1573), of a magistracy under this name in Larisa. Susem. (263)

As rayol are attested by an inscription for Larisa of 214 B.C. (Ridgeway Transactions II p. 138) it seems likely that Aristotle there uses a different term in order to express the functions of the office

24 μη μετέχοντας δὲ κτλ] Aristotle himself altogether excludes the farmers, tradesmen, and artizans in his ideal state from the rights of citizenship; which is a much stronger measure. But possibly he thinks it is not essential for those who are thus excluded to be attached to the constitution, but that if they are to be citizens, it is. SUSEM. (264)

§ 10 31 Staylver Bat = earn subsistence;

so καταζήν, καταγίγνεσθαι. 33 είλόγως αν κτλ] They would then be in the position of the δημος of

the Republic. 34 vvv &=whereas what Hippodamos proposes is that they shall have land of their own.

χιμου έτερου καὶ τὸ γεωργούυ, βούλεται δ' ὁ νομοθέτης. δ' έτεροί τινες έσονται τών τε τὰ ίδια γεωργούντων καὶ το μαγίμων, τέταρτον αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ § 12 νὸς μετέγου, ἀλλὰ ἀλλότριου τῆς πολιτείας ἀλλὰ μὴν 41 τις τούς αυτούς θήσει τούς τε την ίδιαν και τούς την κοιν γεωργούντας, τό τε πλήθος ἄπορον ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐΕ ο 1268 δ έκαστος γεωργήσει δύο οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ένεκεν οὐκ εὐθ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κλήρων αὐτοῖς τε τὴν τροφ λήψονται καὶ τοῖς μαχίμοις παρέξουσιν; ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πο οὐ καλώς δ' οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσε § 13 λην ένει ταραγήν. ι ένει νόμος, τὸ κρίνειν αξιούν διαιρούντας της δίκης άπλ γεγραμμένης, και γίνεσθαι τον δικαστήν διαιτητήν. τοῦτο γ έν μέν τη διαίτη καὶ πλείοσιν ενδέχεται (κοινολογούνται γ άλλήλοις περί της κρίσεως), έν δὲ τοῦς δικαστηρίοις ο έστιν, άλλα και τουναντίον τούτου τών νομοθετών οί πολλ

37 γεωργείν M°P¹ | έτερον είναι after νομοθέτης Γ M*, a similar gloss τοθτ êrêpous elvas p^2 in the margin \parallel 39 av Π^3 \parallel τ 00 τ 0 after τ 95 π 6 λ 6605 M° P^1 42 Spengel thinks καρπών corrupt, Schmidt suspects ἄπορον, for which δυσπόρισ seems to him to be required by the sense

1268 b 1 γεωργήσει Π Bk., ministrabit William, habeant ministrare Ax., doubtl on mere conjecture; hence erroneously impupyings Vettori Susemi-2 and others δύο olelas can hardly be sound, δυσίν olelas Ar. Camerarius, <els> δύο olelas Ε nays, δίο [οἰκίαs] Busse not happily | 2 τῆs < αὐτῆs > Böcker (not ba < δλης> της Madvig, [και] Bernays Susem.2; there is some corruption | 5 το κρίσ άξιοῦν Π Bk., ὁ κρίνειν ἀξιῶν Susem.14 wrongly from the translations of William a Ar. | διαιρούντα P^{2,3} Q^b T^b Ald. Bk., διαιρούνται L^s | δίκης Π¹ Ar., κρίσεως Bk, (which Bojesen saw to be wrong) | 6 γàρ Ar., δ' Γ Π Bk. | 7 και < μ πλείσσω? Koraes | 9 και omitted by Γ M⁰ | τούτω τῶν p¹ P²⁻³⁻⁴ Q^b T^b F τούτων Wb L* Ald. (omitting the following των)

δ 11 37 Βούλεται κτλ] Comp. n. (201) on 6 § 6. § 12 42 τό τε πλήθος ἄπορον κτλ]
"the amount of produce will be in-

"the amount of produce will be inadequate for the maintenance of two
establishments." This again is a mere
assertion which ought to have been
proved. SUSEM. (265)
1268 b I yeapyfor okslas] See
Critical Notes. It is impossible to defend

the text as meaning to maintain two households by agriculture on the analogy of olrlas olxeir.

§ 13 4 δ περί τῆς κρίσεως] the law about passing sentence.

5 τὸ κρίνειν ἀξιοῦν κτλ] "the require-ment that a verdict shall be returned upon separate counts (τὸ μἐν sc. καταδι-

κάζει τὸ δὲ μή, § 5) when the charge the indictment is simple, whereby juror is turned into an arbitrator." als is infinitive.

6 τοῦτο γάρ κτλ] This is prac able in arbitration even (καί) where th are several arbitrators, for they con with one another about the decision.

7 καὶ πλείοσιν] At Athens a sir public arbitrator decided each case, but private arbitrators were chosen by parties to the dispute themselves, a b of 3 or 4 might well have been π common. Susem. (266) 8 & δὲ τοῖς δικαστ.] In this res

then the practice in the Greek court justice was just the reverse of that

ours. Susem. (267)

10 παρασκευάζουσιν όπως οἱ δικασταὶ μη κοινολογώνται πρός (V) § 14 άλλήλους. ἔπειτα πώς οὐκ ἔσται ταραγώδης ή κρίσις, ὅταν 9 όφείλειν μεν ό δικαστής οἴηται, μή τοσούτον δ' όσον ό δικαζόμενος; δ μέν γάρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς, δ δὲ δικαστής κρινεῖ δέκα μνᾶς (ἡ δ μὲν πλέον δ δ' ἔλασσον), ἄλλος δὲ πέντε, δ 15 δὲ τέτταρας (καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δῆλον ὅτι μεριοῦ-§ 15 σιν), οι δè πάντα καταδικάσουσιν, οι δ' οὐδέν. τίς οὐν ὁ τρόπος έσται της διαλογής των ψήφων; έτι [δ] οὐδείς έπιορκείν άναγκάζει τὸν άπλως ἀποδικάσαντα ή καταδικάσαντα, εί-

περ άπλώς τὸ ἔγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως οὐ γάρ μη-20 δεν όφείλειν ο άποδικάσας κρίνει, άλλὰ τὰς εἰκοσι μνᾶς (p. 43) άλλ' έκείνος ήδη έπιορκεί ὁ καταδικάσας μη νομίζων όφεί-§ 16 λειν τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς. περί δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσί τι τῆ 10 πόλει συμφέρον ώς δεί γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφα-

12 μèν after ὁ Π² and perhaps Γ ∥ δè P¹, omitted by M¹ and perhaps Γ ∥ 13 KOUPE Bk.2. Kolpes F II Ar. Bk.1 | 15 80 8 H | 16 00860 00 F M and P1 (1st hand, corrected in the margin) | 17 δ' omitted by Π1 | 19 γέγραπται· δι-

καίως Susem.1, perhaps rightly | 21 άλλ'...22 μυᾶς omitted by M° | 21 ήδη omitted by PM* and P1 (1st hand, added by corr.1), 148ml Susem.1 wrongly | 23 νενέσθαι Μ° ΡΙ a smaller sum.

§ 14 12 o δικαζόμενος may be either litigant. If the participle is passive, it denotes the defendant; if middle, the plaintiff. Here the latter is the case.

13 δ μλν γάρ...15 τέτταρας] "For he (the plaintiff) claims 20 minae, but the juror will decide for ten-or whatever the larger sum may be which is claimed by the former and the smaller sum which is awarded by the latter-while another (juror) will award five, and yet another, four" (Bernays). This seems slightly better than to understand #\nescoperation, Planσον, πέντε, τέτταρας of sums awarded by

different jurymen (dicasts).

15 µcocord will estimate damages according to a graduated scale. Comp. Demosth. adv. Lept. 494, 4 dei rolyw μεμερίσθαι τὰ τῶν δωρεῶν.

§ 15 16 τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος] In what way then are the votes to be counted, i.e. sorted? διαλογή=collecting and arranging: diribitio Cic. Pro Plancio § 1419 «Υπερ άπλῶς...δικαίως] "if the indictment has been framed (not condition-

ally but) absolutely with justice," (It has also been proposed to put a colon before δικαίω; "and justly too; for &c.").

If the suit be for 20 minae, acquittal means that the defendant does not owe 20 minae, it says nothing about liability for 21 ηδη] when we turn to the judge

who condemns while not believing the twenty minae to be owing, it is quite true that he commits perjury. Comp. VIII (v). 8. 6 ώσπερ δημος ήδη οἱ δμοιοι (Cope).
 §§ 13—15 L. Stein op. ι. 162 n. rightly calls this whole criticism a misapprehension. If the judges, or jurors, are forbidden to converse with one another, it is certainly impossible for them to find non liquet in concert; it is however possible for all to reach the same result without consultation, and still more likely that only in this way can some one of them clear his conscience. And if, after the fact of a pecuniary indebtedness has been established, the jurors cannot agree upon the amount, then a conditional verdict is the only one possible, and in that case certainly there can be no final decision except by way of compromise. Thus this objection makes for Hippodamos, rather than against him' (Oncken). And lastly how is it made out that the 'majority of legislators' were right in excluding consultation amongst the jurors? At any rate our modern regulation (see n. 267)

18-2

λές τὸ νομοθετείν, άλλ' εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι μόνον ἔχ 25 γάρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, αν τύχη, πολιτείας. έ πίπτει δ' είς άλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν ετέραν ἀποροί γάο τινες πότερον βλαβερον ή συμφέρον ταις πόλεσι § 17 κινείν τους πατρίους νόμους, αν ή τις άλλος βελτίων. διόπ οὐ ὁάδιον τῶ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγχωρείν, εἴπερ μὴ συμς 30 ρει κινείν. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ εἰσηγεῖσθαί τινας νόμων λύσαν πολιτείας ώς κοινον άγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεποιήμεθα μνεί § 18 έτι μικρον περὶ αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλτιον. ἔχει γι ώσπερ είπομεν, απορίαν, καὶ δόξειεν αν βέλτιον είναι κινείν. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοῦτο συνενήνος 35 οίον ἰατρική κινηθείσα παρά τὰ πάτρια καὶ γυμναστ καὶ όλως αι τέγναι πάσαι καὶ αι δυνάμεις, ώστ ἐπεὶ μ τούτων θετέον καὶ τὴν πολιτικήν, δήλον ὅτι καὶ περὶ τ § 19 την αναγκαΐον όμοίως έχειν. σημείον δ' αν γεγονέναι φι τις έπ' αὐτών τών ἔργων τοὺς γάρ ἀργαίους νόμους λ

27 τδ <μη > Wb Lo Ald. | 30 γδρ Spengel, δ Γ Π Bk. | 32 μικρά Ar. Bk.

legislation is not safe, but only specious to the ear,"-a curious confusion of metaphors.

24 ξχει γdρ κτλ] for it leads to false accusation and possibly to changes in the accusation and possiny to enanges in the constitution (see n. on line 30 below). Informers would always claim to reveal facts highly useful to the state, as did the Roman delatores. at $ri\chi y =$ should it so happen; and so el τύχοι, τυχόν, el έτυχε. 26 άλλο πρόβλημα] another question.

άποροῦσι γάρ τινες] Can this have been in written works? Susem. (269) §§ 16-25 Is it expedient to alter the laws of a country in order to introduce

provements? With this interesting discussion com-

pare Rhd. I. 15 §§ 4—12 (Spengel); also Plato Polit. 294 A—302. 28 τοὺς πατρίους νόμους] 'The ancestral laws' would include much that is unwritten: customs, institutions, those traditional practices of the society which serve as a basis (ofor épelopara) to the written code, Plato Laws III 680 A of 66 γάρ γράμματα έστι πω, άλλ' έθεσι καὶ τοῦ λενομένοις πατρίοις νόμοις έπόμενοι ζώσι.

Comp. Laws VII 793 B-D: see n. (48) on 1. 6. 1, and 11. 5 § 5, § 15. § 17 29 τῷ λεχθέντι=the proposal of Hippodamos.

είπερ μή συμφέρει κινείν] "in case it

turns out to be inexpedient"; i.e. if the wider question we decide aga

change.

30 eνδέχεται γάρ κτλ] "Some i propose the repeal of the laws or constitution as a public benefit." We thus distinguished from πολιτιέα, νόμ the code of positive law. The revoluof the Four Hundred, it will be rem bered, was effected by the suspension legal form, of the γραφή παρανόμων, great safeguard against the subversion the Athenian constitution.

32 διαστείλασθαι=enter into de It is used in Topics V. 3. 8, 131 b 15, as synonymous with διορίσασθαι. Pl. Rep. VII 535 Β ποία δή διαστέλλει § 18 33 βέλτιον το κινέν] view is maintained §§ 18—22.

34 έπι γούν των άλλων κτλ] Cp. 15. 4, n. (638) medicine in Egypt; 1 7, 8: IV(v11). 2 § 13 n. (726); 13 n. (870): III. 6 § 7 n. (531). Sus

36 μίαν.....37 πολιτικήν] It is ristotle's invariable practice to rank I tics with the "arts and faculties":

vi(iv). i §§ i→3, Nic, Eth. i. c. i. §§ 19, 20 A most valuable lin-inquiry. We could wish he had n down a few more of these antiou usages.

40 άπλους είναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφορούντό τε γὰρ οί "Ελ- ὶε § 20 ληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας ἐωνούντο παρ' ἀλλήλων, ὅσα τε λοιπά των άργαίων έστί που νομίμων, εὐήθη πάμπαν έστίν, 1269 1 οίου ἐν Κύμη περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἐστίν, ᾶν πληθός

40 έσιδηροφορούντο τὲ γὰρ P^{1-3} , ἐσιδηροφορουντοτὲ γὰρ P^6 , ἐσιδηροφορούντο τε γὰρ P4, ἐσιδηροφορούντο γὰρ Q⁵ T⁵, ἐσιδηροφόρουν τότε γὰρ Bas.⁸, ἐσιδηροφόρουν τε γὰρ Koracs, ἐσιδηροφόρουν γὰρ τότε Susem.¹ misled by William's version; see Dittenberger op. c. p. 1371

1260 а 1 корил ГМ°

40 ἐσιδηροφοροῦντο] Thuc. I. 5 § 3 τό τε σεδηροφορούντος το Παι. 1. 5 g 3 τό τε σεδηροφορείσθαι τούτοις τοῦς ήπειρώ-ταις ἀπό τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας εμιεμεθηκες 6 g ι πάσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσεδηροφόρει, διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οῦκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' άλλήλους έφόδους, και ξυνήθη τήρ δίαιταν μεθ' δπλων έποιήσαντο (J. G. Schneider). Susem. (270 b)

41 τας γυναϊκας έωνούντο] The suitor purchased the daughter of her father by means of presents (¿&va): see Schömann means of presents (cod): see Schomann Greek Antiquities 1, 52 [Eng. trans. by Mann and Hardy p. 48 ft.]. Schneider compares marriage by coemptic among the Romans. SUSEM. (271)

There is a valuable note on the &com or bride-price in the English translation of the Odyssey by Butcher and Lang. "The &ova in Homer are invariably gifts made by the wooers to the father or kinsmen of the bride, that is, the bride-price, the kalym of the dwellers on the Volga. The father of the bride was thus said čeδνοθσθαι θύγατρα (Od. II. 53), to accept certain čeδνα as the price for his daughter,-what is called 'coming to terms about the marriage' in Iliad XIIL 381 (δφρα...συνώμεθα...άμφὶ γάμω). As a rule the woman would go to the highest bidder, but in the case of a favoured wooer it seems to have been not unusual either to remit the price and give the bride drácdrov (cp. Agamemnon's offer to Achilles, IL IX. 141), or to return a portion of the fedra after marriage (Od. I. 278, II. 196), as is still the custom among the Kanekas in New Caledonia." Homer also mentions gifts from the wooers to the bride, and µellua, gifts from the bride's father to his daughter: but φερνή, the later word for dowry, does not occur. Even in Pindar έδνα is used in the sense of φερνή: Pyth. 3. 94. (Eaton compares Tac. Germ. 18; but that is the 'Mor-

gengabe, something quite different.) § 20 1260 a r ofor by Kupil This forcibly recalls compungation, the established legal usage in ancient times in

England and amongst other Teutonic peoples. That the oath might thus be employed on behalf of the accuser is sufficiently attested, although cases where it is taken on behalf of the accused are usually mentioned. The Greek custom is confirmed by the inscription of Gortyn, column 11, lines 36-44. The law has prescribed certain fines, the price to be paid for the ransom of an accused person charged with adultery and in the power of his captors. But he may plead that he was (wrongfully) seized by force: cp. [Demosth.] c. Neuerum § 66 1367, 16 dikens elaptima is: neutro. If so, the captor must support his charge by compurgators, whose number depends on the amount of the fine or ransom. (a) Four are necessary if the fine is 50, 100, or 200 staters: i.e. if the aggrieved husband is a full citizen. (β) Two are necessary if the aggrieved husband is an ἀφέταιρος, i.e. free but not a full citizen: while (γ) if the aggrieved husband is a serf olkeds), the serf's lord (#doras) and one other compurgator must appear. fine for (γ) is $2\frac{1}{2}$ staters, for (β) to or 20 staters. The Cretan text of the law runs thus: αι δε κα πονει δολοσαθθαι [i.e. έὰν δὲ φωνή δοιλώσασθαι], ομοσαι τον ελοντα το πεντεκονταστατερο [τοῦ πεντηκονταστατήρου] και πλιονος πεντον αυτον, Γιν αυτοι [ἐαυτῷ] Γεκαστον επαριομενον [ἐπαρώμενον], το δ' απεταιρο [τοῦ δ' ἀφεταίρου] τρετον αιτου, το δε Foixeos τον πασταν ατερον αυτον, μοικιοντ' ελεν [μοιχῶνθ' ἐλεῖν] δολο-σαθθαι δε με [μή]. And if he shall plead that (the captor) overmastered him, the captor shall swear-in the case of the so staters or more, himself with four others, each imprecating on himself: in the case of a clanless man, himself with two others: in the case of a house-thrall. his lord with one other-(an oath) that he took him in adultery and overmastered him not. See Zitelmann in Das Recht won Gortyn, pp. 101—107: and Mr H. J. Roby The twelve Tables of Gortyn in the τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων δ διώκων του φόνου τών αύτ §11 συγγενών, ενοχου είναι τῷ φόνος του φείγουτα. Εγτούσι δλως οὐ τὸ πάτριου ἀλλὰ σόγιδου πάυτες εἰκός τε το 5 πρώτους, είτε γηγενεῖς ήσαν είτ' ἐκ φθορῶς τινος ἐσώθησι όμοἰους είναι καὶ τοὺς τυχάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ἀνπερ κ λένεται κατὰ τῶν γηγενῶν, ἀνπε ἀτοπου τὸ μένειν ἐν τη

τούτουν δόγμασιν. πρός δὲ τούτοις ούδὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένους ὲ § 22 ἀκινήτους βὲλτιου. ὅσπερ γιὸρ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνι το καὶ τὴν πολτικτὴν τὰξιε ἀδύνατον ἀκριβῶς πάντα γραφὴν καθόλου γιὰρ ἀναγκαῖον γράφειν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις περὶ τι καθ ἔκαστον εἰοίν. ἐκ μὲν οὐν τούτριν φαικρὸν ὅτι κιι τέοι καὶ τινές καὶ ποτε τὰν νόμων εἰοίν ἄλλον δὲ τρόπ § 32 ἐπισκοποῦσιν εὐλαβείας ἀν δόξειεν εἰναι πολλής. ὅταν γ 15 ἢ τὸ μὲν βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δὲ ἐθίζειν εἰχερῶς λύειν το νόμους ἀμίλου, ἀμανορὸν ὡς ἐστέρα ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το νόμους ἀμίλου, ἀμανορὸν ὡς ἐστέρα ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το νόμους ἀμίλου, ἀμανορὸν ὡς ἐστέρα ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ πολλογίας ἀμαλον, ἀμανορὸν ὡς ἐστέρα ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το νόμους ἀμάλου, ἀμανορὸν ὡς ἐστέρα ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το καιδικό ἐστὸν ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνὶς ἀμαγτίας καὶς ἐνοκον ἐνὶας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνὶς ἀμαγτίας καὶ καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνὶς ἀμαγτίας καὶ καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνιας ἀμαγτίας καὶ το καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνιας ἀμαγτίας καὶ Καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνοκον ἐνιας ἀμαγτίας καὶ Καιδικό ἐνοκον ἐνοκον

6 õuolus III Ar. || 7 7õ omitted in III || 8 éà
ν Γ Ar. || 11 γραφή II² Bk.

Law Quarterly Review 11. 1886. p. 142, who prefers the other rendering of δολοσαθθαι 'beguiled,' as if from δολοψε.

§ 21 5. dry typeofe speady It is well known that this was the popular view in Greece about the oldest inhabitants of a country, drivégéeur ; see Prelief Gréech, Méthéla 1. 62 1. Plato makes use of for his myth Pault. 271 Hz, cp. 3/mph. 103 18 Aristotle expresses grave doubts on the question whether such a so-called 'generatio acquivoca' should be assumed for men and quadrupeds saw well as for lower forms: yet he goes on to inquire how it must be supposed to take plate. Sussex.

" & φθοράς τινος θε-] This agrees with the view explained in π. (167) on \$ \$ 16, and was much more Aristotle's real opinion, as it was the opinion of Plato Timeaus 22 C: πολλεί και κατά πολλά φθορεί γγγιώναν διοβούτων καί δεσιτε, περί μέν καί δεσιτ μέγωται, περί μέν καί δεσιτ μέγωται, περί μέν καί δεσιτ μέγωται (11 677 & Πε πολλεί εδορότων όδορα καλλοι πολλεί, το εί βραφό τι τέν αθορότων Λάτασθαι γένοι. SUSEM. (273)

6 δροίους δενα καί] "νενες much the

6 ouolous evan kal] "were much the same as the ordinary silly people" of today; cp. Vahlen Beiträge III. 314. of τυχώντες recurs in c. 9 § 23, 10 §
11 § 3.

ώσπερ και λέγεται] Plato makes

σοπερ και κεγεται 174 Β Ε: αύτο επιε τεπιετά Ρείτειου καὶ ἀφύλακτοι γεγοσό δειρεπάξεντο ἐπ' αύτος (κ. τ. τ. δ. θηδι καὶ ἔτ' ἀμήχανοι καὶ ἄτεχνοι κατὰ τ πρώτουν ἡοιαν χρώνους...ἐκ τοθτων πάν τ μεγάλαις ἡοιαν ἀπορίαις. SUSEM. (2)

Cp. Protag. 321 C: man naked a defenceless before the introduction of arts (Eaton).

8 ούδὶ τοὺς γεγραμμένους] Posit law as contrasted with the δόγματα ε

law as contrasted with the δόγματα ε δγραφα θέμμα discussed in §§ 10–21. Ε VII(VI). 5. 2 τιθομένους δὲ τοκοίτους νόμ καὶ τοδε άγμάφους καὶ τοδε γεγκαμιών The distinction is best explained by C Introd. to Rheteric pp. 230–244. § 22 9 ὅσταρ γαρ...12 καθ ὅκασ ἀστω] See III. 16§ 11 with. 1(52) I.

n. (637) on III. 15 § 4; also III. II § 16 (579): the ruler or rulers are supre where the laws cannot prescribe exacted το μφ βάδιον είναι καθόλου διορί περα πάτον. Susem. (278)

το καί (περί) τὴν πολιτικήν τάξινη ' too in the political system it is impossit that all things should be prescribed that all things should be prescribed.

writing."
§ 23 A sound argument, quite in B tham's spirit.

unants spirit.

νομοθετών καὶ τών ἀρχόντων οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀφελήσεται (V) κινήσας, ὅσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς.

§ 34 ψεΰδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδευγμα τὸ περὶ τῶν τεχνῶν οὐ 14 20 γὰρ δμομον τὸ κινῶν τέχνην καὶ νόμον ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἰσχὸν οιδεμίαν ἐγει πρὸς τὸ πεθέσεδια παρὰ τὸ ἐβος, τοῦτο δ΄ οὐ γ/μεται εἰ μι) διὰ χρόνου πλήθος, ὡστε τὸ ἰράδως μεταβάλλεω ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχὰντων νόμων εἰς ἐτέρους νόμους ἐδε καινούς ἀσθενή ποιεῖν ἐστι τὴν τοῦ νόμου δίναμμν. ἔτι δὲ 25 εἰ καὶ κινητέο, πότερον πόντες καὶ ἐν πάση πολιτεία, ἡ

15 εἰ καὶ κινητέοι, πότερον πάντες καὶ ἐν πάση πολιτεία, ἡ οὕ; καὶ πότερον τῷ τυχόντι ἡ τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν.

9 διὸ νῦν μὲν ἀφῶμεν ταὐτην τὴν σκέψω (ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν) περὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς VI 30 Κρητικῆς, σχεδόν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν δύο

17 φορόφεται το M¹P. φορόφεται «Δ». Susem.²⁶ mided by the translations of William and A. 1 & βλαφίσεται & Schneider I σύσχουνα Bernays, which I should unconditionally accept were it not for the addition of sai τῶν δρηφότενα after 17 νομοθετῶν | 11 παρά IP, κλην corn² of P²α πλην ταρά IP Βί. | 13 πλην στο P²T and P² (ατ. I hand altered by corn²) | 13 και θείστε αυγγέα απίστα by IP, [κα] Susem.^{1,4} | 1 και γέστε P²Q²P 1.1 Εk. | 28 διλ...1073 b 24 γίσχος and the proposal superior Di Michael of Ephenss

17 οδ γάρ τοσούτον κτλ] Comp.
Rhd. I. 15. 12 οδ λυστελά παρασφέξεθα το λεπόρ (το cutdo your doctor):
οδ γάρ τοσούτο βλάπτει ή διαρτία τοῦ Ιατρού δοτο τὸ Θόξιοδα άπαθείο τῷ δρχοντι;
Thuc. III. 37 χείροτε νόμοιο ἀνείγοιο χρωμένη πόλιο κρείσου ἐστέν (Εαίτο).
Ευι. Βακτίαε 971 Γ., οδ γάρ κρεϊσσέν ποτε τὰν κόμου Ι γεγαδισκευ να δει ελεντία το κίνων Ι νεγαδισκευ να δει ελεντία το κίνων Ι νεγαδισκευ να δει ελεντία.

rior figure 17/1/ferror per believes. For the per per believes 18 cm. 17 These remarks are very true. This is a difference between the sciences or arts and the laws. In the former only he who follows the science has to set and his action on an improved method proceeds from convictions whereas, if the laws are altered, all must whereas, the laws are altered, all must unconvinced of the need for alteration (Schlosser). SUSIME (2788)

21 παρά τὸ ἔθος] "has no force to secure obedience apart from habit." The Critical Notes show how the 'conflate'

reading, πλην παρά, arose. § 25 24 ετι δε...27 διαφοράν] Plato's utterance Laws 1 634. D exactly agrees with this: ὑμῶν μὲν γάρ (Cretans and Lacedaemonians), εἐπερ καὶ μετρίωτ κατεσκεύανται τὰ τῶν ψῶμων, ἐξ τῶν καλλωτιων the different properties of the plane and from the second properties of the properti

49, 53. Susem. (278)
This implies that the question has to be

1 his implies that the question has to be decided elsewhere in the treatise.

c. 9 Examination of the Spartan polity.

Sec Annal. p. 106. Since Göttlings' Excurrant, pp. 469—471 of his edition, this chapter has been most fully treated writes with especial reference to Grote's memorable chapter on Lycurgus and, in vol. 11, to the later monograph by Trieber Fortzhungen and Cilbert Studien. See Fortzhungen and Cilbert Studien. See the stage of the contract of the studien see that 1550 pc. 1560 as 28 should be compared. See also Jannet Les institutions scialed à Spart. εἰσὶν αὶ σκέψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς τὴ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴ ἀριστην νευομοθετγται τάξει, ἐτέρα δ' εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσι καὶ τὸν τρόπου ὑπεναιτίως τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς πολιτείας \$2 Γετι μὲν οὐν δεῖ τῆ μελλούση καλῶς πολιτείασθαι τὴ 3ξταῦν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν, ὁμολογιώμενον ἐστίι τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν, οὐ ῥάδιον λαβεῖν. Ἡ τε γάρ Θετ ταλῶν πενεστεία πολλάκις ἐπέθετο τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, ὁμοία δὲ καὶ τοῖς Λάκκουτ οἱ εἶλωτες (ὅστφς γλὸ ἐψδεβρείουτ»

33 «β» browntus Salliger, browntus «β μὰ tresurtus» Susem. woul prefer tout no alteration is needed | adroit adroit arth M·Qè Tal, and P² (est hand adroi P², arth P² (cor.), arth A.l. | 34 «πόλα» πολατεύουθω: Madvig | γενοντία Μ'P² and P²² (est hand, altered by corr.² P² and a later hand in P²) 38 el omitted by M° P¹.1, [6] Susem.¹²

\$1.31 μfa μδν κτλ] The two points to consider are (1) its aboolte, (2) its relative success: "whether its legislation is good or bad in relation to the best system; secondly, whether it is inconsistent with the fundamental assumption and scheme of the constitution proposed." 32 characteristics are also assume that the constitution of the constitution of the conribes are the constitution of the contral 2.5 c. πουροθέτητα. So \$18 browntal 2.5. πουροθέτητα. So \$18 browntal 2.5. πουροθέτητα.

The Helots or Sorft: §§ 2—4. § 2 34 δr. μιν οδν...35 δμολογούμανον toriv) Here we are allowed a very important glimpse of the nature of Aristotle's own ideal state. Cp. also n. (193) on 6 § 5; C. 11 § 10 n. (393); IV(vII), 9 §§ 3, 4, 7, 8; 10 89 with n. (813), and Introd. p.

22 n. (3). SUSEM. (279)
35 Tov dvaykalov σχολήν] leisure free from imposed labour: 1. 7. 3, 11. 6. 5.

free from imposed labour 1, 7, 3, 1, 6, 6, 6, 7, 6 or followed by \$8.0.

§ or refulewed by \$8.0.

were the descendants of that part of th old population of the country occupie by the invading Thessalians, which, is stead of emigrating, made a friend agreement with the conquerors and con cluded a treaty, by which for a fixed rethey remained tenants of the land the had formerly possessed and were unde obligation to furnish military service, by were not to be sold or driven out of th country or put to death. See Schöman p. 132, Eng. tr. The authorities quote by J. G. Schneider are Archemachos F. i, from Athenseus VI. 264 A: Βοιωτό των την Αρναίαν κατοικησάντων οί μη α άραντες els την Βοιωτίαν, άλλ' έμφιλονι ρήσαντες παρέδωκαν έαυτούς τοις Θετταλο δουλεύειν καθ' όμολογίας, έφ' ώ οδτε έξά ουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας, οὖτε ἀποκτενο σων αύτοι δε την χώραν έργαζόμενα τ συντάξεις ἀποδώσουσιν' οδτοι μέν οδν κατά τὰς ομολογίας καταμείναντες καὶ π ραδόντες έαυτοὺς ἐκλήθησαν τότε μενέστο νθν δὲ πενέσται: and Theopompos F 134 in Ath. VI. 265 B, C: Λακεδαιμόνι καί θετταλοί φανήσονται κατασκευασάμει την δουλείαν έκτων Έλληνων των οἰκοίντο πρότερου τὴν χώραν, ῆν ἐκεῖνοι νῦν ἔχουσι οἱ μὲν 'Αχαιῶν, Θετταλοὶ δὲ Πεβραιβίου κ Μαγνήτων και προσηγόρευσαν τούς κατ δουλωθέντας οἱ μέν είλωτας οἱ δὲ πενέστο On the similar relation between the Mar andynians and the people of Heracleia s

n. (777) on IV(VII). 6 § 8. SUSEM. (28 Plato compares Helots, Penestae at Mariandynians Lows VI 776 C, D. 38 δφοδρεύοντες] always in wait pounce upon their misfortunes: Thuc. I

σο εφισμεσόντες μικαγε in wait pounce upon their misfortunes: Thuc. I 8ο del γάρ τὰ πολλά Λακεδαιμονίοις πρ τούς εθλιστας τ'ης φυλακής πέρι μάλισ καθεστήκει.

§ 3 τοῦς ἀτυχήμασι διατελοῦσιν) περὶ δὲ τοὺς Κρῆτας οὐδέν δ 40 πω τοιούτου συμβέβηκευ, αίτιου δ' ίσως τὸ τὰς γειτυιώσας 1569 ο πόλεις, καίπερ πολεμούσας άλλήλαις, μηδεμίαν είναι σύμμαχου τοις άφισταμένοις διά τὸ μη συμφέρειν καὶ αὐταίς (ρ. 45) κεκτημέναις περιοίκους, τοις δε Λάκωσιν οί γειτνιώντες έχθροὶ πάντες ήσαν, 'Αργεῖοι καὶ Μεσήνιοι καὶ 'Αρκάδες' 5 ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφίσταντο διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔτι τοῖς προσχώροις, 'Αχαιοῖς καὶ Περαιβοῖς καὶ § 4 Μάγνησιν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἔτερον, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς 4 έπιμελείας έργώδες είναι, τίνα δεί πρὸς αὐτοὺς όμιλησαι τρόπου ανιέμενοί τε γαρ ύβρίζουσι και τών ίσων αξιούσιν 10 έαυτούς τοῦς κυρίοις, καὶ κακοπαθώς ζώντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μισούσιν. δήλον <δ'> οὐν ώς οὐκ ἐξευρίσκουσι τὸν βέλτιστον § 8 τρόπου, οις τοῦτο συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν είλωτείαν. ἔτι δὲ ἡ s

1269 b 3 mepl ofkovs Me and apparently F (praedia circa domus William) | 5 έφίσταντο Bas.8 in the margin | 6 περραμβοίε Πο Bk. Susem.1 | 9 ανειμένοι Trieber (perhaps rightly) | 10 κακοναθούντες P1 (1st hand, perhaps rightly), γρ. κακοπαθώς ζώντες corr.1 of P1 in the margin | 11 <δ'> οδν or γοῦν Susem., οδν FII Ar. Bk. | 12 ξτι...1270 a 8 πάλω Plut. Lyk. 14 quotes similar statements from Aristotle, but, as Heitz (Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles p. 20) rightly judges, from his Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία

περί τὰς γυναϊκας ἄνεσις καὶ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πο-

§ 3 40 alruov & lows It might be thought that one very material reason was the much freer and less oppressed position which, according to Aristotle's position which, according to Aristote's own evidences 5 § 19 n. (171), the Cretans granted to their dependants (Oncken). Compare also c. 10 § 3 n. (355), § 5 (357), § 8 (364), § 16 (374). SUSRM. (281)

1260 b 3 reprofesors] See c. 10 § 3 and Exc. III.

5 τοις Θετταλοις] dativus incommodi. άφίσταντο sc. οι πενέσται. § 4 7 το γε τής έπιμελείας κτλ] "the task of attending to this; how, namely, we ought to associate with them"-the sentence τίνα δεῖ...τρόπων being dependent on the noun ἐπιμελείαs, just as in IV(VII). 16. Ι πότε χρή ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμιλίαν is dependent on ἐπιμελητέων. We may render: "It would seem too that apart from everything else there is the irksome task of seeing that we behave to them as we onght: for when allowed their freedom, they grow insolent and claim equal rights with their lords: if treated harshly, they plot revenge and cherish hatred."

11 δήλον κτλ] The truth of this remark no one will wish to question. But does Aristotle really know of a remedy? He hopes to get over the difficulty in his own 'best state' by taking men of non-Hellenic race to till the soil, slaves or serfs, if possible; failing this, dependent freemen of different nations but only of the gentler races: IV(VII). 10 §§ 13, 14, n. (840): cp. IV(VII). 8 § 8 (815), and n. (364) with Exc. III. Supposing all this could be so fortunately arranged, would it have been any real remedy? SUSRM.

The women of Sparta: §§ 5—12. § 5 13 ή περί τας γυναϊκας άνεσις]

So Plato speaks Laws I 637 C δεικνός την τών γιναικών παρ' ύμῶν ἀνεσιν, and Euripides Androm. 595 οὐδ' ἀν εἰ βού-λοιτό τις | σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατίδων κόρη (Eaton). Susem. (283)

mpds Tilv mpoalperur Tils molurelas]
'judged by the intention of the constitution,' the second point of view for criticism as mentioned in § 1. The other, the standard of the best constitution, is here λιτείας βλαβερὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεον. ὅσπερ γὰρ (VI) 15 οἰείας μέρος ἀνήρ καὶ γυνή, ὅῆλου ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὸς τοῦ δίγα ἐυρηῆσθα ἐεἰ νομίξων ἐτ τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πληθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅστε ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείας φαίλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γιναίκας, τὸ ἤμιου τῆς πόλιους δεὶ νομίε δίς ἐν ἐλαι ἀνομοθέτγτον. ὅπερ ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν δλην γὰρ το τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοθέτγς εἰναι βουλόμενος καρτεριεύρ, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρας τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ὅπασαν ἀκολασίων ἐξημέληκεν ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ὅπασαν ἀκολασίων ἐξημέληκεν ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ὅπασαν ἀκολασίως τιμάσθα τὸν πλοίτου, ἄλλως τε κὰν τύχωσι γυναικοκρα15 τούμενος καθάπερ τὰ πολλά τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πόλε πικόν. Κεθόπερ γὰ πολλά τῶν εί τωνς ἔτρους ἀσωνοῦς

14, divulate Pt D.I. Ar. Ald., cort. of P^{2} and P^{1} in the margin (wrongly) is fawly and Onchem | 1 of sir P^{1} and P^{2} in the margin (wrongly) is apparently | 18 δd soulties after 19 then $P^{1}P^{2}$ lik. | 11 readress form $P^{2}P$, decayed four readress $\delta P^{2}P$, Ar. El., perhaps sightly, decayed four review region Escaled | 24 raysflows, Ald. and cort. of $P^{2}P^{2}$, regions all M^{1} | 3 of P^{2} Schneider | $\Phi^{2}P^{2}$ and M^{2} | 3 of $P^{2}P^{2}$ Schneider | Schneider | Schneider | Schneider | $P^{2}P^{2}$ | 1 of $P^{2}P^$

called the Wellbeing or Happiness (observed) when the state (Congreve). This then, and not elsopiaes, is the right reading. For the best constitution is previously to the state of the st

nal πολιν...νομίζου] "one must regard the state as nearly divided into two." But the construction is not plain: is it εγρά-colors > τοl δίγα διαρρόται? This would be supported by vi[tv]. 6. 11, viii(v). 7. 16, where έγγδε is almost an adjective. Or it might also be νομίζου αδρογόται έγγδε τοῦ δίχα < διαρρόται >.

16 From Euclid Elent. 1. to, 1. 9,

III. 30 it is seen that δίχα διαιρεώ = το divide into two equal parts. Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 4. 8 with Jackson's note.

17 Sors & Sous RTA] From this it is seen, as indeed before from 1. 13 § 16 mm. (120) (127), that Aristotle intended to introduce into his ideal state a public education and training for women, although this education was certainly not to be

common to boys and girls. Cp. Hatrad, pp. 46, 52 (c). In the Law Ut 78 is a great of the control of the control

(285) § 6 20 καρτερικήν] of hardy endu-

rance.

22 Egyadapsev) has disregarded his aim. This picture of huxurious living is indirectly confirmed by Plato Kef. WIII.

548 A. B. 2 tribuyural 87 vg xyndrus va rowino for examples rapasita and election receives for examples rapasita and election for examples rapasita and election for the confirmed for the confi

unbridled luxury of women is a very costly business. SUSEM. (286)

26 KArwy See Note on the Celtae

26 Κελτῶν] See Note on the Celtae at the end of B. IL. SUSEM. (287) §8 τετιμήκασι τήν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ (VI) ὁ μυθολογήσας πρώτος οὐκ αλόγως συζεῦξαι τὸν "Αρην πρὸς τὴν 'Αφροδίτην' ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄρρένων ὁμιλίαν

προς την εκφρούτην η γαρ πρός την τών άρρενων όμελίαν 30 ή πρός την τών γυναικών φαίνονται κατακώχιμοι πάντες οι τοιούτοι. διό παρὰ τοῦς Λάκωσι τοῦθ ὑπηρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ τ

89 διωκείτο ύπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν. καίτοι

28 πρώτως $M^a\,P^1$, perhaps rightly || δρη $P^{a,q}\,\,Q^b\,\,Ald.\,\,Bk.$ || 32 διώκητο $M^a\,P^1$

§ 8 a δ μυθολογήσεις πρώτος] Aristotic imagines that myths, like laws and castoms, nn. (200) (200) on § 12, § 14, are direct inventions of individuals, who consciously intended by means of them to represent to sense certain ideas and thoughts. Cp. also VVIII). 6 § 13 m.

1078. SUSEM. (288)
29 ἢ γὰρ κτλ] 'In his assertion, that martial races are also the most amorous, Aristotle is supported by the views of modern anthropologists' (Fülleborn).

Susem. (289) 30 κατακώχιμοι] easily captivated, with δτολ (VIII). 7. 4, with δε Νίε. Ετδ. Χ. 9. 3; with πρό one might say "easily

allured to." 31 διό παρά κτλ] Schömann Antinuities of Greece p. 268 Eng. tr. is certainly right in saying that the social position and influence of women in Sparta was not higher than it is amongst the modern peoples of the west, and that the prevailing condition of things with us in this respect would have appeared to an Athenian of the best time to be a species of feminine rule (γιναικοκρατία), although it does not at all alienate our women from their natural and most appropriate calling of housewives and mothers. But this does not thoroughly answer the question proposed by J. G. Schneider (see n. 295 b) and by Oncken: whether true womanliness can have thriven under so rough a treatment of the marriage relation as was customary at Sparta: whether a family life and true domesticity could be found when the Spartan fullcitizen was, as a matter of fact, banished from the family, lived continually with his comrades in arms, ate at the public table, slept in a tent, and only paid stolen visits to his wife; where consequently the household was without a head, the wife without a home of common duty and mutual improvement, where parental duty was removed and the natural field for the wife's activity abolished. If

in the latter respect Aristotle mistook the cause of the evil (as his retention of common messes for the men and his excessive public education prove), does this justify us in assuming that his de-scription of the evil itself is wholly incorrect? In reference to the first question, if it was nothing unusual at Sparta to hand over one's wife to another, if, as Schömann himself thinks, op. c. p. 267, a Spartan woman, to whom proposals were made by another man, hardly felt herself insulted by them but referred the lover to her husband, then (as Fülleborn and Schömann after him have remarked) the boast of the Spartans, that adultery was never heard of amongst them, does not amount to much: adultery here only means an intrigue with another man without the husband's permission. further boast of the Spartan women, that they were in an especial degree good housewives (Schömann op. c. p. 268), must accordingly-be reduced to its proper dimensions. Plato however concedes (Laws VII 80s E f.) that though the Spartan women did not weave and spin, occupations which they left to their female slaves, they yet led an active life: since they had nearly half the responsibility for the management of the household and the education of the children. Certainly there is some exaggeration in the charges of license and love of power brought against them, and this must be moderated from the above points of view: but it is quite as certain that they are not all pure inventions. Oncken refers his readers to the proof given by him Hellas and Athens II. 85. Cp.

Introd. p. 36 n. (1). SUSEM. (290) 32 êrl vîşe dapyêş] during their supremary. Cp. \$1 on. (292): VIII(V). 6. 13 êrl vîşr vîw "Alevadaw dapyîs, 7 \$1 4 êrl 'Nêyadaw sal Anackaparlaw: and De Caelo III. 2 \$7, 300 b 30, êrl vîşr фий-туго, during the reign of Love.

τί διαφέρει γυναϊκας ἄρχειν ἡ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν (VI) γυναικών ἄρχεσθαι; ταὐτὸ γὰρ συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' οὔ- (. 46) 35 σης της θρασύτητος πρός οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ' είπερ. πρός του πόλεμου, βλαβερώταται καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶυ § 10 Λακώνων ήσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς· χρήσιμοι μέν γάρ οὐδέν ήσαν, ώσπερ ἐν ἐτέραις πόλεσιν,

θόρυβον δὲ παρείχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν 8 40 οθν ξοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοις Λάκωσιν ευλόνως ή των γυ-§ 11 ναικών άνεσις. έξω γάρ της οίκείας διά τὰς στρατείας 1270 α απεξενούντο πολύν χρόνον, πολεμούντες τόν τε πρὸς 'Αργείους πόλεμου καὶ πάλιν του προς 'Αρκάδας καὶ Μεσηνίους' σχολάσαντες δὲ αύτοὺς μὲν παρείχον τῷ νομοθέτη προωδο-

35 elπeρ Π Bk.; ήπερ Sylburg Susem. 1 misled by William's version nisi ad bellum || 36 τοῦθ²] τοῦταν Spengel 1270 a 1 79s olseias (olsias ? F Ar.) omitted by Ma and P1 (1st hand), added by p1

in the margin | 4 προωδοπετοιπμέρους Bk. Susem. 1 by a misprint (corrected by Bender)

§ 9 35 τῶν ἐγκυκλίων] See 5 § 4 n. and I. 7 § 2. SUSEM. (291) § 10 37 έπλ τῆς Θηβαίων έμβολῆς]

at the time of the Theban invasion under Epameinondas 369 B.C. Susem.

38 χρήσιμοι κτλ] "For they were of no use, any more than the women in other cities, but they caused more con-fusion than the enemy." It is significant that the encomiasts of Sparta, Xenophon (Hellen. VI. 5 28 al μέν γιναΐκες οδδέ του καπνὰν ὁρῶσαι ἡνείχοντο, ἄνε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίουs) and Plutarch (Ages. 31 καλ τών γυναικών οὐ δυναμένων πσυγάζειν. άλλα παντάπασιν έκφρονων οδσών πρός τε την κραυγήν και το πύρ τών πολεμίω») speak much more strongly on this point. Oncken observes quite rightly, that this was the first opportunity the Spartan women had for putting into practice the brave speeches they had been making for centuries; they might at least have displayed a quiet bearing, even if they were not to be taken at their word. SUSEM.(293) Bernays renders: 'although the women

in other cities are of use on such occasions. But is it so? The Septem of Aeschylus scarcely bears this out.

Plato must allude to this, Later 806 B.

§ 11 1270 a I εξω γdρ κτλ] According to Plutarch Lycurg. I, in his account of the constitution of Sparta Aristotle placed Lycurgus apparently no earlier than the time of Iphitos, about the beginning of the era of the Olympiads, 776 B.C. (J. G. Schneider). See this passage among the Fragments 490, 1558 a 13, Rose=485 in Rose Aristot. preudep.=76 Müller. Further compare especially Gil-bert Studien 72 ff. 158 ff. SUSEM. (294)

The passage is as follows: of μέν γάρ Ίφίτω συνακμάσαι καλ συνδιαθείναι τής 'Ολυμπιακήν έκεχειρίαν λέγουσαν αὐτόν, ἀν έστι και 'Αριστοτέλης τεκμήριον προσφέριο τὸν 'Ολυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ῷ τοῦνομα τοῦ Αικούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένου. E. Curtius, History Eng. tr. I. p. 191, adopts this date. Even so, there would be a grave chronological difficulty if these Arcadian wars be supposed to pre-cede Lycurgus. The first Messenian war is dated 743-723 B.C. But as to the main fact Aristotle is correct. A long period of camp-life, of war in which the Spartans lived perpetually in the field, must have preceded the complete estab-lishment of the system and the institu-tions which are referred to the Lycurgean legislation". Such a period we find in the tedious and difficult conquest of Laconia by its Dorian invaders.

4 προωδοπεποιημένους] Note the dou-

ble formation of perfect.

* I entirely agree with Wilamowitz Homer-tic Unitersuchungen, Berlin 1884, p. 407 ff., that Lycurgus is only a mythical person, and that the supposed Lycurgean legislation never had an existence; and I also regard the account which he gives of the real state of things as altogether correct, Sussan.

5 πεποιημένους διά τὰν στρατιωτικάν βίων (πολλά γὰρ ἔχει (VI) μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς δὲ γινοᾶκάς φασι μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὰν Λικοῦργον ἐπὶ -τοὸς νόμους, ὡς δ' ἀντέκρουν, 13 ἀποστῆναι πάλιν. αἰτίαι μὲν οῦν ἐἰσιν αὐται τὰν γενομέ-ῦ

§12 ἀποστήραι πάλικι αίτιξει μέν οὐν είστι αίται τόν γεσιμέν νων, δίστε δήλον δτι καὶ ταίτης τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀλλ', ἡμές του ὁ τοῦτο σκοποῦμει, τὰν δεί συγγρώμην ἔχειν ἡ μὴ ἔχειν, τὰ δὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀρθώς καὶ μὴ ὀρθώς τὰ δὰ περὶ τὸῦ ἀρθώς καὶ μὴ ὀρθώς τὰ δὰ περὶ τὸῦ ἀρθώς καὶ μὴ ὀρθώς τὰ δὰ περὶ τὸῦ ἀρκοτάς του.

7 $\ell\pi^2]$ $\ell\pi^3$? Koraes $\| 8$ yourseful M^P P^1 $\| 11$ 700] th Q^b T^b and P^i (1st hand), $\gamma\rho$. 700 P^4 in the margin

5 πολλά γάρ έχει μέρη κτλ] Cp. Plato Lawi 1. 630 Ε ούχ δε πρδε άρετης τι μέρου και τουτα τό φωλοταν ετίθει (ξ. Λικοθργο) βλάτως λόλά πρός πάσω άρετης: Thuc. 1. 84, 3 πολεμικοί τε απί εξθουλοι διά τὸ εθκοσμον γεγρόμεθα: V. 66. 4 (Eatou). Sussem. (294 b) 6 φοση! As to whether this is an

6 down As to whether this is an anonymous quotation from Ephoros, or an appeal to oral tradition, see *Introd*. p. 35 m. (3). Co. also below m. (210) on

p. 35 n. (3). Cp. also below n. (310) on § 7. Susem. (295) 7 ώς δ' αντέκρουον κτλ] Precisely so Plato Laws VI. 781 Α τὸ δὲ περί τὰς γυναῖκας ν οὐδαμῶς δρθῶς ανομοθέτητον μεθεῖται...αλλ' δ και άλλως γένος ήμων των άνθρώπων λαθραιότερον μᾶλλον και ἐπικλοπώτερον ἔφυ, τὸ θῆλυ, διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, οὐκ ὀρθώς τούτο εξέαντος τοθ νομοθέτου δύστακτον ον αφείθη. This Plutarch must have forgotten, when (Lycurg. 14) he attacks Aristotle alone on account of this same remark and tries to refute him. The facts which he adduces with this object prove simply nothing: but directly afterwards (c. 15) he gives a detailed account of the Spartau custom of lending wives, and this does not make the assertion, which he appends to it, very credible: viz. ταῦτα δὲ οῦτως πραττόμενα φυσικώς και πολιτικώς τότε τοσούτον απείχε της ύστερον λεγομένης γενέσθαι περί τὰς γυναϊκας εύχερείας, ώστε όλως άπιστον είναι τό της μοιχείας παρ' αὐτοῖς. Even he does not venture to deny the subsequeut laxity of the women at Sparta. (J. G. Schneider.) SUSEM. (295 b)
§ 12 8 "These then are the causes

\$ 12 8 "These then are the causes of the events which happened and therefore clearly of this mistakes but the question before us is not who is, or is not, excusable; but whether as a matter of fact (a legislator) is right or wrone."

fact (a legislator) is right or wrong."

o d\lambda 'n\mu \tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tin_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\tilde{s}_\ti

pleasure, but is tied down to the given circumstances: cp. \(\) 22 n. (322), 12 \(\) 5 (409); VI(IV). I \(\) 3 ff. n. (1116), c. 6, II \(\) 7, 8, I2 \(\) I ff.: VII(VI). c. 4. It is only in case these circumstances are highly favourable that he considers his own hest constitution possible. But this is still a long way off the knowledge that a nation's constitution and code of laws are in general the product primarily of its individuality and history, and only secondarily of the legislator's wisdom or unwisdom. Nor does Aristotle omit forthwith to mark precisely the spirit of his own examination in that 'he never purposes to account for the constitution by the circumstances under which it arose, or to fathom the necessities which confronted the legislator. Instead of this, Lycurgus, who left hehind him an actual state, is treated like Plato who constructed an imaginary state. Aristotle's criticism neither is nor claims to be historical criticism in our sense of the term, which is more concerned to explain the connexion of the facts than to award praise or blame. He is as one-sided in pointing out the defects of this political structure as the admirers of its excellences had been in earlier times and continued to be later on. Nor could it have been otherwise: for neither he nor they had the requisite historical data for appreciating the personal responsibility of Lycurgus. Nor have we even now :--assuming that we still retain our belief in the existence of such a person as Lycurgus. Moreover in spite of his recognition of the force of circumstances Aristotle shares with Plato 'and all the political theorists of Greece the belief in the omuipotence of positive legislation, as if mighty historical developments which are not of today or yesterday could be simply swept out of the world by a command or prohibition. Besides, he makes Lycurgus responsible for things for which no legis-

ναίκας έγοντα μη καλώς έοικεν, ώσπερ έλέγθη καὶ πρότερον. (VI) ου μόνον απρέπειαν τινα ποιείν της πολιτείας αυτής καθ αύτήν, άλλά συμβάλλεσθαί τι πρός την φιλοχρηματίαν. 15 * *. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ νῦν ἡηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν 10 § 14 της κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτών συμβέβηκε κεκτήσθαι πολλήν λίαν οὐσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πάμπαν μικράν διόπερ εἰς ολίγους ήκεν ή χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως ἀνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πωλεῖν

12 δοικεν omitted by Γ M* | 13 αυτήν M* Π2 Bk., αυτά Ar. | 14 αυτά Ar. | άλλὰ <καί> Koraes | 15 * * μετὰ γὰρ Susem., see Comm.; μετὰ δὲ Zwinger | 17 May omitted by M*P1 | τοίε] τὸν M*, τῶν P1 | 18 ήκει ? Congreve | 19 τον νόμον M* and perhaps Ar. | 20 ούκ before ἐποίησεν inserted by H1 (erased by corr. P1), oiolar? Bender

20 την υπάργουσαν εποίησεν ου καλόν, δρθώς ποιήσας, διδό-

lator can be responsible, and he partly blames bim for effects of certain laws, when the effects could not be imputed to him even if the laws in question had really been his own work, and that in the sense in which Aristotle attributes them to bim' (Oncken). Cp. also n. (82) on I. 9 § 8: n. (238) on II. 7 § 8; Exc. II on Bk. II; n. (339) on § 30 below; (466) on III. 3 § 9; (552) on III. 9 § 8: II. 5 § 8 n. (160): IV(VII). I4 § 16 (916). Even that which rests on no express command or prohibition, but simply on the force of popular custom, that is, the so-called 'unwritten law' (cp. n. 48 on 1. 6, 1 and Exc. II to Bk. II), is directly attributed by Aristotle, as by Plato, to the authorship of a definite individual lawgiver: this is especially clear from § 14 below, see n. (300). Ex-actly similar is his assumption of a first founder of the state: 1. 2 § 15, δ πρώτος συστήσας, n. (28 b): or his judgment as to the origin of the conceptions of popular mythology, § 8 above, ὁ μυθολογήσας πρώτος, μ. (288).

'In spite of these undeniable weaknesses the whole chapter may lay claim to a full measure of authority, as much as any other of Aristotle's historical statements. It is its merit to have most acutely corrected the aberration from sound intelligence revealed in the adoration paid to the Spartau state, and here also to have confronted romance with criticism' (Oncken). Susem. (296)

12 καλ πρότερου] § 5 ff., see nn. 284 -286. SUSEM. (297)

The land question and the decline of

population: §§ 13-19. § 13 15 merd ydo kth] Possibly we should alter yap into &f, as Zwinger proposed, and not assume a lacuna; since as a matter of fact no proof is needed to show why license amongst the women tends to increase the love of wealth: every one can easily imagine the reason for bimself. Nor was a reason stated in § 7; the passage where this was touched upon above (και πρότερον, see last n.), which is referred to in § 13, see n. (286). Yet it may equally have been omitted there in order to be introduced here, when the subject comes up for further discussion: this may have been followed by a transition to the relations of property generally amongst the Spar-tans, in the form of a remark, to which the passage μετὰ γὰρ κτλ served as reason or explanation. This much is certain that these words are not at present related to what precedes either as reason or as explanation, and if no lacuna be assumed the yap of the text is an inconsis-

samed the γφρ of the text is an inconsis-tency. Sugar, (298) § 14 16 τους μέν γφρ κτλ] Cp. VIII(v). γ § 10 & Λακεδαίμου εἰς δλίγους αὶ οὐοίαι έρχωνται π. (1603). Susem. (288 b) 20 ἐπούηστον sc. Lycurgus. The name is not mentioned, but this is the only subject which can be understood (from § 11). From this then it follows that Aristotle was not as yet acquainted with the famous story according to which a certain Epitadeus carried the law which allowed the family estate to be given ναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦς βουλομένοις. (VI) καίτοι ταὐτό συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαΐον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως.

ξ16 ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν γιναικῶν σχεδὰν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν
 14 πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων,

21 katalatés M^*P^1 Susem. 1 | 22 tauts P^1 , toits Π^2 $\mathrm{Bk}.^1$ | 23 fort] fri Bender very temptingly, yet fort would then be required after two perse marks $|^1$ discussm. 1 wrongly, see Comm. $|^1$ and mitted by $|^1$, [cas] Susem. 1 : if we read fri with Bender, it is not needed $|^1$ 24 persubture Kotaes

away or freely disposed of by will: Planch Agist 4, op. Schömann Antiquities of Grace p. 216 Eng. tr. As far as hence, this had never been prohibited. Should we expect later writers to really better informed? Or would it not be as well to consign the said story to be so well to consign the said story to which Greek satinguity pa knowled the which Greek satinguity pa knowled with the protection.

έποίησεν ού καλόν] Aristotle implies that Lycurgus never expressly prohibited. by a declaration of illegality and a penalty, the sale of the old plot of ground or the purchase of a new one. When translated into our mode of thought and expression this means that the force of usage and custom was against the practice; it was held dishonourable to sell. 'With this agrees the omission of Sparta, 8 § 6, from the list of states where alienation or enlargement of the inherited estate was prohibited by law' (Oncken), as one means of restoring, in a certain sense, equality of possessions; comp. n. (237). (This decisive circumstance was quite overlooked by Gilbert.) Is it not then a fair inference that Aristotle was also unaware of any equal division of property amongst the Spartans, whether by Lycurgus or any one else, with the design That this equality should be perpetual? (This last is the only point here in question with Aristotle.) Otherwise, since such a division amongst those who are actual citizens was also his own ideal, IV(VII). 10 §§ 9-12 n. (835);-cp. nn. on II. 6 § 5 (192), § 15 (214)-would he not have expressly appealed to the authority of Lycurgus in support of it, and expressly commended him for this ex-cellent design? Would he not also have expressly blamed him, no less than Plato or Phaleas—6 § 10 ff. (208—211), 7 § 5 (234)—for having neglected, to a still greater extent than these theorists, to take the appropriate means for bringing this about: nay more, for having taken

as good as no means whatever? The 7th fragment of the Polity of the Lacedaemonians attributed to Herakleides (Müller Frag. hist. Gr. 11. 211) un-doubtedly goes back to the Aristotelian work On the Spartan constitution, see n. (360) on 10 § 6. But this by no means proves that these extracts must be wholly free from foreign additions, or that $\tau \eta s$ δ' άρχαίας μοίρας σύδὲ Εξεστιν is not one here. Cp. n. (310 *) on § 17. Gilbert, op. c. 162 ff., attempts in vain to show that it is quite natural that Aristotle should omit this limitation in the present passage. For, if he had known it, it is obvious how much it must have both weakened and again aggravated the blame he has here expressed. For whatever we may make of the 'ancient portion' (doχαίας μοίρας), it would testify to a stronger care on the part of the legislator to preserve the family estates if the sale of this portion was absolutely forbidden by law and declared null and void, at the same time that it would be so much the stronger inconsistency if even this property was to be freely disposed of by will or given away. Besides Gilbert's whole method of explaining this apyala whole hection of expanding this appearance meeting to expending the correctly, refuted by Frick in Yahrb. f. Phil. cv. 1872. 667. Susem. (800)
21 διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν] Trans-

21 διδόναι δέ καὶ καταλείπεν] Translated into our language this means: in all ages after Lycurgus usage and custom were often evaded by apparent free gift or by testamentary disposition of land-Susem. (801)

22 καίτοι ταὐτό συμβαίνειν κτλ] Cp. VIII(V). 8 § 20 s. fin. n. (1628). Susem. (301 b)

§ 15 24 τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο] two fifths,

τῶν τ' ἐπικλήρων κτλ] why the number of heiresses in Sparta was disproportionately large Aristotle considers it superfuous to show, because it is readily understood that in the many long wars an unusually large number of sons fell 25 καὶ διὰ τὸ προϊκας διδόναι μεγάλας, καίτοι βέλτιον ἡν (VI)
μηδεμίαν ἡ ολίγην ἡ καὶ μετρίαν τετάχεια * * νῦν δ ἔξεστις, α
δοῦναί τε τὴν ἐπίκληρον ότη ἀ βολληταν, κὰν ἀποθάνη
μὴ διαθέμενος, ὃν ἀν καταλίπη κληρονόμον, οὅτος ῷ ἀν
§ 16 Θλη δίδωστιν. τουγαροῦν δυναμένης τῆς χώρας χιλίονς ἐποπῶς τρέφειν καὶ πετιακοσίους καὶ ἀπλίτας τρισμυρίους, οιδὲ
χίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἡσαιν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργον αὐτὰν τι
δῆλον ὅτι φαιλως αὐτος ἐίχε τὰ περὶ τὴν τὰξιν ταύτην
μίαν γὰρ πληγήν οὐχ ὑπίγενρεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ ἀπώλετο

25 ψ omitted by III. [ψ] Susem.1²d doubtfully | 46 ** ** νῦ Bücheler, see Comm. 1, (204): νῶ δ' θεντι δοίναι «ἐπένερι δεν τα θέλη: καὶ τῷ πατηλ θεντι δοίναι » τὴν κτλ Wildon | 2 τι contitted by MP F, [τη] Susem.1² | 1 εδ κῶ τα κταλίτης «τὴν » ολημούμαν, κότοι το τῷ τῶ καταλίτην «τὴν » ολημούμαν, κότοι Κοιπει | 30 τραμμο[κοι] τραγχλίσοι F li nh emargin | 1 33 οδ δελ μίαν τὸ μότηψο ἐπέγενες Susem.1²⁰ miled by William's version nullam enim plagam pertulit | 34 μδν omitted by III: 160 Susem.1²⁰

8 17 δια την ολιγανθρωπίαν. λέγουσι δ' ώς έπὶ μέν τών προτέ-

(Bender). Aristotle's statement concerning the great wealth of Spartan women is confirmed by Phutarch's from a yet later time Agis 4. 7 in the row house moving mobiring to run a yearlight of helders. (J. G. Schneider.) SUSEM. (802)

The Soartan name for them is fraref-

μονες, έπιπαματίδες.

25 καίτοι βάντιον] Here again later authors are apparently better informed of the facts than Arisotle. We are told that down to the time of Lysander none were ever given; see Schömsam Antiquities of Greece p. 265 Eng. tr. SUSEM.

"" of "ye" S' figure, re?). It is obvious that this sentence forms no antithesis to the preceding and thus riv 26 gives no sense. All however is right if one imagines something like the following to have some something like the following to have the word of the control of the control who had the right and obligation of marrying helicesses, whereas at present every father can marry his daughter to any one he pleases, and if he die without when he pleases. Strans. (2004) when he pleases. Strans. (2004)

28 κληρονόμος usually means 'heir': here it must mean the person entitled to the rights of the deceased, the next male relation of full age, or, if there were more than one such, the eldest of them.

Susem. (305)

This privilege is assigned to the king by Herod. VI. 57: δικάζειν δὲ τοὺτ βασιλέας...πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν Ικνέεται έχειν, ἢν μή περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν

έγγυήση.

18 20 p. Swendwigl Of course Aristotle makes this calculation, as nother remarks, with regard to the total population of Laconia, whether Spartan or of non-Spartan descent. In any case it is rather too high an estimate, as this total population of the control o

SUSEM. (306)
30 of XOLOL] 'In the time of Agis
B.C. 241 (Plut. Agis c. 5) the Spartans

B.C. 241 (Full. Agr.) C. 5) the Spartans were but 700, and only 100 retained their family allotments' (Eaton). SUSEM. (807) 33 μίαν γάρ πληγήν] The battle of Leuctra. Cp. further § 34 n. (345), IV(VII), 14 § 3 n. (106); VIV(VII), 4 § 4, § 7 n. (106); VIV(VII), 4 § 4, § 7 n. (106).

§ 7 n. (1008). SUSEM. (3009) only διπήνερκε! The negative to be taken closely with the verb: under one blow the city sank. Cp. Aristoph. Knights 1377 δεξίων οἰκ ἀπέθωνε, Plato Phil. 23 Λ ἐμφρόνως οἰκ ἀπεποιείτο τῶν πικυτησίων: and below Pol. VI(IV). 4. 20

ού πολιτείαν. 34 δια την όλιγανθρωπίαν] Here 35 ρουν βασιλέων μετεδίδοσαν τής πολιτείας, ώστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι (VI)
τότε ολιγιαθρωπίαν πολεμούντων πολλυ χρόυνο, καί φασω
είναί ποτε τολς Σπαρτιάτας καί μυρίους οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰτ'
ἐστὶν ἀληθή ταῦτα εἶτε μή, βέλτιου τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως
818 ώμαλισμένης πληθύεω ἀδρών τὴν πόλω. ὑπευαστίος δὲ 12
καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆν τεκυστοίαν νόμος πρὸς ταὐτην τὴν διὰβου-

37 robs Σπαρτιάταs Ar. Bücheler Susem.³, roß Σπαρτιάταιs II Bk. Susem.³ in the text and probably Γ; Thurot first suspected an error again of course only Spartans proper are Talthybiadae: see Schömann p. 193, meant, not Provincials (Ilspiouso) and 208, 225 ft, 240 Eng. tr.; Gilbert p. 22 ff.

Sparts one of the least populous of states (I. G. Schneider), Susem. (309) § 17 34 λέγουσι δ' ώς κτλ] 'It would appear as if Aristotle is our only authority for this fact. Herodotus, IX. 35, is very positive in his assertion that Tisamenos the Elean and his brother Hegias μοῦνοι δή πάντων ἀνθρώπων έγέроэто Σπαρτιήτησι πολιήται '(Congreve). Cp. also n. (312). (Plutarch Instit. Lac. 22 speaks somewhat differently. It is there stated that the strangers who submitted to the Lycurgean discipline were by the ordinance of Lycurgus also allowed a share in the 'ancient portion,' της άρχηθεν διαrerayutings µolpas, which they were not permitted to sell. Cp. n. 300.) Ephoros however, as Trieber shows, had the following story, Frag. 18 found in Strabo VIII. 364. The first kings Eurysthenes and Prokles had divided Laconia into four states, besides Sparta and Amyclae, and on account of the paucity of men had authorized the dependent rulers of these four provincial states to admit aliens to the right of citizenship; at that time the περίοικοι were as yet completely on an equality, political and civil, with the pure Spartans. Now it is indeed true that this account cannot have been the authority which Aristotle is here quoting, as Trieber and Susemihl once supposed: but this being the case the partial agree-

ment of the two accounts is still striking

enough to suggest that Aristotle has here cited some other passage of Ephoros.

For Herodotos may possibly refer only to historical times, Aristotle to the earlier

period, e.g. perhaps only the reigns of the oldest kings. No doubt he is also thinking of such old Spartan families of

non-Dorian descent as the Aegidae and

Helots. According to Xenophon, Hellen. VI. 4. 15, 1000 Lakedaemonians fell at

Leuctra, including 400 out of the 700 Emapriaras who took part in the battle.

Xenophon also, De Rep. Lac. 1. 1. calls

Talthybiadae: see Schömann p. 193, 208, 225 f., 249 Eng. tr.; Gilbert p. 52 ff., 57 ff., 149 f.; Frick in Fahrb. f. Philol. cv. 1872. p. 655 ff. It might again be said that Herodotos obviously has in mind only foreigners proper; whereas Aristotle might mean the μόθακες, as they were called, children of Helots brought up as Spartans, who were perhaps invariably the illegitimate sons of Spartan lords by Helot women. But then such μόθακες were not confined to the times of the earlier kings: even Lysander, Gyhppos, Kleandridas, for example, belonged to their number, see Schömann p. 200 Eng. tr. Ridgeway, again, suggests that the reference is to the veolaucibers, i.e. Helots enfranchised for their services in war, and to their descendants. But a similar objection may be still more strongly urged: the earliest mention of νεοδαμώδειs is as late as the period of the Peloponnesian war, Schömann p. 198 Feligonnesian war, Scholmann p. 196
Eng. tr.—Comp. § 11 n. (295) and esp.
Introd. p. 35 n. (3). Susem. (310)
35 corr of yeardal and that
therefore there was then no lack of men

therefore there was then no lack of men although they were at war for a long time. The indicative would have been used in oratio reta: hence ot, not the, in obliqua. Thucyd. V. 40 ών' ούχ πρείσθαι and Demosth. De falta leg. 88 indicative with Shilleto's Appendix B. 36 wal down down with Shilleto's Appendix B. 36 wal down down with Shilleto's hopendix B.

here again the pure Spartans are meant. Demaratos in Herod. VII. 234 reckons them at about 8,000 (Eaton). SUSEM. (311)

- 37 εξτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθη...εξτε μή] Aristotle himself then doubts it. Susem, (312)
- 38 βέλτιον...39 την πόλιν] "It is better to fill the city with men by means of an equal division of property" than by the admission of aliens.

 § 18 40 υποναντίος πρὸς ταύτην
- την διόρθωστυ] is an obstacle to a correction of these evils of Sparta, viz. by equalization of property. See § 1 for

1270 h σεν. βουλόμενος γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης ὡς πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς (V) Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι

παίδας έστι γέρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς § 19 νίοὺς ἀφρουρον εἰναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελῆ πάντον. καίτοι 5 φανερὸν ὅτι πολλών γινομένων, τῆς δὲ χώρας οὐτω διηρημένης, ἀναγκαῖον πολλούν γιίνεσθαι πένητας.

άλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν ἔχει φαύλως. ἡ γὰρ ἀρ-16 χὴ κυρία μὲν αὐτὴ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου παντός, ὧστε πολλάκις ἐμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφό-

1370 b 2 προάγει Spengel \parallel τοδε πολίται omitted by M*P¹ \parallel 8 αδτη Ar., omitted by Γ M* Welldon \parallel 9 παιτέε Sauppe (Epist. crit. ad G. Hermannum p. 94 f.), πάττε Γ Π Ar. Ek.

construction. Division of the larger properties would ensure the maintenance of an increased population: the existing law encourages an increase without due regard to their subsistence.

1370 b² προάγυται τους πολίτας κτλ]
'stimulates the citizens.' Just the opposite
of what Aristotle himself requires. Plato
and Phaleas did not go anything like so
far, and yet are hlamed severely enough
by him in this respect. See 6 § 10 ff.
nn. (208—211), 7 § 5 nn. (234, 235).
SUSEM (331)

4 dφρουρον] not liable to military service, [dμόρουρον: φρουρό is a Spartan word for στρατιά, found frequently in Xenophon Edilenia, II. 4 29 ξέδγει φρουράν, σοι IV. 7. 2, V. 2. 3. Xenophon uses the phrase φρουράν φαίσται = to declare war in III. 2. 23 and some 15 other places. Also in Thucydides III. 25, Βρασίδει φρουράν έχειν.

"retrupogal Aclina Var., Ilita. VI. 6. Sup-fired, I. 6. Schneidels. Purther Marso Speria I. 1, p. 118 f., is undertoolitedly sight in sweeting that this law certainly never dreamed of taxing pure sparams in the olden times, and the remission of military duty as reward sparams in the olden times, and the remission of military duty as reward sparams. The measure reveals that the decadence of the sational power has the sparams of the state of the

§ 19 4 καίτοι φανερόν κτλ] Since the Spartans lived simply and solely on the produce of their estates, this is plain enough. But considering the numerous wars, it is unfortunately not easy to see how decrease in the numbers of fighting

men would be prevented by equality and inalienability of the estates. From the nature of the case the only effectual means to prevent it would have been that which according to tradition was adopted by the early kings, 'to repair gaps in the ranks of the old citizens by the admission of new citizens.' Compared with this effective remedy no great importance attaches to the encouragement given to families of three or four sons by a reward which from its character excited the dangerous surmise, that for distinguished services to the state Sparta had no better prize to offer than release from the honourable duty of serving the state. We know now that no stock which goes on breeding in and in can be preserved from extinction. Significant enough too is the proportionately large number of distin-guished men in Sparta who came from the ranks of the μόθακες (see n. 310 on § 17): in whose case fresh blood was imported into the ancient stock. 'The peculiar feature in the social malady of the Spartan state was this, that inequality of property, which we know to be as old as property itself, gained ground here, not as usually, in the train of over-population, but as a consequence of the very opposite condition, viz. depopulation (Oncken). Susem. (316)

The Ephoralty §§ 19—24. Amongst other monographs see A. Schäfer De ephoric commentatio (Greifswald 1863), H. Stein The development of the Ephoralty (Jahresber. des Gymn. in Konitz, 1870), Urlichs in Rhein. Mus. VI. 1847. p. 221, G. Dum Entstehung und Entwicking des spartanisches Ephoralts (Inschivich 1878).

8 αὐττ] in itself, simply as such.
9 ἐκ τοῦ δήμου] Thirlwall (iv. 377)
supposed the δήμος to include the ὑνο-

10 δρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον, οῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὤνιοι ἦσαν. (VI) § 20 εδήλωσαν δὲ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δ' ἐν τοις 'Ανδρίοις' διαφθαρέντες γάρ άργυρίω τινές, όσον έφ'

έαυτοῖς, όλην την πόλιν ἀπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ την ἀρχήν είναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον δημαγώγειν αὐ-15 τους ήναγκάζουτο καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ώστε καὶ ταύτη συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι την πολιτείαν δημοκρατία γάρ εξ άριστο-18

§ 21 κρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μέν οὖν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ άρχεῖον τοῦτο (ήσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δήμος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς (ρ. 48) μεγίστης αρχής, ώστ' είτε διά του νομοθέτην είτε διά την 20 τύγην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν, συμφερόντως έγει τοῖς πράγμα-

10 αν εξησαν ? Schneider | 12 'Aνδρίοις Ar., ανδρίοις even Bk.1, ανδρείοις P8 (1st hand, emended by a later hand), despelois P Me and PI (1st hand), defectors corr. of PI (τ altered to δ), γρ. ἀνδρίοιs pl in the margin | 14 [αὐτοὺs] Oncken, αὐτοὶ Ridgeway | αὐτοὺς ἡνάγκαζον καὶ τοὺς Susem.2, reges ipsos populares fieri compulerant Ar.; regere populum se ipsos cogebant reges William, whence αὐτοὺς ἡνάγκαζω[το] καὶ [ol] Susem.1 | 16 άριστοκρατείας P2-3-4 Qb Tb | 19 την om. by H2 Bk.

ueloves as well as the outer, and so too K. F. Hermann. The opposite view is taken by Schömann Antiquities p. 245 Eng. tr. See Busolt 'The Lacedaemonians and their allies' 1. p. 21 f. (Leipzig, 1878). For παντός, not πάντες, see § 22, 10 § 10. 10 dρχείον=magistracy, board: so § 21, 10 § 10 τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖαν.

ώνιοι] See below 10 § 12 π. (370 b) and Thuc. I. 131. 2 ό δὲ (Παυσανίαι) πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολήν (Eaton); also Rhet. III. 18. 6, 1419 a 31 ff.; the Lacedaemonian Ephor called to account for his conduct says of mer yap (his colleagues) χρήματα λαβόντες ταῢτα Επραξάν, έγὼ δ' οδ, άλλα γνώμη (Göttling). SUSEM. (316)

ήσαν] were often. 'Why this tense? Is it that in Aristotle's time it mattered little whether they were so or not?' inthe whether they were so or note (Congreve). It is imperfect in § 14 τ/κεν, § 16 τ/σαν, § 20 τ/ναγκάζοντο, συνέβαινε. § 20 11 εν τοις 'Ανδρίοις] what circumstance is meant we do not know. For the expression και νῦν=recently, compare VIII(v). 10 § 31 και νῦν ἡ τῶν Compare VIII(V). 16 8 31 και νον η των περί Διονόσιον, π. (1699). SUSEM. (317)
14 και Ιστοτύραννον] Ορ. Plato Laws
IV. 712 D και γαρ τυραννίδι δοκεί μοι προσσοκέναι [ή ἐν Δακεδαίμονι πολιτεία] τὸ γάρ τῶν ἐφόρων θαυμαστῶς ὡς τυραννικὸν ἐν αὐτῆ γέγονε. See c. 6 § 17 π. (219). SUSEM. (318)

δημαγωγείν=to conciliate, flatter an individual like a demagogue, in VIII(v). 6 § 6, 10 § 31. But, as Oncken remarks. it hardly serves to convert the constitution into a democracy that the kings pay court to the Ephors. SUSEM. (319) If therefore airois be retained, it will more conveniently apply to the Spartans themselves as in §§ 16, 19, 24. The kings themselves were compelled to court the favour of the people in order thereby to secure power to counterbalance that of the ephors.

"This seems to me impossible in this context. If then airois is right, Aristotle has, I think, erroneously exaggerated. nas, I timit, erroneously exaggerated. For I cannot agree with Busse who thinks that Oncken's objection is sufficiently removed by c. 6 § 17, 1265 b 38, bnpa-sparreiden sard rip rior depopur agrip bad ri ker to bipuo char rob répopur." SUSEM. 16 § aparrospartas] Sec m. (536)

on III. 7 § 3. SUSEM. (320)

§ 21. 17 CONEXES = is the keystone of

the constitution.

the constitution.

10 διά τον νομοθέτην] Not Lycurgus in this case but, on Aristotle's view, vIII(ν). 11 § 2, Theopompos. See n. (314) on § 18. SUSEM. (321) efte διά την τύχην] Aristotle is not unaware, then, that many good or bad consequences may arise out of legal regu-

lations quite apart from, or even contrary to, the legislator's intention : cp. 12 § 5 n. (409). Susem. (321 b) 20 συμπέπτωκεν] Cp. άπὸ συμπτώ-

ματος c. 12 § 5.

82 σων δεί γιβρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μελλουσαν σφίζεσθαι πάντα (VI βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεος εἰναι καὶ διαμένειν ταὐτά: οἱ μέν οὖν βασιλείς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν οὕτος ἔχουσω, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ διὰ τὴν γερουσίαν—ἄθλον γιὰρ ἡ ἀρχή τος αὐτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστιν—, ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν ἐφορείαν—κα. 820 θίσταται γιὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων—)· ἀλλλ αἰρετὴν ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν ια εἰναι ταύτην ἐξ ἀπάντων μέν, μὴ τὸν τρόπου δὲ τοῦτου δυ νῶν (παλαρμόδης γιὰρ ἐστι λίων). ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρίσεων μεγά-

22 raurd Pl, raira Γ Pl, rie atrip or [ratrd] Schneider, <anrà> raird Bennys; eiter this or rie atrip is right \parallel 24 dibn...terib] Tricher considers these words to be a gloss from Demonst. Let \S 1972; even Giphanius remarks on the agreement of the two passages "valde miror": see Comm. \parallel 26 the $\frac{1}{100}$ $\frac{1$

§ 22 21 δεί γὰρ...22 διαμένειν ταὐτά]
Cp. VI(IV). 9 § 10 n. (1267), 12 § 1 (1307); VII(VI). 5 § 4 (1434); VIII(V). 9 § 5 (1634). SUSEM. (332)
The order (which Stahr, and apparently

23 ούτως έχουσι»=βούλονται τὴν πολιτείαν διαμένειν (Congreve). Comp. 10

§ 10. of the ônuos. 24 καλοί κάγαθοί] This expression in Aristotle-see e.g. vI(IV). 8 § 3 ff.always denotes the more educated and capable men: and this meaning in the present passage is confirmed by the addition αθλον γάρ ή αρχή αύτη της αρετής έστίν, which Trieber hardly has sufficient grounds for regarding as an interpolation. Hence U(nger) in Philol. Anseiger v. 1873. p. 370 has rightly protested against the completely mistaken assertion of Gilbert op. c. 151 ff., and Frick De ephoris Spartanis 28 f. 7, who prefer to understand by it the nobles. From passages like 11 \$\$ 3, 4 and v1(IV). 7 \$ 4 (which Gilbert p. 153 incredibly mistakes) any one who reads without preconceived opinion will see beyond all doubt that Aristotle knows nothing of an election of Senators at Sparta, for which only certain families were eligible (as was the case in Crete were eligible (as was the case in Crete c. 10 § 10), or of a privileged hereditary nobility within the pale of those pure Spartans who had the right to take part in the popular assembly. Nor can the

26 καθίσταται γάρ sc. ή έφορεία έξ άπάντων. Cp. 10 § 10 διὰ τὸ τὴν αίρεσιν čκ πάντων είναι, n. (370). SUSEM. (323 b) § 23 28 παιδαριώδης κτλ] Here Aristotle calls the whole method of electing the Ephors childish, yet he says of the election to the senate § 27, κατά την κρίσιν έστι παιδαριώδης, it is childish as to the means of ascertaining the results. Consequently the mode of election was probably not the same for the two offices. Plato again describes it in the case of the ephors as approximating to a nomination by lot Laws III 692 A, eyyès Tis κληρωτής δυνάμεως. This points to auspices (Urlichs Rhein, Mus. N. S. VI. 1847, 223). But it is hardly possible to determine whether electors were chosen by the people and then, after observing certain signs, they appointed the new ephors, as Urlichs thinks: or whether, according to Schömann's conjecture p. 240 Eng. tr., a larger number of persons were nominated by the people, and the five selected from them in accordance with certain auspices. Susem. (324)

Schneider had suggested that as in the election of the Senators (see n. 333) λου εἰσὶ κύριοι, ὄυτες οἱ τυχώντες, διόπερ οὐκ αὐτογνό· (VI) 30 μουας βέλτιου κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ τοὺς 84 κύριους. ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρου οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως αὖτη μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλλου ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκλη-

ρόν, ὄστε μή δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν άλλά λάθρα τον νόμου 35 άποδιδράσκοντας ἀπολαύειν του συματικών ήδουών. Εχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τήν του γερόντων άρχην οι καλος αὐτοῖς. 826 έπιεικοῦν μὲν γάρ ὅντουν καὶ πεπαιδευμένου ἰκανῶς προς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχα ἀν εἰποι τις συμφέρειν τῆ πόλει (καίτοι τό γε διά βίου κυρίους εἰναι κρίσεου μεγάλου ἀμότο το τό γε διά βίου κυρίους εἰναι κρίσεου μεγάλου ἀμότο.

«c σβητήσιμον" ἔστι γάρ, ὅσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας 30 or inserted after surà by IF BL. | 3 sr «Anreles Scaliger, probably right | ων) IF BL. | 3 δέσκε P. 4 στην Μαι Πε' (core, thus the 1st hand wrote cannot be determined), σένων BL-1²⁰ (a later hand) and F² (tort hand, ε is cruzel), σένα Ο'ΥΤ ΔLi. and ['cit shand], σένων BL-2

the people voted by acclamation, which would generally favour those who have the right of proposing candidate. Onchor (f. 361), adopts this view. Gotting (p. 469) assumed that of caddiates and that the conditions of the contract of the co

greatest part of the administration of justice in private suits, especially in all actions arising from contracts; see III. I § 10 7th row outplobation - Shears & Action to the following the Shears & Action to the Shear Shears & Action to the Shear She

30 κατά γράμματα] There were no written laws in Sparta: Schömann ορ. ε. 251 Eng. tr. Susem. (326) Comp. μη κατά γράμματα άλλ' αὐτο-

Comp. μη κατά γράμματα άλλ' αὐτογνώμονα, 10 § 11. § 24 31 οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη] inconsistent

with (the design of) the polity.

32 drugsly May] The ephors had a separate mess-table to themselves, Schömann of. a. 445 Eng. tr., and there they were able, so great was their authority, amongst other things to provide a far more elaborate custime than the ordinary soup, the 'black broth' of Sparta [J. G. Schneider). SUSEM. (6371).

34 d'Aba Aáßea....fsovior) Cp. § 35 m. (346-7), IVIVII). 15 § 6 m. (927). Thus amongst the Spartan men, too, the much-vaunted strictness of manners had its limits, and the all-important condition was merely not to be detected in excesses. How else would Spartan avarice even be explicable? Susem. (328)

\$\$ 26—38 The Senate or Elders. \$ 25 37 teression. Isosav6] 'If only honest men, sufficiently trained to manly excellence, entered the senate.' No doubt this was part of the original design of the institution; but frequently it was not carried out :see \$ 22 2. (32). SUSEM.

3) κρίσεων μεγάλων] The Spartan senate had criminal jurisdiction in particular: see III. 1 § 10 π. (443 b), VI[V]. 9 § 9, δλίγους είναι κυρίους δεανάτου καὶ φεγής π. (1266). SUSEM. (329 b) 40 δετι γάρ, κτλ] In conformity with this principle Aristotle in his ideal

with this principle Aristotle in his ideal state releases very old citizens from the administration of the state and allows them to refree a priests: V(V(n)), § § 9. See that the priest is the priest of the priest is the priest same opinion on this point. In his state of the Larme by prescribes that no one be allowed to be a member of the highest angulational office, the board of respecttually to the priest in the priest of the priest under 50 or over 70 years of 8ge; Larme 17 125 A. F. (Compare also Rdet. In 4, 4 density, V(x) of 1971 3 γήρας). του τρόπου δὲ τοῦτου πεπαιδευμένων ώστε καὶ τὸυ (VI) νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν ώς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ § 26 ασφαλές. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ κατα-115 χαριζόμενοι πολλά των κοινών οι κεκοινωνηκότες της άρ-

5 χῆς ταύτης. διόπερ βέλτιον αὐτούς μὴ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι νῦν δ' εἰσίν. δόξειε δ' ἀν ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴ πάσας εὐθύνειν τὰς ἀρχάς τοῦτο δὲ τῆ ἐφορεία μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρου, καὶ τὸν τρόπου οὐ τοῦτου λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύ-\$ 27 μας, έτι δὲ καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν ῆν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατά

1271 a 3 δε] γάρ Spengel | 5 ἀνυπευθύνους Sylburg, perhaps rightly | 9 καl ήν αίρεσιν ποιούνται...κρίσιν or rather κατά την...γερόντων ή τε κρίσις Bender, much too violently

τώ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αὶ φρένες γηράσκοντι δέ συγγηράσκουσι καί ές τὰ πρήγματα. πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται, Livy VI. 23 cum corporibus vigere et deflorescere animos, Lucret. III. 445 pariter cum corpore et

una crescere sentimus pariterque senescere mentem' (Eaton). Susem. (330) 1271 a 1 δè answers b 37 ἐπισικῶν μὲν, the intermediate words from καίτοι

πεν, του menthetical. Comp. 2 §§ 3, 4 το μεν γορ τω ποσω...έξ ων δε δεί κτλ. ωστε...ανδράστν] 'But if they are trained in such a way that even the legislator cannot trust them.' Camerarius long since asked how Aristotle came to this conclusion. Presumably from the fact he mentions directly afterwards, § 26, that every senator (as well as all the other officials and even the two kings) was placed under the control of the Ephors-Susem. (331)

\$ 26 3 φαίνονται δὲ κτλ] Cp. c. 11 § 4 μεγάλα βλάπτουσι καὶ ἔβλαψαν τόη n. (384). Susem. (331 b) 5 δόξεις δ' ἀν κτλ] It might be held

(cp. 8 § 18) that the board of Ephors controls all the officials. But this is too vast a trust to commit to the Ephoralty and it is not in this sense that we assert the necessity for responsible control.

8 τὸν τρόπον οὐ τοῦτον] Because

the superintendence and control exercised by the Ephors was far too unlimited and violent (J. G. Schneider). See above § 20 n. (318). SUSEM. (332)

§ 27 9 κατά τε την κρίσω κτλ] "The proceedings are described by Plutarch (Lyeurg. c. 26) in the following manner. After the assembling of the 'people,' i.e. of all the Spartiatae who possessed the right of voting, some men selected for

the purpose proceeded to a neighbouring building from which no view was afforded of the place of meeting, though the voices of the assembled crowd could easily be heard. Then the candidates for the vacant office passed silently one by one through the assembly in an order fixed by lot, while the people, according to the various degrees of favour with which they regarded them, made their feelings known by correspondingly loud or feeble acclama-tions. The party confined in the building, to whom the order in which the candidates appeared by lot was unknown, observed on which occasion the acclamation was the loudest, and the candidate who was thus greeted was regarded as the popular choice.....Aristotle's judgment upon these proceedings is quite intelligible in an age in which the man-ners of the people had long degenerated from their ancient purity and simplicity. For obviously there was nothing easier than to turn the whole election into a mere fraudulent farce, and to determine the result beforehand" Schömann p. 231 f. Eng. tr. One of the main questions that arise is, how the committee which decided on the loudness of the acclamations was itself appointed:-and on this point we have no information (Oncken). Besides, this mode of election is only a peculiar survival of the primitive election of chiefs by acclamation in a rude antiquity, retained in a time for which it had long since ceased to be adapted. In general the votes of the Spartans in the popular assembly continued to be taken viva voce, by acclamation, βοή: and only in case of a doubt as to the

decision did an actual division of the

το τε την κρίσιν έστι παιδαριώδης, και το αὐτον αἰτεῖσθαι (ρ. 49) του άξιωθησόμενου της άργης ούκ όρθως ένει δεί γάρ καί

βουλόμενου καὶ μη βουλόμενου άρχειν τὸν άξιον τῆς άρχης. § 28 νῦν δ' ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης 19 φαίνεται ποιών φιλοτίμους γάρ κατασκευάζων τούς πολί-

τη τας τούτω κέχρηται πρός την αίρεσιν των γερόντων. οὐδείς γάρ αν άρχειν αλτήσαιτο μή φιλότιμος ών, καίτοι τών γ' άδικημάτων των έκουσίων τὰ πλείστα συμβαίνει σχεδόν διὰ § 29 φιλοτιμίαν καὶ διὰ φιλογρηματίαν τοῦς ἀνθρώποις.

δὲ βασιλείας, εἰ μὲν βέλτιον ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν 20 ή μη βέλτιου, άλλος έστω λόγος άλλα καν βέλτιου, * * νε μή καθάπερ νῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αύτοῦ βίον ἔκαστον

10 τδ] τδν Bk.2, perhaps through a printer's error | 14 κατασκευάζει Pl and P4 (corr.) | 15 Tourous pl P2-8 Ob Tb Ar. Ald. Bk. and P4 (1st hand) | 16 de omitted by Mº P1 | 17 7Gν omitted by Π2 Bk.1 | && omitted by Mº, perhaps by Γ, [διά] Susem.¹⁻² || 19 βέλτων...20 μὴ βέλτων] μὴ βέλτών......20 βέλτων Π² Bk. (μη over an erasure P³) | 20 καν Γ, μην Π Ar. Bk., μην εί και Schneider Susem.^{1,2} || <βέλτιδυ γε> or <δεί> γε Susem., <συνόσει> γε Schmidt || 21 αύτοῦ Bk. αύτοῦ ΓΠ

assembly take place. See Schömann p. 236 Eng. tr. Further compare § 23, #-(324). SUSEM. (333)

10 και το αυτόν αιτεισθαι=(the obligation to) a personal canvass. Schlosser and Fülleborn think this a wise arrangement, since otherwise the proposers might nominate whom they liked; as if it were Aristotle's meaning that any one who aspired to be a senator had the right to canvass, but need not do so unless he liked. But beyond all doubt, as is clear from n. (333), he means that the candidates are obliged to canvass personally.

SUSEM. (384)
11 δεξ γαρ κτλ] This is the principle adopted in its entirety by Plato, in whose ideal state the philosophic rulers only undertake the government against their own inclination, Zeller Plate p. 463 Eng. tr. Compare also 11 § 12 n. Susem. (335) Add Rep. 347 B ff., 517 D, 519 C. § 28 13 νῦν δ ὅπερ κτλ] But here

the legislator is evidently acting with the same object as in other provisions of his constitution: in the endeavour to make his citizens covetous of honour he has adopted this device for the election of senators (τούτψ=τῷ αὐτὸν αἰτῶσθαι, a personal canvass). See Xen. De Rep. Lac. IV. 2.

16 τῶν γ' ἀδικημάτων τῶν ἐκουσίων] Here the term dolenua is used in a sense different from that of Rhet, L 13. 16, 1374 b 8 έστι δ' αδικήματα όσα μήτε παράλογα από πονηρίας τε έστίν, or the un-Aristotelian passage Nic. Eth. v. 8. 2 where every αδίκημα is also ἐκούσιον.

SUSEM. (336) Note esp. N. E. v. 8. 2: ἀδίκημα δὲ καὶ δικαιοπράγημα ὥρισται τῷ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ ἀκουσίω. ὅταν γὰρ ἐκούσιαν ή, ψέγεται, άμα δὲ καὶ ἀδίκημα τότ' ἐστίν. ὥστ' ἔσται τι άδικον μέν άδίκημα δ' ούπω, έὰν μὴ τὸ έκούσιον προσή; also N. E. v. 7 § 7, both with Jackson's notes: also the table, p. 109, of his edition of Nic. Eth. v.

17 τὰ πλείστα συμβαίνει κτλ] Here Lycurgus would certainly have been able to reply to Aristotle on the same lines as the latter takes in his objection to Plate c. 5 § 9: ψέγεται δικαίως...τὸ μᾶλλον η
δεῖ <χρήματα> φιλεῦν. Besides as no
one could become senator until he was 60 years of age, 'an ambition which is contented with this prospect until then must have a very tenacious life, such as is only attained under strict discipline, and cannot easily become dangerous to the state' (Oncken). Susem. (337)

The office of king: §§ 29, 30.
§ 29 20 άλλος έστω λόγος] III. cc.

14-17. SUSEM. (338)

21 κατά τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον] 'that each king should be chosen in virtue of his life and conduct': an elective monarchy. '8 30 κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ὅτι δὲ ὁ νομρθέτης οὐδ' αὐτὸς (VI) οἴεται δίνασθαι ποιεῶν καλούς κάγαθούς, δηλον' ἀπιστεὶ γοῦν οἰς οὐκ οὐσω ἰκανῶς ἀγαθοῦς ἀνδράσιν διόπερ ἀξέπεμπον 25 συμποεσθεῦτὰς τοῦν εξύθρούς, καὶ σωτηρίων ἐνόμιζον τῆ πόλει

25 συμπρεσευτας τους εχιτρους, και σωτηριων ενομιζον τη πολεε είναι τὸ στασιάζειν τούς βασιλεῖς. οὐ καλῶς δ΄ οὐδὰ περὶ τὰ ει συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστή-83ι σαντι πρώτου. ἔδει γὰρ ἀπό κοινού μάλλον είναι τὴν σύνο-

δου, καθάπερ εν Κρήτη παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἔκαστον δεῖ 30 φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ενίων ὄντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνά-

25 èpôpous Göttling | 1 27 pulítum H^1 (emended by corr. of $P^1)$

§ 30 22 ότι δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης κτλ] In the developed state Aristotle only recognizes kingship as an actual form of government in the case where the preeminently best man exercises an unlimited monarchy: man exercises an unimitied homology; III. 13 § 13 n. (601), § 14, 24 n. (614), § 25; 17 § 5 n. (678); VI(IV). 2 § 1 ff. nn. (1133, 1136—7); 10 § 3 n. (1280), see also the notes on III. 5 § 10 (521), 13 § 9 (595), § 11 (597), 14 § 15 (633). It is only consistent in him therefore to set up an analogous standard even for a very limited monarchy, and to ignore heredi-tary descent altogether, except in a family where special capacity may be inherited. Compare 11 \$\ 3, 4 nn. (381 -3). But when again, cp. n. (296) on § 12, he treats such a peculiar fact as the dual kingship at Sparta, a fact rendered intelligible only by historical events of a very special nature, exactly as if it had come from the brain of a single legislator, then, as Oncken (I. 287) rightly remarks, here if anywhere is a point of view foreign to historical criticism: and such criticism is hardly anything more than superficial. See C. Wachsmuth The historical origin of the two kings at Sparta in the Jahrb.
f. Philol. XCVII. 1868. 1-9: E. Curtius History of Greece I p. 186 ff. Eng. tr.: Schömann op. c. 208, 225 f., 541-4 Eng. tr. But when they come to particulars, these authors diverge seriously from one another in their conception of the subject. Susem. (339)

24 έξετιμπον κτλ] Two ephors regularly accompanied the king on an expedition: see Schömann op. a. 242 Eng. tr. SUSEM. (340) Cp. Xen. Rep. Laced: 13 § 5, πέρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δέο, οδ πολυπραγμοσιώσι μελ οδέλ», τὸ μὲ ἡ βαπλείν προπαλή: ὁρῶντε δὲ δ· π ποιά ἐκαστον πάτσε ακφρονίζουν, ἀν τὸ ἐκά. Τen ἔψηβουλοι were given to Agis, Thuc. v. 63.

25 συμπρεσβεντάs] A less forcible word, like συναποδημοίνταs, might have been expected.

26 τό στασιάζεω] Grote II. p. 464. Schneider compares Plut. Agis c. 12, τοῦτο τὰρ τὸ ἀρχεῖον (the Ephors) ἰσχύεω ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων τῷ τὰ βελτίωνα λέγωντι προστυθέμενων τὴν ψῆφων, ὅταν ἀπερος ἐρίξη πρὸς τὸ συμφέρων.

έν διαφορια των βιαιλέων τη τα μελτίσοι Μέγουν προυτοθίμενο τη ψήφο, όταν άτερος έμξη πρό: τὸ συμφέρου. § 30 προυτοθιές περικες § 31, 32. § 30 προυτοθιές περικες § 31, 32. § 30 προυτοθιές προυτοθιές για το προυτοθιές προυτοθιές για το προυτοθιές προυτο

30 φέρευ=contribute.

λωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν, ὥστε συμβαίνει τοὖναντίον(VI) § 32 τῷ νομοθέτη τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικου είναι το κατασκεύασμα τών συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ'

ήκιστα δημοκρατικόν ούτω νενομοθετημένον. μετέχειν μέν 35 γὰρ οὐ ράδιου τοῖς λίαυ πένησιν, ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὖτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ § 33 τέλος φέρειν μη μετέγειν αὐτης. τω δὲ περὶ τούς ναυάρ-22

χους νόμφ καὶ ετεροί τινες επιτετιμήκασιν, ορθώς επιτιμώντες. στάσεως γάρ γίνεται αίτιος ἐπὶ γάρ τοῦς βασιλεῦσιν 40 οὖσι στρατηγοῖς ἀιδίοις ή ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἐτέρα βασιλεία § 34 καθέστηκεν. καὶ ώδὶ δὲ τῆ ὑποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμή-1271 ο σειεν άν τις, όπερ καὶ Πλάτων έν τοις νόμοις επιτετίμηκεν (ρ. 50)

31 συμβαίνη, apparently Ma (1st hand), συμβαίνειν Qb Tb Bk, | 36 οὐτος after έστιν (έστιν M*) M* and P1 (1st hand) | 37 αὐτών P2, αὐτοῦ P3 (1st hand, altered by a later hand), αὐτοῖς Π3 | 40 ἀίδιος Π2 Ar. Bk., άλλως ἀίδιος pl in the margin 41 καθέστηκεν was apparently omitted by Γ

§ 32 37 μη μετέχειν] That is, they ceased to be full citizens (δμοιοι). They were then, in all probability, included under the term brousloves, Xen. Hell. III. 3. 6. See Schömann op. c. pp. 217-220, 270 Eng. tr. Since Aristotle censures the messes as ήκιστα δημοκρατικόν, it is not likely that the persons thus disnot likely that the persons thus dis-qualified were included in the δήμος, as Thirlwall supposed IV. 377. The office of admiral: § 33. § 33 38 έτφου ruves] See Introd. p. 9. n. i. Susem. (342)

39 έπι γαρ τοις βασιλεύσι = in addition to the kings. The command of the army was the most essential feature in army was the most essential reature in the royal power at Sparta: see III. I4 § 3 n. (616), § 14, n. (631), § 15: also n. (381) on II. 11 § 3, (630) on III. 14 § 13. Compare also III. 10 § 6 n. (360). We can hardly follow Oncken (1 293) in assuming that Aristotle's criticism here implies a further reference to Lysander's plans for the entire overthrow of the kingly power, VIII(v). I § 10 n. (1498). A design entertained by one distinguished holder of the office, such as Lysander undoubtedly was, cannot be attributed without further ado to the institution of the ναύαρχος as a whole. Certainly a startling anomaly was introduced into the political structure of Sparta by the necessity which gradually arose for the employment of a fleet: and it is significant 'that of four native Admirals (raúgoyos) in whom Sparta trusted in

the last period of the Peloponnesian war, two, Phrynis and Deiniades, were Provincials (*eplousos) and two, Lysander and Gylippos, were μόθακες' (Oncken). Further compare VII(VI). 8 \$ 15 n. (1473): Beloch The office of vaiapyos at Starta in Rhein. Mus. XXXIV. 1879. 117-130. SUSEM. (343) The Spartan government took the same view as Aristotle does here when they nominated Agesilaos to the command of the fleet as well as of the army, in order to secure unity in the operations, 395 B.C., Xen. Hellen. III. 4. 27: έντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης Ερχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοι τελῶν [the ephors] άρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ όπως γιγνώσκοι καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχαν όντινα αὐτὸς βούλοιτο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιφδε λογισμώ, ώς el ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων άρχοι, τό τε πεζάν πολύ άν Ισχυρότερον είναι, καθ' έν ούσης της Ισχύος άμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ tota Stor

The military spirit: §§ 34, 35. § 34 1271 b 1 Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] Ι 625 C-638 B, esp. 630 E, quoted in n. (294 b) on § 11. Compare II 660 ff. 666 E, III 688 A f., IV 705 D: or even earlier Republic VIII 547 E ff. T\overline 86 ye φοβείσθαι τοὺς σοφούς ἐπὶ τὰς άρχὰς άγειν, έπὶ δὲ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς τε καὶ ἀπλουστέρους άποκλίνειν, τοὺς πρὸς πόλεμαν μάλλον πεφικότας ή πρὸς εἰρήνην,...καὶ πολεμοῦσα του del χρόνου διάγειν. criticism in IV(VII). 2 § 9, 14 §§ 15-18, 15 \$ 6 διά τιν δε άρετης: V(VIII). 4 \$ 2 πρὸς γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἡ πᾶσα σύνταξις τῶν νόμων ἐστί, (VI)
τὴν πολεμικήν αἴτη γὰρ χρησίμη πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐσψέρυτο μὲν πολεμοῦντες, ἀποίλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαιτες

ς διά το μή ἐπίστασθαι σχολάζειν μηδ ήσκηκέναι μηδε-§ 30 μίαν ἄσκησιν ἐτέραν κυριωτέραν τής πολεμεής. τούτου δὲ 30 ἀμάρτημα οὐκ ἔλαττον νομίζουτ μὸν γὰρ γἰρυσθαι τὸγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δὲ ἀρετής μάλλου ἡ κακίας, καὶ τούτο μὲν καλώς, ὅτι μέντοι ταύτα κρείττω τής ἀρετής ἐψ ὑπολαμβάνουτων, οὐ καλώς. Φαίλως δὲ ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὸ 11 κοινὰ χρήματα τοῦς Σπαρτιάταις. οὐτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τής πόλεως ἔστω οὐδευ πολέμους μεγάλους ἀνσιγαδριένους πολιεμῶι εἰσθεύουσι τε κακώς ὁὰ γὰρ τὸ τὸν Σπαρπολιεμῶι εἰσθεύουσι τε κακώς ὁὰ γὰρ τὸ τὸν Σπαρ-

1371 b 3 der/h M* 1 H. Xyme(um < phowo > 2 Sussem. | 5 forsystem) and virtutum exercitari William doubtless on his own conjecture, hence nybr dpetr 1 wrongly inserted by Sussem. $^{1.2}$ | 6 Forber 1 P, robe 1 P(2 P Ar., 2 P (1st hand, altered by corr.), and perhaps also 1 | 7 1 pb omitted by 1 N M, perhaps rightly, [1 pt] Sussem. 1 | 1 Prefera after 1 Paph M M* 1 | 1 1 are are paragraphs 2 Pa Ald.

τιατών είναι την πλείστην γην ούκ εξετάζουσιν άλληλων

ούτε πρὸς μίαν...ούτε πρὸς μάλιστα ταύτη»; § 4, § 7, the reference being given in the notes. Susem. (344)

notes. The parameter of the parameter o

(345) άρξαντες=after they had won their empire, when they had become a sove-

reign people.
§ 36 8 τα περιμάχητα] i.e. external
goods: cp. Nie. Eih. IX. 8 § 4, 1168 b
15 ff. οΙ μέν οδυ...φλαίστους καλούει τοὺς
εαυτοῦς απουέμοντες το Τκόπο εν χρήμασι
και τιμάς καὶ ήδουαῖς ταῖς συματικαῖς...
έσπουδάκασιν [οΙ πολλοί] περὶ αὐτὰ ἐν
αξιοντα δυτα, δώ καὶ περιμάχται έστυ: 8 β
άμοτα δυτα, δώ καὶ περιμάχται έστυ: 8 9

1169 a 20 f. προήσεται [ὁ σπουδαίος] καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὸς καὶ δλους τὰ περιμάχητα άγαθά, περιποιούμενος ἐαυτῷ τὸ καλέν. SUSEM. (346)

9 τοῦτο μὲν καλῶs] They are right in thinking valour the means of obtaining external goods: they are wrong in exalting the goods which valour wins above valour itself.

itsell.

"Cp. IV(VII). I § 3 n. (697), I5 § 6
nn. (927—8)." SUSEM. (346 b)

ött µéproi ταῦτα κτλ] Sec above § 24,

(927—8)." SUSEM. (346 b)
 δτι μέντοι ταῦτα κτλ] See above § 24,
 π. (328) and again IV(VII). 15 § 6 nn.
 SUSEM. (347)

The finances: §§ 36, 37. § 36 12 ἀναγκαζομένοις] if they are

compelled.

14 την πλείστην γήν] Only the smaller part of the land belonged to the Provincials (περίοκοι). SUSEM. (848)

ούκ ἐξετάζουσιν...εἰσφοράs] Even at

ow cgragooru...ασφορασ] zven it the commencement of the Pelopomesian war Thucydides (t. 8c. 4) makes the Sparink king Archidamos say: πολύς έτα πόνου του του του του του του έτα του 18 έταν φέρερεν (Vettori). Cp. also what Pericles says (t. 14. 1) alrospγολ del Holocouryfone and orte 1816 οστο έτα κου 19 χρήματά έταν αθτούς. SUSEM. (349) § 87 τὰς εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτη τοῦ συμ- (VI) 16 φέροντος τὴν μὲν γὰρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν ἀχρήματον, τοὺς δ΄ ἰδιώτας φιλοχρημάτους.

 ωιστας φικοχρηματους.
 περὶ μὲυ οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω (ταῦτα γάρ ἐστω ἃ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἐπιτιμή-

···· ενηνουνα (ιωτιε γαρ εστεν α μαλιστ αν τες Επιλιφνο σειεθ)* όδ Κρητική πολιτεία πάρειγος μέν έστι ταύτης, (1) ἔχει δὲ μικρά μὲν οὐ χάρου, τὸ δὲ πλών ἤττον γλαφυρώς καὶ γαρ ἔωτε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλώτσι μεμμάρθαι τὴν Κρητικήν πολιτείαν ἢ τῶν Λακώνουν τὰ δὲ πλώστα

15 τε] δέ Γ \parallel 16 γὰρ omitted by P⁴QʰTʰ \parallel 22 δέ] τε M⁴P³, quidem William, γε Γ?

§ 37 16 τους δ' ίδιώτας φιλοχρημά-Tous | As early as the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. Alcaeus (Fr. 50) quotes the saying of Aristodamos, a Spartan, 'money makes the man' as in full force at Sparta: ως γὰρ δήποτ' 'Αριστόδαμόν φαισ' ούκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτα λόγον | εξπην· χρήματ' ἄνηρ, πένιχρος δ' οὐδεὶς πέλετ' έτλος οὐδὲ τίμιος. Amongst well-known instances of peculation or corruption Eaton quotes Leotychides, Pleistoanax, Astyochos, Kleandridas, Gylippos, Lysander: to which he adds Plutarch's own admission, Lycurg. 30; "Ayeos of Baseled-'ουτος είσερρύη νόμισμα πρώτον είς την Σπάρτην καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου ζήλος ἐπέβη διά Δύσανδρον, ός αύτὸς ῶν ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἐνέπλησε την πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας και τρυφής. Besides the corruption of the ephors, § 19 n. (316), and senators, § 26 (331 b), 11 § 4 (384), Aristotle might have spoken confidently of that of the kings and admirals. There was a well-known oracle, à φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν όλεί, άλλο δὲ οὐδέν; quoted in Aristotle's Polity of Lacedaemon Frag. 501, 1559 b 28 (=Aristot. pseudepi. 496=88 in Müller's Fr. hist. Gr. 11. p. 131), and even Tyrtaeus (?) seems to have cited it, Fr. 3. See further Xenoph. De Rep. Lac. 14. 3 and the statement in Ps.-Plato Alc. L. 122 E f., quoted by Eaton; xouslow sal άργύριου ούκ έστιν έν πάσιν Έλλησιν όσου er Aasedalucer tota. This may very well be an exaggeration; the writer of the dialogue is however generally well in-formed on historical matters, see Cobet Mnemos. N. S. II. 1874. 369 ff. Compare with this the instances of great wealth possessed by Spartans, some of which have been collected by Grote Greece IX. 321 f., Gilbert op. c. 154 f. If the Spar-

tiatae, with the exception of the kings, ever were prohibited from possessing gold and silver—a statement which H. Stein in the dissertation quoted in n. (85) on I. 9 § 8 seeks to disprove-it was at a very early time that the prohibition was removed. For gold and silver money were first coined by Pheidon king of Argos (whose age is, I admit, very variously estimated, 760 or 670 B.C.), and even down to the time of Croesus gold and silver were scarce in Greece; see n. (1653) on VIII(v). 10 § 6 and Böckh Public Economy I. p. 6 f. Eng. tr. H. Stein, Oncken, and others would reduce this supposed prohibition to the fact, that gold and silver money remained unknown for a longer time in the secluded valley of the Eurotas than in the trading districts on the coast; and thus the Spartans retained their old iron money in use for a long time, first in bars, and afterwards as a sort of coinage (see Schömann op. c. p. 275 Eng. tr.) and employed it even later along with gold and silver money for internal trade. See however Trieber op. c. 111. SUSEM. (350)

c. to The Gretan polity.

Congreve refers to the article Crate in Smith's Gegr. Dictionary. See also Schömann's Antiquities of Greec 1. 295—310 Eng. tr.; Onchen II. 377—499; Höck Kreta (Göttingen 1833—9, 3 vols.) 21 yhad-pubil neathy, Jess finished'

(Congreve).

21 καὶ Μήγετα &] Ephoros Frag. 64, in Stribo x 481? This passage is: λλγενθα δ' ότα τουν, ότι Λαπονικό τη τό τ πολλά τῶν πομιζημένων Κρητικών, το δ'
Δλοβές, εψήρθεια μέν τοι' έκτένον, προβιακτοια δ' τολέ Σπερητικών. Comp. m. on
§ 2, 3, 5, 6, το below, and esp. Introd. P. 35 m. (3). SUSEM. (832). 8 2 τῶν ἀρχαίων ἦττον δεήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. Φασὶ γὰρ (VII) 15 τὸν Λυκοῦργου, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπών ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλεῦτον διατρόψαι χρόνου περὶ Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἄποικοι γὰρ οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακώνων ἢσαη, κατδλαβον δ' οἱ 19 πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλθώντες τὴν τάξεν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχου-83 σαν ἐν τοῦς τότε κατοικοῦσιν. [ἐιὸ καὶ νῶν οἱ περίοικοι τὸν

as ferrogarias \mathbb{P}^1 and ast hand of \mathbb{M}^{10} (in \mathbb{P}^1 , altered by a later hand) $\| \cdot \|$ $\pi o \mathbb{E}$ \mathbb{E}^1 \mathbb{E}^1

24 διαρθροῦν = quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere (Bonitz): to articulate, elaborate (Welldon).

§ 2 a. 6 den/ våp r vår A.] Ephoros Le (Strabo x. 8a) relates that Lyurgus, as guardian of Charilaes the posthumous schild of his brother Polydektes, for certain reasons which are stated went to Creta and did not return until Charilaos himself had assumed the government. Compare Plutarch Lyurge. cc. 2—5; Tirbete op. c. p. 65 ff., 100; Flügel Die Qudlen in Plutarch Lyurgus 2 af. (Marburg

1870.) SUSEM. (302)
25 Χαρίλλου] The form is Charilaos in VIII(V). 12 § 12 (see n.): probably we should restore it here, or else read Charilla observed (250).

rillos there. Susem. (353)
28 κατθλαβον δ'...κατοικούσω] "And the settlers who had gone out to Lyttos had found the system of the laws established at that time amongst the inhabitants." In just the same way Ephoros (Le. 481) replies to those who claim a Lacedaemonian descent for the Cretan institutions on the ground that the Lyttians were a colony from Sparta and that colonists generally preserve the usages of the mother state. He urges that many colonies did not do this and that many Cretan towns, not colonies from Sparta, yet had the same institutions as the Spartan colonies in Crete. On these considerations of Aristotle and Ephoros, then, the Lycurgean institutions at Sparta, so far from being genuinely Spartan, were not even of Dorian origin, but had belonged in the first instance to the pre-Dorian population of Crete; unless indeed even these earliest inhabitants of Crete are to be regarded as Dorians (as they are by Ottfried Müller The Dorians

L. p., 56 ff. Eng., tr.). But this view has been related by Trieber p. 81 ff. In opposition to the view of Ephores and Aristock, which is in itself improbable, and the combated by Ephores, that Spartan institutions actually passed over into create with the Spartan settlers. Compare Cree with the Spartan settlers. Compare Cree with the Spartan settlers. Compare Green with the Spartan settlers. Compare of the Create with the Spartan settlers. Compare for the Create of the Spartan settlers. Compare to the Create of the Spartan Spartan towns and literate as a colony of Lacroner ff. as a point in Co. Miller that there never really existed any specially 'Dorian' represented to have found their highest and represented to have found their highest and settlers. (Spartan Sparta, Schrift, 1984).

§ 3 30 οἱ περίοικοι] Why mention merely the περίοικοι i.e. the descendants of the pre-Dorian population, if after all the Spartan and other Dorian settlers had accepted the same institutions? Aristotle cannot have contradicted himself in such a manner as this, or have written such nonsense. It is much more likely that some learned Peripatetic added this in order to tack on the following remarks about Minos, his maritime power, and his death. He did not however perceive that they are not at all appropriate to this connexion, and that to speak of Crete as favourably situated for maritime supremacy over the Hellenes agrees but ill with Aristotle's own statements §§ 15, 16: where the remoteness of the island is said to have shut it off from external complications and from foreign dominion. SUSEM. (355)

Grote II. 484 n. 2 has another way out of the difficulty. He takes the word as in Thuc. I. 17, "the neighbouring 3ι αὐτου τρόπου χρώνται αὐτοῖς, ώς κατασκευάσωτος Μίνω (VII) πρώτου τὴν τάξει τὰν υόμων, δοκεί δ' ή υῆσος καὶ πρός ει τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικήν πεφικέναι καὶ κεῦσθαι καλώς (ω. s) πάση γὰρ ἐπίκειται τῆ θαλάση, σχεδὸν τὰν Ἑλλήνων

35 ίδρυμένων περλ την θάλασσαν πάντων ἀπέχει γάρ τη μέν της Πελοπουνήσου μικρόν, τη δὲ της ᾿Ασίας τοῦ περλ Τριόπιον § ετόπου καὶ Ὑρόδου. διὸ καὶ την της θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν κατέ-

σχευ ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς μὲν ἐγειρώσατο τὰς δ ἄκισευ, τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος τῆ Σικελία τὸν βίον ἐτελεύ- 40 τησεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Κάμικου.]

§ δ ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον ή Κρητική τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν. γέ-8 12722 ωργοῦσί τε γάρ τοῖς μὲν εἶλωτες τοῦς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι,

1272 a 1 7e omitted by Mº P1

states "(). The words of Ephrons in States "(). The words of Ephrons in States 2, page 2 are visible Referred Mayorightus (iii. The states of the States 2 are visible Referred Mayorightus (iii. The states 2 are visible Referred Mayorightus America and Topervoles and Object and Object

Sea (Congreve).

§ 4 After the Dorian invasion Crete
lost its fleet and maritime supremacy.
Cp. Thuc. I. 4: Ephoros Fragm. 64.
(Müller I. 250) καὶ γὰρ ναυκρατεῦν πρότερον τοὺν Κρῆτας...νῦν δ' ἀποβερληκεναι

rd sourates.

41 ξea 8 άνάλογον... Λακισνικήν]
Tricher p. 86 fi. shows that, although the
points of difference as well as of resemblance are not brought out forcibly
enough, yet in the main the whole comparison to the state of the point of the
rate of the state of the point of the
rate of the state of the point of the
rate of the similarity can only be explained
by a real transference from Sparta to
Crete. Oncken on the other hand, II. 377, finds a reason both for the resemblance and the limitations to it in the one point which Aristotle has not menicued. "The fact that in Sparts as in continued, "The fact that in Sparts as in Dorian descent broke in from a foreign land upon an old political order, overcame it by violence, and then directed their limit upon an old political order, overcame it by violence, and the metered throughout the second of the

He insists (1) on the absence of any legal restriction on the possession of land or money, and (2) on the annual tenure of offices fac contrasted with the life-long tenure of Spartan Kings and Gerusiasts) and the democratic character of the Cretan governments. Undoubtedly as we approach koronau times the power of the écological increases: Hick III. pp. 64—79, who supports his case from interriptions, linters that a democratic revolution to the contrast of th

§ δ 1272 a 1 οἱ περίοικοι] See n. 355 and esp. Exc. III. to this book p. 336 ff. SUSEM. (357) καὶ συσείτια παρ' ἀμφοπέροις ὅστυ, καὶ τό γε ἀργαῖου ἀκλουν οἱ (VII) Λάκους οὐ φιδίτια ἀλλά ἀνδρεῖα, καθάπερ οἱ Κρῆτες, ἢ καὶ § ὁδῆλου ὅτι ἐκείθευ ἐλήλυθευ. ὅτι δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ τάξις, οἱ ς μὲν γὰρ ἄφοροι τῆν αἰτῆν ἔγουσι δύναμω τοῖς ἐν τῆ Κρήτη καλουμένοις κόσμοις, πλήν οἱ μὲν ἔφοροις πέντε τὸν ἀριθιὰν οἱ δὲ κόσμοι δέκα εἰσίω οἱ δὲ γέροντες τοῖς γέρουση, οἱς καλούσιν οἱ Κρῆτες βουλήν, ἴσοι βασιλεία δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἦν, εἶτα κατάλωσω οἱ Κρῆτες, καὶ την ἡγεμονίαν 8 τοὶ κόσμοι τὴν κατά πόλεμον ἔχουσιν ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέ , 11 χουσι πάντες, κυβα δὶ οὐδειός ἐστιν ἀλλί ἡ συνεπεψηφίσαι τὰ διδέματα τοῖς γέρουσε καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις.

τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βὲλτιον τοῖς Κρησὶν ἡ τοῖς Λάκοσιν (ἐν μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμου κατὰ κεφάλὴν ἔκαστος εἰσφέτις ρει τὸ τετσημένον, εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος κωλύει τῆς πολι-§» τείας, καθώπερ εἰρηται καὶ πρότερον, ἐν δὲ Κρήτη κοινοτέρος.

3 φλίτια Γ M³ and F¹ (1st hand, apparently altered by p³) \parallel drrpcîa M³, άνδρα II Bk., άλλοε ἀθρα p³ in the margin \parallel 8 βολθη "a gloss under which lurks a Cretan name" Spengel \parallel $\eta \rho \delta r r \sigma$ T Thomas Aquinas and Ar., perhaps rightly \parallel 11 $\delta \lambda \eta$ P^3 and P^2 (1st hand, emended by corr.²)

3 dvδρεα=meals of men: or more precisely, clubs or companies of men who messed together: see n. (378) on 11 § 3. Susem. (368)

matherip of Kopires] The same ramark is found in Ephores Let ,482, with the object of proving the same conclusion. Comp. also Platt. Lyzurg. c. 12. But that Ephores repeats this argument three times, is a very inexact statement of Trieber, p. 100: for at p. 486 the expression is only to real provention of proving the control of the control of ran dyner rd dopera. SUSEM. (389) This constitution analogous to that of

This constitution analogous to that of Sparta was the constitution of every independent Cretan town. We learn from the inscriptions that little places like Hierapytina, Priausos (Praesus), Saxos, Allaria, had each its own κόσμοι, βουλή, and ἐκκλυσία.

§ 6 On the analogy between the Ephors and the κόσμω, see Exc. III. p. 335 f. SUSEM. (360)

7 of 8 γέροντες | See § 11. SUSEM. (361) § 7 10 δεκλησίας δέ κτλ] Cp. 11 § 5, 6 with Exc. 1v. Although the simple verb στηγοβίζευ does not mean to vote," but "to put to the vote," yet so far as I know συστυγησβίζευ is everywhere found in the sense of "vote approvingly," i.e. "confirm by a vote," autores feet; Polyb, XXII. 13, 1, Pliatach De Garrallitate 511 N. Here it can have no other meaning. The only doubt is whether we should take it literally (1) that the pepular assembly was bound to railly by it vote, or (1) that it only had without amendment, simply to confirm or reject the proposal personal yelocided by others. That question will be discussed in n. (§56). SXSII. (\$860) Acach. De &ili. Leg. \$5 has the middle

Acsch. De Yalu. Leg. 33 has the middle voice in the same serse. Compare surrasured with both meanings (1) to be very with both meanings (1) to be very the Gorynan inscription the assembly in the market-place and the stone from which the speaker addressed the people are twice mentioned X. 34, suprawebuse are very surrely-turner or parameters. A superior of the surrely-turner or parameters are supported by the surrely-turner for parameters. A superior of the suprawebuse of the supraw

16 «Груган кай тротеро»] с. 9 § 31. Ср. п. (341). Susem. (363)

άπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημά-(VII) των έκ των δημοσίων και * * φόρων οθς φέρουσιν οι περίοικοι, τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοι-20 νας λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ώστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ τρέ-§ 9 φεσθαι πάντας, καὶ γυναϊκας καὶ παίδας καὶ ἄνδρας πρὸς κ δέ την όλυγοσιτίαν ώς ώφέλιμον πολλά πεφιλοσόφηκεν ό νομοθέτης, και πρός την διάζευξιν των γυναικών, ίνα μή πολυτεκνώσι, την πρός τους άρρενας ποιήσας όμιλίαν, (p. 50)

18 καὶ ἐκ Qb Tb Lambin Bk., perhaps Γ; [ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων] Göttling, [ἐκ] Congreve | καὶ <dπὸ μορίου τῶν>? οι καὶ <dπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν>? Susem., see Comm., [καί] Lambin, και <έκ τῶν> Congreve | και ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων before ἀπὸ πάντων or else after ώστ' έκ κωνού by transposition, Schmidt | 21 [καὶ γιναϊκας..... 26 διασκέψασθαι καιρός] Oncken; but see the Comm. | 21 πρδς δέ.....26 καιρός transposed by Susem. 1 to follow 27 φανερόν, but wrongly | 24 ποιήσαs is corrupt, < νομίμην > ποιήσαι or something similar ? Susem., better πορίσαι Schmidt

25 περί ής εί φαύλως ή μη φαύλως, έτερος έσται τοῦ δια-

κοινοτέρως] άπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον of 9 §

31, in a more public fashion.
18 & τῶν δημοσίων] "from the public domain." Zitelmann pp. 139, 140 conjectures that the citizens had the right of pasture on this domain-land. By the law of inheritance in the Gortynian inscription, certain of the cattle with the house in the town pass to the sons as praccipuum: but the daughters have a share of the land which is cultivated by

κλαρωταί. οι περίοικοι] See Exc. 111. p. 336 ff. SUSEM. (364)

§ 8 19 τέτακται μέρος] Partly on this model, partly on that of Hippodamos (8 § 3 n.), is based the division of the land in Aristotle's ideal state, IV(VII). 10 § 10 n. (834), into property (1) of the temples, (2) of the syssitia, (3) of private individuals, (1) and (2) together forming the public land. In the state of the Laws there is no public land, although Plato mentions the Cretan institution with approval, VIII 847 E quoted in st.

(341) on 9 § 31. Susem. (365)
20 ωστ έκ κοινού κτλ] If we understand this as e.g. Schömann does, op. c. 307 Eng. tr., that the mess-funds maintained the members of the family, wives daughters younger boys and slaves, who had their meals at home, then the whole of Oncken's proof (II. 385), that and yuναίκας και παίδας και άνδρας is a spurious addition, falls to the ground. Such slight inaccuracies of expression, due to excessive brevity, are no uncommon thing in

Aristotle. The sense might be made clearer by a slight insertion thus: 'one part is set apart for the worship of the gods and for the state expenditure, the other for the public messes - and the entire maintenance of the households of the citizens>, so that all, men women and children, are kept at the public cost,' Schömann rightly remarks that this explains why an Aeginetan stater had to be paid for each slave: see Exc. III. p. 337. Oncken however gives a different ex-planation (II. 387), he makes each of the subject population (?) contribute an

Agginetan stater. SUSEM. (366) § 9 22 δλιγοσιτίαν] Our only au-thority for a Cretan ἀνδρεῖον, Heracleides Ponticus, and the writers quoted by Athen. IV. 142 f., Dosiadas and Pyrgion, do not enable us to verify this statement: Schömann p. 308. They kept up the old practice of sitting at table: Cretes quorum nemo gustavit unquam cubans, Cicero pro Murena § 74. Their moderation in drinking: [Plato] Minos 320 A.

23 πρός την διάζευξιν κτλ] See Schömann p. 304 ff. Eng. tr. SUSEM. (367) Also Zitelmann Das Recht von Gortyn p. 101 and the inscription itself II. 1, 6, 8, 9.

24 έτερος έσται τοῦ διασκ, καιρός] Since Aristotle thought it so important for his own ideal state to maintain uniformity in the number of citizens (see c. 6 § 10 ff., 7 § 5: IV(VII). 16 § 15 ff. with notes), and is not too nice about the means of securing that end, it would

σκέψασθαι καιρός)· ὅτι δὴ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια βέλτιον (VII) τέτακται τοῦς Κρησὶν ἡ τοῦς Λάκωσι, φανερόν, τὰ δὲ § 10 περί τους κόσμους έτι χείρου τῶν ἐφόρων. δ μὲν γὰρ έγει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτοις 30 (γίνονται γάρ οι τυχόντες). δ δ' έκει συμφέρει πρός την πολιτείαν, ενταύθα οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ μεν γάρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αίρεσιν έκ πάντων είναι, μετέχων ὁ δήμος τής μεγίστης άρχης βούλεται μένειν την πολιτείαν ένταθθα δ' οὐκ έξ άπάν-34 των αίρουνται τους κόσμους άλλ' έκ τινών γενών, και τους ε 11 γέρουτας έκ των κεκοσμηκότων, περί ων τούς αὐτούς ἄν τις ε είπειε λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων (τὸ γαο ανυπεύθυνον και το δια βίου μείζον έστι γέρας της άξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐε 12 τογνώμονας επισφαλές). το δ' ήσυγάζειν μή μετέχοντα τον

26 δè Lambin, δè Γ II Ar. Bk. | 29 τούτων II2 Bk., τούτω ? Sylburg, <τψ> τούτων Bernays | 34 γενών] γερύντων Γ | 35 έκ τών] έκ τινων Π1 | 36 εξπειεν P3 (1st hand, corrected by a later hand), είποιε M*P1 Qb Tb Ald., είποι P4 and P2 (corr.2) | των Bas.3, ων Π | γερόντων Congreve, γινομένων Π1 P2.8-4 Tb Ar. Ald. Bk., γ evoµένων $Q^b \parallel 37 \gamma$ épas] γ ηρας $\Gamma \parallel 40$ καλώς οὐδὲν] καλώς οὐδὲ Γ Bk. and perhaps Ar.

40 δήμου οὐδεν σημείον τοῦ τετάγθαι καλώς οὐδεν γάρ λήμ-

have been strange if he had not intended to take this question into consideration when describing the best state. See which describing the best state. Set How he would have decided it, we have no means of knowing. For, taken alone, Nic. Eth. VII. 5. 3 hardly justifies an immediate inference that he would have disallowed such means. Thus the grounds on which Oncken, II. 389 ff., tries to prove that § 9, as far as καιρός, is inter-polated, are wholly untenable: and it is a misapprehension on his part that I bracketed the clause. But he is right in one point, that the introduction of this subject is not very fitting here; we must however put up with it, as it would be still less appropriate in any other part of the chapter. SUSEM. (368) § 10 30 ytvorrax vap of ruxórres] Ephoros %. 64 (in Strabo p. 482) gives the same statement as Aristotle here,

that the senators were chosen from those who had been Κόσμοι but adds that only tried and approved men were selected. There is no divergence in the facts here, but only in the judgment upon them: though it is of such a kind that, as is stated in Exc. III. p. 336, Aristotle must have depended upon other accounts than those of Ephoros for the facts on which he based his judgment. Furthermore even in Sparta those who had been Ephors must frequently, to say the least, have

mass trequency, to say the least, have entered the senate. Susem. (369) 32 bid vo thy aspects with Sec c. 98 22 m. (323b). Susem. (370) 34 bis truew years? Called orparis in the Gostynian inscription v 5 ox' o assacrators exocuses as our wildau when it was the turn of the 'troop' of the Ae-thalians to assume office and Kyllos was κόσμος ἐπώνυμος. Comp. Hesych, στάρτοι (sic) = al τάξεις τοῦ πλήθους. Similarly in the oath of Dreros, Cauer Delect. inscrip. 38, έπὶ τών Αίθαλέων κοσμόντων τών σύγ Κυίαι.

35 κεκοσμηκότων] like ὁ ἄρξας, ὁ βασιλεύσαs, the agrist being more usual. § 11 38 μη κατά γράμματα] without written rules to guide them. Cp. 9 § 23. § 12 See 11 § 2.

40 λήμματος] They make no private gains, such as bribes from allies and dependent states, or from hostile powers (comp. Pericles' bribe to the ephor Kleanματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ὤσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρρω γ' (VII) \$13 ἀποικοῦσιν ἐν νήσω τῶν διαφθερούντων.∵ ῆν δὲ ποιοῦνται\

** τῆς ἀμαρτίας ταύτης ἰατρείαυ, ἄτοπος καὶ οὐ πολιτιω) ἀλλά δυναστευτική. πολλάκις γάρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάυτες τιψέ τοὺς τι κόσμους ἡ τῶν συκαγάντων αὐτάν ἡ τῶν ἰδιστοῦν ἔξεστι 5 δὲ καὶ μετοξύ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῦν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα βόλτιου γίμεσθαι κατὰ υόμου ἡ κατ ἀνθρώπου βου-ξιλησιν οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλιός ὁ κανών. πάντων δὲ φωλότατον τὸ 1

τῆς ἀκοσμίας, ῆν καθιστάσι πολλακις οἱ ἀν μη δίκας βούλωνται δούναι τῶν διναστῶν ἢ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἔχει τι πολιτείας τοἡ τάξες, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μάλλου. εἰώθαι γὰρ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοῦς ὁρλους ἀναστάρ

41 γ'] τ' apparently Ar., $\gamma d\rho$ Susem. wrongly, enim William, whence nothing is to be inferred about Γ

123 b i δαφερίσταν D'M and perhaps Ar., δαφαρούταν P' (1xt hand), | § δή δε Congreve, rightly, I think | β σείνατ αέρνατ P' (1xt hand), πάρκτι P' (1xt hand), πάρκτι P' (1xt hand), πάρκτι P' (1xt hand), ενα U Har. Schender Bl. | § γ δε δευτικός (1xt hand) κα U hand κα το του hand κα U Har. Schender Bl. | β δευτικός (δευτικός κατικός και με απορεία δευτικός και με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός και με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός και με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτικός και με απορεία δευτικός με απορεία δευτ

dridas, Plut. Per. 22). Hence the office is not such a prize as to excite the cupidity of the commons.

41 τοῦς ἐφόροιε] Cp. 9 § 19 π. (316). SUSEM. (370 b) 1272 b 1 τῶν διαφθερούντων goes with

πόρρω: at a distance from any who are

likely to corrupt them.

\$13 3 80 worrverver[] A & searce la is
the worst and most extreme form of Oligarchy, standing nearest to a Tyranny,
and, after it, the worst of all forms of
overnment vi(v), \$\$ 6 worst said sorry
arghe deliy and \$600 min singles \$0.00 of
overnment vi(v), \$\$ 6 worst said sorry
arghe deliy and \$600 min singles \$0.00
overnment vi(v), \$\$ 8 7 m. (1928, 133); vi(v)), \$\$
\$\$ 7.00 min (1928, 133); vi(v)), \$\$
\$\$ 3 m. (1447); Vi(v)), \$\$ 8 3 m. (1500);
\$\$ 8 7 m. (1650), \$\$ 1 m. (1617).
\$\$ SUSERA! (371).

Thebes at the time of the Persian war is an instance: Thuc. 111. 62. 3.

5 μεταξύ... ἀπαπείν την ἀρχην] to resign office before their term (of a year) expires. The verb is ἀποστῆναι in the Gortynian inscription ε κ' αποσται=ψν ἀποστῆ; or (?) ὰ= η (after) ἀν ἀποστῆ.

§14 8 τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας=the fact of the suspension of the office of Κόσμος, often brought about by cabals of influential families who did not want to have

trials against themselves proceeded with.

For the construction cp. Thuc. 1. 138
καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληρικοῦ ἐλιτίδα, ἡν ὑπετίδει
αὐτῷ δουλείντεν ; 11. 42 πενίας ἐλιτίδι, ὡτ
κῶν ἔτι διαφυγών αὐτήν πλουτήσειεν (Shif-

leto). οί αν μη κτλ] Oncken (II. 303) is quite wrong in inferring from this passage that even the judicial office probably passed from the kings to the Κόσμοι. From the complete analogy which Aristotle finds between the Spartan and Cretan senators, and between the Ephors and Kéomos, in all the essential features of the authority of these offices, it is clear on the contrary that, as in Sparta III. 1. 10 nn. (443-4), so in Crete, the Senate had criminal jurisdiction over the most serious offences, and the Koomes appeared, like the Ephors. as accusers in the case of crimes against the state. Where there is no prosecutor there is of course no judge. SUSEM. (372) 11 διαλαμβάνοντες = by forming parties 8 15 γίαν ποιείν και στασιάζειν και μάχεσθαι πρὸς άλλήλους καί- 8 τοι τι διαφέρει το τοιούτον ή διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν είναι την τοιαύτην, άλλά λύεσθαι την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν; (ρ. 53)

έστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἔχουσα πόλις * * τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένοις. άλλὰ καθάπερ είρηται, σώζεται διὰ τὸν τόπου ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω 8 16 πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει τοῦς Κρησίν, οἱ

δ' είλωτες αφίστανται πολλάκις. ούτε γάρ εξωτερικής άρχής 20 κοινωνούσιν οἱ Κρήτες, νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκευ είς την νήσου, ος πεποίηκε φανεράν την ασθένειαν τών ἐκεῖ νόμων.

πεολ μέν οὖν ταύτης τοσαῦθ' ἡμῶν εἰρήσθω τῆς πολι-

15 ἐπικίνδινοs] valde periculosa William on his own conjecture probably, hence λίαν έπικίνδυνος Susem. 1.2 wrongly | τῶν βουλομένων and 16 δυναμένων Π2 Ar. Bk. "because those who wish to attack it can also (easily do so)" Bernays; <δυτων> τών βουλομένων Bas.3, < aπδ> των β. Busse. If the dative is right an infinitive has dropped out, as Bücheler saw | 21 φανερόν Bk.1, a misprint | 23 εἰρήσθω before τοσαύθ' P1 Π2 Bk.

from amongst the people and their own friends. Susem. § 15 17 Esynhamias] Acc. plur. 'The

distance has kept out aliens as effectually as a formal prohibition.' No foreigner could come to Sparta and live as a resident alien (uéroixos): strangers stopping there for a time were strictly watched and, as soon as it seemed advisable to the Ephors, dismissed : see Schömann p. 276 f. Eng. tr. Susem. (373) § 16 18 διό καὶ τὸ τῶν π. κτλ] Consult

however n. (281) on 9 § 3: where also a different reason, it should be observed, is assigned by Aristotle himself, viz. that the Cretan states, even if at war, assist one another against the revolted #eploscos.

SUSEM. (374)
19 obje yap] It is the isolation, not the strength, of the Cretans that secures their independence; for (1) they are not strong enough to acquire foreign dominion (εξωτερικής άρχής), while (2) their internal weakness is now patent.

20 γεωστί τε πόλεμος κτλ] There are two events to which this passage, taken by itself, may refer. (1) With Höck, Kreta III. 61 f., we may understand it of the Phocian war. Phalaecus. the last leader of the Phocians, after withdrawing from Phocis came at last with his mercenaries to Crete: by a stratagem he conquered Lyktos and drove out the inhabitants who turned to their

mother city, Sparta, for aid. This aid they received under the command of Archidamos, who beat the mercenaries and reestablished the Lyktians in their city. Phalaecus however stayed in the island and fell at the siege of Kydonia B.C. 343. See Schäfer *Demosthenes* 11. 339 f. Or (2) we might with Fülleborn (IL 253) refer it to the despatch of Agesilaos with the mercenaries of his brother Agis II, who was allied with the Persians and sent the expedition directly after the battle of Issos (333) to conquer Crete. The Lacedaemonians with their mercenaries effected a landing successfully and met with no material resistance; see Schäfer HL p. 163 f. As therefore both events suit, if, when he wrote the passage, Aristotle had been acquainted with the second he would certainly have spoken of two foreign wars, and not of one only: thus it seems as if this passage were composed before the latter of the two events took place. But it need not be inferred from this that the completion of the book, so far as Aristotle did at all complete it, could not have been of a

complete it, could not have been of a much later date. Aristotle often worked at several of his treatises at the same time. Cp. Introd. p. 66. Susem. (376) Erwides = of mercenaries (Congreve). Better, 'foreign.' For III. 14. 7 Erwide as opposed to of molifrat means a foreign force, though a force of mercenaries.

11 τείας πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλώς καὶ VIII
25 πολλὰ περιττώς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, μάλιστα δ' ἔνια παρα-

πλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν. αἶται γιρ αἶ πολιτείαι τρεῖς ἀλλήλαις τε σύνεγγίν πώς εἰσι καὶ τῶν ἀλλων πολὸ διαφέρουσιν, ἢ τε Κητική καὶ ἢ Λακωνική καὶ τρίτη τούτων ἢ τῶν 19 Καρχηδονίων. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τεταγμένων ἔχει παρ' αὐτοῦς

§2 καλώς σημείου δὲ πολιτείας συντεταγμένης τὸ τὸν δῆμου ἐκούσιου διαμένειν ἐν τῆ τάξει τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ μήτε στάσιν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραυνου.

§3 Εχει δὲ παραπλήσια τῷ Λακουκῷ πολιτεία τὰ μὲν συσ-2
24 καὶ καρχεθένοι κῆτε καλῶτ ΝΕΡὶ 및 8 δ; ὑ before Λακοικοῦ omitted in ΜΕΡὶ,
(i) Susem.¹⁸ ½ 30 σεμμέν το Yssem.] «-ἐν συντετα γρένες Υδεπαίες, κὸ τον τον γρένες Νεπαίες, κὸ τον τον γρένες Νεπαίες, κὸ τον ποινίτεια Ατι πόθως το ναθετιάε Βεπαίε 및 3 εκοίκου Spengel, Εχουκου ΓΙΙΒ Εκ., omitted by ΜΕΡὶ, untranslated by Ατι; έκουτα Βετρά, ἔνογκα Ημπιρές, ἐκουκόων W. Wagner (De Planti Andal, Benn 1864, p. 37), all before Spengel: εχ «στα ἐξ-νονέων Suppe, Εχουκου «είρω» - Βεπαίε τόλιονίης Lambin's translation ροροίλου ποτοι απαρέπει | è o emitted by ΜΡ', crossed out by τιβ.

c. 11 The constitution of Carthage.
On this chapter consult Kinge Aristotle de folitic Carthaginismum. Accelit Theodor's Methodiscal destration in the Carthaginismus (Berslau 1844): Heeren Iden vol. 11. pt. 1, Works XIII. 168-147;
Movers Die Phömisier (Berlin 1849) vol. 11. pt. 1. pt. 4.9ff.; Momenne History of Kone, vol. 11. pp. 15-23 Eng. tr. SU-SPM. (3796).

SEAL (1978) enhancements & expl.) "ease throught (a) to enjoy a good constitution, (b) with many features of russual relative excellence, and (s) some which most mostly resemble the Spartan constitution, the constitution of the constitution which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity established. Polybios constitutions which they declare to be the best extendity to the constitution of the constitution o

The exciting struggle with Dionysios for Sicily must have called attention to the government of Carthage: see note on 1273 a 36 (Wyse).

§ 2 30 It is a sign that a government is thoroughly < well> organised when the popular element is attached to the system of its own free will.

31 διαμένων, like μένεω 10 § 16,= abide by, remain loyal to, a government. 32 μήτε τύραννον] This assertion seems true. For the efforts of Hannon (about B-C. 344) to make himself tyrant, mentioned by Aristotle himself VIII(v). 7 § 4, met with no success, see n. (1597); while the attempt of Bomilcar was not until after Aristotle's time, B.C. 308. That also ended at last unsuccessfully: see the same note. Lastly there was one Malchus between 600 and 550 B.C., who having been banished be-cause he had been defeated in Sardinia procured his return by force of arms. He then summoned the popular assembly. justified his conduct before it, and had ten senators put to death, but made no change in the existing constitution. However he fell under suspicion of aiming at tyrannical power; in consequence, and as a punishment for his former violent proceedings, he was executed, Justin. XVIII. 7, so that this instance does not contradict Aristotle's statement, With regard to VIII(v). 12 § 12 see n. (1772). § 3 "The points of analogy to the

§ 3 "The points of analogy to the Spartan polity are the common meals of the clubs like the φεδίτια at Sparta, and

σίτια τῶν ἐταιριῶν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκατὸν (VIII) 35 καλ τεττάρων άργην τοις έφοροις (πλήν ου χείρον οι μέν γαρ έκ των τυγόντων είσι, ταύτην δ' αίρουνται την άρχην αριστίνδην), τους δε βασιλείς και την γερουσίαν ανάλογον 84 τοῦς ἐκεῖ Βασιλεύσι καὶ γέρουσιν, καὶ βέλτιον δὲ τοὺς βασι-

λείς μήτε καθ' αυτό είναι γένος μήτε τοῦτο τὸ τυχου, †εἴ τι 40 διαφέρου εκ τούτων + αίρετους μάλλου ή καθ ήλικίαν. μεγάλων γάρ κύριοι καθεστώτες, αν ευτελείς ώσι, μεγάλα βλά-1273 α πτουσι, καὶ ἔβλαψαν ήδη τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,

ε τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντων ἂν διὰ τὰς s

34 Φιλιτίοις Π1, corrected by p1 | την35 down'y is noticed by Theodoros Metoch. Miscell. p. 667 Klessl. | 35 <6>οὐ Bernays | 36 γὰρ omitted by P2-3 Ob Tb Ald, Bk, Bernays | 38 éxes inserted after robs by Ob Tb and in the margin of P4 | 30 καθ' αδτό Γ and γρ. p1 in the margin, κατ' αδτό P1 (1st hand) καυταυτό Ma (1st hand), καταυτό Ma (correction), κατά τό αὐτό Πa Bk, and pl above the line, κατά τό Ar. (?) | μήτε before τοῦτο Schneider, μηδέ Π Bk. | εἴ τι Γ, εἴ τε M*Π*Bk. and pl in the margin, & Ar. and Pl (1st hand), et the Tr Welldon | et to biachtgov ex τούτων is corrupt: * * έκ τούτων Conring, who first saw that from έκ τούτων onwards Aristotle is speaking of the senate and not the kings: but this is true of the whole clause from et 71. With approximate correctness 700s of 2600 70s 760 Schneider, 700s δέ γέροντας κατά πλούτον J. Brandis (Rhein. Mus. XI. 505 f.) which is closer to the mss., els δè γερουσίαν έκ πλουσίων Bernays. On grammatical grounds I prefer Brandis' suggestion with Bücheler's slight change έτι δὲ τοὺς γέρωτας κατά πλοῦτον, or better still έτι δὲ γέροντας κατὰ πλοῦτον, though I have not ventured to introduce it into the text

1273 α 1 καρχηδονίων ΟΓ καλχηδονίων Γ

the magistracy of the Hundred and Four answering to the Ephors (only with this advantage in its favour that whereas the Ephors are chosen from quite ordinary persons the Carthaginians elect to this office by merit)." See Excursus IV. pp.

36 . Susem. (380)

§ 4 38 "And it is a further advantage that the kings (at Carthage) are not a distinct royal line and that, too, of not more than average capacity," like the Heracleid royal families at Sparta, whose precise relation to the Dorian Spartiatae is obscure. See Hdt. v. 72, Curtius History I. p. 186 ff. Eng. tr. and Schömann Antiquaties pp. 208, 226, 541-544 Eng. tr.
39 μήτε καθ' αὐτό κτλ] Comp. 9 § 30 n. (339) and p. 344. Susem. (383) The sense required is "and that the

senators are elected for wealth and not by seniority.'

40 καθ' ήλικίαν] The unsoundness of the text is felt when this has to be interpreted of the Spartan kings. Congreve preted of the Spartan kings. Congreve renders boldly "elected rather than here-ditary": Cope more cautiously "accord-ing to age." But there was no limit of age for the kings, though there was for

the Gerusiasts, at Sparta. μεγάλων γάρ κύριοι κτλ] The Spartan senators were venal, q § 26 n. (331 b).

But the conditional praise here given to the constitution of Carthage is sensibly modified § 8 ff. Susem. (384)

41 εὖτελεῖς=cheap, of little worth; intellectually, in Rhet. II. 15 § 3; here, in moral character also.

§ 5 1273 a 2 τα μεν οῦν πλειστα κτλ] "Most of the things which might be censured on the score of divergences" sc. from the best type "are common to all the constitutions mentioned." And therefore in reference to Carthage Aristotle passes over all such defects in silence (Kluge), Susem. (385)

παρεκβάσεις * * κοινὰ τυγχάνει πάσαις όντα ταις εἰρημέναις (VIII) πολιτείαις τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας

5 καὶ της πολιτείας * * τὰ μὲν εἰς δημον εκκλύνει μάλλου, τὰ δ' εἰς όλυγαρχίαυ. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μὲν προσάγειν (ως) τὰ δὲ μή προσάγειν πρός τὸν δῆμον οἱ βασιλείς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν γερώττου, ἀν ὁμογνωμονώτι πάντες, εἰ δὲ μή, 8 τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ὰ δ' ἀν εἰσφέρωστιν οὐτοι οὐ δια-

10 κοῦσαι μόνον ἀποδιδόασι τῷ δήμω τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄρ-

hand, corrected by pl), rášarti P 4 With τῶν δὲ supply ἐπιτιμηθέντων ἀν. and take woods = when judged by. τών δὲ πρός τὴν ὑπόθεσιν κτλ] The whole passage requires to be read in the light of c. 9 § 1 where the two standards of the criticism are more definitely stated: μία μέν εξ τι καλώς ή μή καλώς πρός τήν αρίστην νενομοθέτηται τάξιν, έτέρα δ' εξ τε πρός την ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὰν τρόπον ὑπεναντίως της προκειμένης αύτοις πολετείας. The second, then, which is now under consideration is, how far the Carthaginian constitution, although not the best, that is, a true Aristocracy, nevertheless remains faithful to its own distinctive principle. It is still to be regarded as an aristo-cracy: i.e. a so-called, or mixed aristocracy: more precisely a combination of aristocracy with oligarchy and democracy: see VI(IV). 2 § 4 n. (1141); 7 § 4 n. (1235), and cp. VIII(V). 7 § 4 n- (1507), 12 § 12 n. (1772), § 14 #. (1780): or else at any rate as a polity (πολιτεία) i.e. a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. Now the principle or fundamental assumption (vm6θeσιs) or proper basis of every aristocracy is excellence and capacity: see esp. § 9 70 is excellence and capacity: see easy syncar depring alphabata day, \$ 11 malurra apern runara, vi(iv). 8. \$ 7 open apern and m. (536) on III. 7 \$3. Even in a nominal aristocracy, regard at least for these must stand highest: hence the more concessions are made to the oligarchical principle of wealth, or again to the democratic principle, at the expense of excellence or merit, the more the aristocrucy departs from its own standard. Policy takes for its standard the complete adjustment and neutralization of Oligarchy and Democracy; hence the more makes: itself fet at the expense of the democratic or the democratic principle on makes: itself fet at the expense of the democratic or the democratic principle in call, the more violently does a Policy diverge from its own principle in the case of the democratic principle on cor the democratic principle or principle of the principle of principle principle of principle of

f democracy. Susen. (386)

6 τού μεν γέρ κτλ.] "For the kings in conjunction with the senators have full powers either to bring certain matters before the people or not, provided they are both agreed: otherwise in this case

the people, too, have a voice."

8 mavrs= both; viz. the Shofetes on
the one side, the Senators on the other.
For this is a genuine Aristotelian use of
the word: "marrer toll de duobus tantum
agitar, i.e. dupdrops invergence" (Int.).
Ar.). Comp. Anal. Priora 1: 28. 44 b.
1 cos mine serva: "h.e. dromyopolo,
aris on since serva: "h.e. dromyopolo,
bellow 1, 24 c. See also Exc. 11v., o
believe, 1, 24 c. SUISM. (887).

δημος, p. 347. Susem. (387) Add Anal. Priora I. 27 § 12, 43 b 36, Meteorol. II. 4 § 1, 359 b 33, IV. 5 § 8,

χουσιν, άλλα κύριοι κρίνειν είσι και τῷ βουλομένω τοῖς (VIII) 12 είσφερομένοις αντειπείν έξεστιν, όπερ εν ταίς ετέραις πολι-

382 b 17, and De Anima III. 6 § 2, 430 b

4 (Vahlen) § 6 11 άλλα κύριοι κρίνειν] Here then in reality the final decision rests wi.h the popular assembly ; and Aristotle, judging by the standard of Aristocracy or Polity, disapproves of this, which furnishes an-other indication of the character of his own best state, in so far as that also is Aristocracy: see on 6 § 16 n. (218) and Exc. I to B. III. In keeping with this (he says) in the most moderate democracy the people are best restricted to electing the council and the officers of state and to holding them responsible, VII(VI). 4. 4 n. (1415), perhaps with a share in legislation and the decision upon changes in the constitution VI(IV). 14. 4 f.: at least only the most indispensable meetings of the popular assembly are held vi(iv), 6, 1, the administration being left to the council and the officers of state. Or even the magistrates may be elected by a mere committee of the whole people upon which all the citizens serve by rotation, VII(VI). 4. 4; or it may come to this that no popular assembly is held but it is represented by the aforesaid committee, which moreover has in many cases simply to hear the resolutions of the magistrates, VI(IV). 14. 4 n. (1322). And these are the forms of democracy which Aristotle regards as the best. SUSEM. (388) 12 όπερ έν ταις έτέραις κτλ] In the

Spartan assembly only the kings, the senators, and at a later period the ephors were allowed to take part in the debate: other persons needed special permission in order to do so (see Schömann Antiqui-ties p. 235 Eng. tr.). Undoubtedly it was similar in Crete. But when Aristotle says, or seems to say, here that in Sparta and Crete the popular assembly had merely to listen to the resolutions of the government without really having the final decision in its own hands, and ro § 7 (cp. n. 362) that it had in those states no greater powers entrusted to it than to ratify the decrees of the Cosmi, or the kings, and the senators, all this certainly looks at first sight as if the assembly had not the right to reject these decrees, and indeed many have so understood it [e.g. Höck Kreta III. 59 ff., Ridgeway op.c. p. 134]. But that these expressions should not be thus pressed is shown by the simple consideration that if the assembly had merely to "listen to" these resolutions, it would not have been allowed to vote even in ratification of them, and thus Aristotle would have contradicted himself. But he further states that at Carthage the popular assembly, once convoked, possessed far larger privileges than in Sparta and Crete, although in respect of being summoned its rights were smaller because there was no need to convoke it in case the Shofetes and the senate were agreed: whereas in Sparta and Crete it always had to be summoned. in order to ratify the decrees of the two ruling bodies. Now if it had always to ratify or vote affirmatively, where is this greater right? But in fact when nothing might be said in the assembly except by permission of the government, and no amendments might be proposed, there was little reason to fear, so long as the kings, the senators, and the ephors were agreed, that the people would actually use their formal right of rejection. Hence it is that Aristotle uses these strong expressions which quite answer to the actual state of the case. Finally, supposing it must be conceded to Oncken (I. p. 279 f.) and Gilbert (p. 137 f.) that the obvious meaning of the clause in Plutarch Lycurg. 6, which was added to the Spartan constitution (Rhetra) by the kings Theopompos and Polydoros (al δέ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος έλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ άρχαγέτας άποστατήρας ήμεν) is, that it was left to the discretion of the kings and senators whether they should respect a vote in the assembly refusing ratification, or not;supposing further that Aristotle's language really agrees most easily with this meaning (which is hardly the case, after what has been said), yet the whole hypo-thesis is simply wrecked by the fact that Gilbert himself explains this to be a quite abnormal Spartan institution, while Ari-stotle asserts that the powers of the Cretan and Spartan assemblies were altogether similar. Thus we are forced to be content with the interpretation of the additional clause given by Plutarch, τοθτ' έστι μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ' δλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τον δήμον, ως έκτρέποντα καί μεταποιούντα την γνώμην παρά το βέλτιστον i.e. the popular assembly was restricted to a simple, unaltered acceptance or rejec-tion of the proposals made by the king and the senate. SUSEM. (389)

§ 7 τείαις ουκ έστιν το δε τας πενταρχίας κυρίας ούσας πολλών 4 καὶ μεγάλων ὑφ' αὐτῶν αἰρετὰς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν έκατὸν 15-ταύτας αίρεισθαι την μεγίστην άρχην, έτι δὲ ταύτας πλέουα ἄρχειν χρόνον τῶν ἄλλων (καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες άρχουσι καὶ μέλλοντες) όλυγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀμίσθους καὶ μή κληρωτάς άριστοκρατικόν θετέου, καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτου έτερου, καὶ τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πά-20-σας, και μη άλλας ύπ' άλλων, καθάπερ έν Λακεδαίμονι. § 8 παρεκβαίνει δὲ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡ τάξις τῶν Καργηδο- ε νίων μάλιστα πρός την όλιγαρχίαν κατά τινα διάνοιαν ή συνδοκεί τοις πολλοίς ου γάρ μόνον άριστίνδην άλλά καί 24 πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀδύνατον ξο γὰρ τὸν ἀπορούντα καλώς ἄρχειν καὶ σχολάζειν. εἴπερ οὐν τὸ μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι πλουτίνδην όλιγαρχικου τὸ δὲ κατ' άρετην αριστοκρατικόν, αυτη τις αν εξη τάξις τρίτη, καθ ήνπερ συντέτακται [καί] τοις Καρχηδονίοις τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν αίροθυται γάρ εἰς δύο ταῦτα βλέποντες, καὶ μά-30 λιστα τὰς μεγίστας, τούς τε βασιλείς καὶ τούς στρατηγούς. § 10 δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν ἀμάρτημα νομοθέτου τὴν παρέκβασιν εἶναι ο

\$7 13 via wrowpolani See Exc. 17.

\$38 f. Stress (200)

19 viet vision of the light of the light

at Sparta, see nn. (325, 320 b) on o §§

23, 25; on that of the kings Schömann
p. 29g Eng. tr.; on that of the other
magistrates 49. c. 250 ff. SUSEM. (331)
§ 8 23 dλλά καl πλουτίοθημ' Yet
apart from the ideal state—see n. (885)
on IV(VII). 13 § 9 πάντε οΙ πολίται—
Aristoth inmself approves of Solon's
moderate census in this respect 12 § 5,
6 × 11 × 18 § SUSEM. (980).

\$ 9 30 τους στρατηγούς | See Exc.

IV. p. 349 f. Susem. (392 b)

§ 10 31 δεί δὲ νομίζειν κτλ | See 9

§ ān. (279): compare IV(VII). § §, § 7, or § 9, n. **Datif Aristotle demands of the legislator that he is to free the magnitude that the ist of the their support, this can only be done by paying them. And yet in § 7 above he had himself declared it a better regulation not combine such offices with payment." (Füllchorn). See however Exc. IV. P. 348. SUSEAL (589)

της αριστοκρατίας ταύτην. εξ αρχής γαρ τοῦθ όραν έστι (VIII) των αναγκαιστάτων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύνωνται σχολάζειν 34 καὶ μηδέν ἀσχημονείν, μη μόνον ἄρχοντες άλλά μηδ' ίδιωb 6 τεύοντες. <βέλτιον δ', εί καὶ προείτο τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν

b 7 <δ νομοθέτης, άλλὰ ἀρχόντων γε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς σγολῆς.> α 35 εἰ δὲ δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν γάριν σγολής, φαύλου τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ώνητὰς είναι των άρχων,

8 11 τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. ἔντιμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος ούτος ποιεί του πλούτου μάλλου της αρετής και την πόλιν (p. ss) όλην φιλοχρήματον. ὁ τι γὰρ ἄν ὑπολάβη τίμιον είναι τὸ τ 40 κύριου, αναγκη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν ἀκολου-

θείν τούτοις. ὅπου δὲ μὴ μάλιστα ἀρετὴ τιμᾶται, ταύτην 1273 ο ούχ ο δον τε βεβαίως αριστοκρατείσθαι την πολιτείαν. εθίζεσθαι δ' εύλογον κερδαίνειν τούς ώνουμένους, όταν δαπανήσαντες ἄργωσιν' ἄτοπον [μέν] γάρ εί πένης μέν ών ἐπιεικής δὲ βουλήσεται κερδαίνειν, φαυλότερος δ' ὧν οὐ βουλήσεται 5 δαπανήσας. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς δυναμένους ἄριστ' ἄρχειν, τούτους

άργειν. Βέλτιον δ', εί και προείτο την απορίαν των έπιεικών ό γομοθέτης, άλλα άρχόντων γε έπιμελείσθαι τής σχολής.

32 ταῦθ' Bk.2, a misprint probably | 33 βέλτιστον P2-3 1273 b 6, 7 βέλτιον.....σχολής transposed by Susem., Introd. p. 81 f. |

6 εὐπορίαν P1 Π2 Ar. | 7 άλλὰ καὶ Γ possibly 1273 a 35 δei] δη Tb and Qb (1st hand, corrected by later hand). δη δεί P2.3

30 δτι P2, δτι M* P1-4 Ald, Bk, and perhaps P8 | γὰρ Ar., δ' Γ II (for which IIt in Susem.1 is a misprint) Bk. | 40 πολιτειών Γ M*

1273 b 1 τε.....την] τ' είναι βεβαίως άριστοκρατικήν Π2 Bk, | 2 δ'] γάρ Spengel || τοῦτ' ωνουμένους Γ Ma and P1 (1st hand, corrected by p1 in the margin), [τοῦτ' ωνουμέrous | Susem.1-2, τους ωνημένους Ramus | 3 μέν is rightly omitted by Π2 Bk. | 4 ών αν ΓM° 1 5 αριστ' άρχειν Spengel, αρισταρχέν ΓΠ Bk.

35 el δέ...πρός ευπορίαν χάριν σχολής] "But even supposing that means must be taken into account, in order to secure leisure," i.e. magistrates who can devote their whole time to their duties, "it is a grave defect that the highest offices, like that of Shofete or general, should be purchaseable." Here he takes

should be purchaseable. There he takes up the condition postulated and justified above § 8, a 23, άλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην κτλ. 36 τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ώγητὰς κτλ] The same thing is said by Polybios vi. 56. 4 (Schlosser). Susem. (394) Mr Wyse refers to Plato Rep. 544 D: ώνηται βασι-λείαι and such like intermediate polities are to be found outside of Greece (wepl τοὺς βαρβάρους).

§ 11 40 το κύριον] the supreme authority, i.e. the government : 111. 6. 1 n. (523).

41 τούτοις=τῶ κυρίω. In c. 5 § 15, 7 § 8 he has dwelt on the comparative weakness of direct enactments and government interference. But public opinion can be legitimately educated and influenced, and this is το παιδεύεσθαι προ τὰς πολιτείας. See VIII(V). 9 §\$ 11-15. § 12 1273 b 1 tθ(terθαι κτλ) "Nor is it strange that the purchasers of place should be accustomed to make a profit out

of it, when it has cost them dear." The article with the participle need not be article with the participle freed for the suspected; the sense is "buying office as they do." Cp. c. 8 § 10 of de yeuproje mopliores if they supply, whereas of mopliores would be 'supplying, as they

do'=as they supply (Tyrrell).
5 διδ δεί κτλ] Cp. 9 § 27 n. (335).

SUSEM. (395)

§13 φαύλου δ' ἀν δόξειεν εἰναι καὶ τὸ πλείους ἀρχὰς τὸυ κ' αὐτὸν ἀρχειν' όπερ εὐδοκιμεί παρὰ τοῦς Καρχηδονίοις. ἐν γόρ το ὑψ' ἐνὸς ἔργου ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται. δεὶ δὴ ὅπως γίνηται τοῦτο ὁρῶν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ προστάττεν τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλεῖν ἔλικα ἀκυτοτομεῖν. ὁναθ' ὅπον μὴ μικρὰ πόλις, πολιτικότερου πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικότερον κουὐτερόν τε γάρ, καὶ καθάπεο εἰποιενε κύλλουν ἕκατον ἀποτελεῖ.

§ 4 και σκυτοτομείν. ὧσθ ὅπου μη μικρά πόλις, πολιτικότερου πλείουσε μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικότερου κοινότερόν τε γάρ, καί, καθάπερ εἴπομερ, κάλλιου ἕκαστον ἀποτελείτετον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Θάττον. δῆλου δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν τουτικῶν ἐυ τούτοις γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις διὰ πάνπον ως εἰπεῖυ διελήλιδε τὸ ἀρχειν καὶ τὸ ἀρχεσθαι.

§ 15 ολιγαρχικής δ' ούσης τής πολιτείας άριστα <στάσιν> έκ- 9 φεύγουσι τῷ πλουτεῖν, αἰεί τι τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐκπέμποντες

6 β/hrvav......? σχοβφ. See on 1273 a 25 | 1 το δ/ Summ., δ' ΓΙΙ (Ø M') ΕΕ. | 14 πel before endfrep Summ, neal after efterpue Γ II Ar. ΕΕ. Summ.): Render, with Bernays, accepts Susemihl's transposition, or clae would omit andfereperfugue I | 1 γr δω nirum W (1κt hand), νίν το ανίπον Γ , αδ επίσεν. William;
<δείναι ἡ ίντὸ-νῶν ανίπολ' Summ., νῶν βργω Bernays, tempfing but not certain; ['Γκών ανίπολ'] Bender, as due to the τῶν αντανῶν Gollowing: not bad | 1 8 καὶ in-serted after σδενρ by P⁴Q' P̄ | <πέσων Bernays, illust σβηςὐριαν Α.τ.; Schneider saw na chipter was required for πράφτρους. στώνου Κλίμες after Ατ., «Ερκλαν- for τραγεν Hample. Cp. 11 § 2 | 1 γ γ ῦν λοντίξων Susem. 10 following Schneider, misled by William's trendering institutes.</p>

§ 13. Plato's principle of the division of labour, with the stock Socratic σ-camples of shoemaker and flute player: cp. c-2 § 5, 3 m, Pl. Rép. 11. 374 C. § 14 are moderated production of the advantage (or, in the interest) of the state, which is in this way better administered (κάλλων οὐτου δεσατον άποτελέται τῶν πολιτικώ»).

13 κοινότερόν τε γάρ] sc. έστίν. For thus the government concerns wider interests, is more comprehensive. This is given as the reason for δημοτικότερον. the next sentence justifies πολετικότερον. On this paragraph consult further VI(V), 15 88 - 8 - N. (132). SUSEM. (389)

On this pangraph consult turther Villy, 55 % 5-8 m. (1352). SUSEM. (389). 15 Tow drively Each of the invortable tasks incident to government is, with a proper division of labour, better and more quickly performed (T. L. Heath). 16 to vortous yap trail The commander in chief alone has merely to commander in chief alone has merely to com-

more quickly performed (1. L. Heath).

16 to rooros yabo rah] The commander in chief alone has merely to command; the private soldiers alone have merely to obey; all ranks between have both to command and be commanded (Piccart). SUSEM. (397)

(Piccart). SUSEM. (397)
§ 15 19 αλεί τι τοῦ δήμου] Cp.
γιι(νι). 5. 9, φίλου κέκτησται του δήμου.

del γάρ τωας έκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρός τας περιοικίδας ποιούσιν εύπόρους. The subjects of the Carthaginian rule in Africa may be classified as follows: (1) the socalled Liby-Phoenicians, i.e. the old Phoenician settlements and others recently founded by Carthage: unfortified centry tounded by Carriage: unfortned towns, partly no doubt inhabited by a nixed Phoenician and Libyan popula-tion, which had to pay a fixed tribute and furnish confingents. Utica allow escaped a similar fate, and had its inde-pendence and its walls preserved to it from the plous feeling of the Cartha-from the plous feeling of the Carthaginians towards their ancient protectors. (2) The agricultural villages of native Libyans who had been transformed from free farmers into fellahs: they had to pay a fourth part of the produce of the soil as land-tax (Polyb. I. 72. 2) and were subjected to a regular system of recruiting (3) The roving pastoral tribes (vouddes) who had to pay tribute and to furnish contingents. In the treaties of the Carthaginian state preserved by Greek writers (3) are called ξθνη, "tribes," and the villages occupied by (2) are called πό-λεις, "towns," of subjects (Mommsen 11. 20 έπλ τὰς πόλεις. τούτφ γὰρ ἰῶνται καὶ ποίοῦσὶ μόνιμον τὴν (VIII) .πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τουτί ἐστι τύχης ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστασιά-

πολιτείαν, άλλά τουτί εστι τυχης έργου, δεί δε άστασια-816 στους είναι διὰ τόν νομοθέτην. νῦν δέ, ἄν ἀτυχία γένηταί τις καὶ τό πλήθος ἀποστή των ἀρχομένων, οὐδέν ἔστι φάρ-

μακον διὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἡσυχίας.

(12) περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ Κρηισ.τικῆς καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων, αἴπερ δικαίων εὐδοκιμοῦν, 12.τοῦνου ἔχει τὸν τρόπου τῶν δὲ ἀποφηναμένων τι περὶ πο-1Χ λιτείας ἔνιοι μὲν οὖκ ἐκοινώνησαν πράξεων πολιτικῶν οὐδ΄

λιτείας ενίοι μεν ουκ εκοινωνησαν πραξεών πολιτικών ουο ώντινωνουν, άλλα διετέλεσαν ίδιωτεύοντες του βίου, περί (s. 50) 30 ών εί τι αξιόλογον, είρηται σχεδόν περί πάντων, ένιοι δὲ

νομοθέται γεγόναστικ, οἱ μὲν ταῖς οἰκείαις πόλεστικ οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀθνείων τιστί, πολιτευθέντες αὐτοί καὶ τούτων οἱ μὶν ἐγίνοντο δημιουργοὶ νόμων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πολιτείας, οἰον καὶ Λυκοῦσονος καὶ Σόλων οὐτοι γὰρ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολιτείας κατέκ

§ 2 στησαν. περί μέν ούν τής Λακεδαιμονίων εξρηται, Σόλωνα δ' 2
36 ενιοι μέν οιονται γενέσθαι νομοθέτην σπουδαίον. διιγαργίαν

25 mpl. .1276 de 66 /c. rs] is noticed by Michael of Ephems op. c. f. 188- Gittling pronounced the whole of c. rs sparious. See Comm. nm. (599, 434, 437) \parallel spfrys M*Pl \parallel of afrey] of /mpl. Susem. (Γ may have omitted /mp, quae William) \parallel = 7 rt omitted in Π , hence /mp /msem. /m \parallel 3 rs spines insected after /mb by /mP /mP. /mP /mP

p. 9 f. Eng. tr.). See esp. Diod. XX. 55. 4. It is the latter which are here meant (ἐπὶ τὰs πόλειs). We are not to understand the passage, with Heeren (p. 42) and Movers (p. 358), of the foundation of new colonies; but of appointments like that of governor and assessor of taxes which gave the holders the opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of their subjects. (See Kluge p. 192 ff., who however incorrectly assumes that such officers were sent to Liby-Phoenician cities, indeed chiefly to them.) It was in accordance with the principles of Carthaginian policy not, as a rule, to give these appointments to decayed nobles (as might be inferred from Mommsen's account 11. p. 17 Eng. tr.), but according to Aristotle's explicit statement to plebeians, or citizens who did not belong to the ruling houses, SUSEM.

§ 16 24 φάρμακον τῆς ήσυχίας] "No spell in their laws to restore peace," i.e. no means of terminating civic strife. Comp. the judgment of Polyb. VI. 51 on the second Punic War.

c. 12 The Solonian Constitution: §§ 1—6.

For the bistorical bearings of this pas-

sage consult especially Grote cc. 11, 31; Schömann Antiquities pp. 322—342 Engtr. and Athenian Constitutional History translated by Bosanquet (Oxford 1878). Also Case Materials for the History of Athenian Democracy (Oxford 1874): Oncken Athen und Hillas pp. 161—173, Staatslore 11, 410 ff.

Staatstehre II. 410 ft. § 1 28 οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν κτλ] see I. 7. 5, II. 7. I. Here legislation is apparently a branch of practical politics;

cp. n. on voluvels, 1. i. 2.
33 visus, of 8 kai novardas] This
distinction, which is quite in place here,
induced the author of the suspected passage, 86 -π4, to believe that in Arissage, 86 -π4, to believe that in Aristotic's opinion a list of more legislators
was a further regulation.

The control of the control of the control
dismiss it as irrelevant. Finding no such
list drawn up by Aristotle the interpolator supplied the supposed want on his

own account. Susem. (399) § 2 36 Evice mey ofortail Introd. D. 20 τε γάρ καταλύσαι λίαν άκρατον ούσαν, καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν (ΙΧ) δήμου παθσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι την πάτριου.

μίξαντα καλώς την πολιτείαν είναι γάρ την μέν έν 'Αρείφ 40 πάγω βουλήν όλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αίρετὰς ώρις 3 στοκρατικόν, τό δὲ δικαστήριον δημοτικόν. ἔοικε δὲ Σόλων 1274 εκείνα μέν υπάρχοντα πρότερον ου καταλύσαι, τήν τε βου-

λην και την των άρχων αίρεσιν, τον δε δημον καταστήσαι,

37 γαρ omitted by M*P1 | 41 τα δέ δικαστήρια H2Ar, Bk., but see § 4, where Schneider restored the plurals κύρια...τὰ δικαστήρια...κληρωτὰ δυτα...ταῦτ'

n. 1. The context shows that these eulogists of Solon were eulogists of a mixed constitution, and not of Democracy, as Oncken strangely maintains. Such a combination of oligarchical and aristocratical elements they found in the "oldfashioned" Solonian democracy: in other words, not merely a moderate Democracy, but a nominal Aristocracy even, or at least a kind of Polity. Susem. (400) Diels Ueber die Berliner Fragmente der

'Αθηναίων πολιτεία (Berlin 1885), p. 33: refers to Isocr. Areop. 16, Antid. 232, 312, for expressions of the current notion that Solon was the founder of Attic democracy;

δ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ῆν φιλόδημος τὴν φόσω. 37 λίαν ἄκρατον] Τοο unqualified. 38 τὴν πάτριον] The old-fashioned, as distinguished from the modern, democracy (ἡ νῦν δ.): comp. §§ 3, 4: VI(IV). 6 § 5; 14 §§ 7, 11, 12; VII(VI). 4 §§ 1, 2, 5 § 3; VIII(V). 5 §§ 10, 11 (μεταβάλλουσε δὲ καὶ ἔκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς τῆν νεωτάτην) with the references in the notes. Comp. also VII(VI). 7 § 7 n. "modern oligarchies": III. 6 § 9 n. (532). Aristotle quite accepts the distinction, cp. §§ 5, 6: 111. 11. 8; v1(1v). 11. 19 n. (1303). For he has no objection to raise against these panegyrists of Solon, except that they referred even the aristocratical and oligarchical elements of the combination to Solon, whereas in fact only the democratic accession was his doing. With the following sentences compare Schömann The Solonian Heliaca and Ephialtes' toup d'état, an article in the Jahrb. f. Phil. XCIII. 1866. 585—594: and R. Schöll De synegoris Atticis p. 10 ff. (Jena 1876). SUSEM. (400 b)

"Inter eos qui Solonem laudant, ni fallor, Isocratem in Areopagitico intelligit; ita enim loquitur, ut Soloni et alρεσιν άρχων et βουλήν tribuat, at nihil ille de δικαστηρίοις" (Spengel).

30 "by a happy blending (of other

elements) in the polity," 30-41 Parallel to the account given,

probably by the same writers, of the Spartan polity 6 § 17. § 3 On this battle-ground of con-

tending opinions there are at least three issues. (a) Is Aristotle merely reporting the views of the panegyrists of Solon [Grote, Fränkel], or is he correcting them [Thirlwall, Congreve, Schömann Ath. Const. Hist. p. 37 Eng. tr.]? (β)
What is the exact sense of the last clause? [See Exc. v. p. 350 ff.] (y) Is the statement it contains historically true? [Grote, Curtius reject it: Thirlwall, Schömann accept it.] 41 Youre | Schömann, Frankel Die at-

tischen Geschworenengerichte 62 f. (Berlin 1877. 8), and others lay far too much stress on this word foure='seems', here and below, § 5 l. 15. Aristotle often speaks in a qualifying manner about things of which, in reality, he has not the slightest doubt. Thus foure, l. 15, comes very close to φαίνεται l. 11; the force of which, as often in other writers besides Aristotle, is to express not so much what is merely apparent and probable, as what is obvious, what has come to light. Susem. (401)

See force I. 1. 6, VIII(v). 3 § 16, 9 § 2.
"The words express Aristotle's own opinion, because (1) the construction requires it (Evice per oforrat... Force be), (2) the sense requires it; some thought that Solon established a mixed constitution, Aristotle contends that he only added a new element, the δικαστήρια (Case).

127421 THE TE BOUNTY What powers Aristotle might ascribe to the conneil of the Areopagos which Solon found existing and left unaltered, it is not easy to see from this. SUSEM. (402) 2 καταστήσαι=laid the foundation

for the democracy.

τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων. διὸ καὶ μέμφονταί τινες ε § 4 αὐτώ· λύσαι γὰρ θάτερα, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστή-5 ριου πάντων, κληρωτου ου. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἴσχυσεν, ὥσπερ τυράννω τω δήμω γαριζόμενοι την πολιτείαν είς την νύν δημοκρατίαν μετέστησαν καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν ᾿Αρείω πάγω βουλην Έφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλής, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια ο μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλής, καὶ τοῦτον δὰ τὸν τρόπον § 5 έκαστος τών δημαγωγών προήγαγεν αξέων είς την νύν δημοκρατίαν. φαίνεται δε ου κατά την Σόλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦτο 4 προαίρεσιν, άλλα μάλλον από συμπτώματος (της ναυαρ-13 γίας γάρ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ὁ δημος αἴτιος γενόμενος ἐφρο-

1274 8 4 θάτερα Koraes, θατέραν Π1 Susem.1 in the text, θάτερον Π2 Ar. Bk. 1 5 Ισχυεν Π⁵ Βk. | 7 μετέστησαν Tegge, κατέστησαν ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem.¹ | 8 έκώλυσε Γ Ar., έκόλυσε Qb | [καὶ Περικλής] Sauppe, probably rightly, τά... ο Πεοικλής omitted by ΓM*

3 τα δικαστήρια ποιήσας έκ πάντων] See Exc. v. p. 350 ff. Susem. (403)
μέμφονταί τινες] See Intrad. p. 20
n. r. In representing that these critics of Solon were adherents of the oligarchy Oncken, 11. 439, 440 n. (1), goes beyond Aristotle's own words. All that can be fairly inferred is that they were opponents of absolute democracy. But that does not prove them to be oligarchs; they might have been friends of a mixed constitution no less than Solon's panegyrists noticed just before or, comparatively speaking, Aristotle himself.

4 λῦσαι γαρ κτλ] For (they think) he neutralized the other forces in the state by making the court of law, a body

chosen by lot, supreme over all matters.
§ 4 5 ωσπερ τυράννω τῷ δήμω] Cp.
VI(IV). 4 § 27 δ δ' οδν τοιούτος δήμος άτε
μέναρχος ῶν ζητεί μοναρχείν διὰ τὸ μὴ άρχεσθαι ύπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός ...και έστιν άνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τἢ τυ-

parvice, with notes. Susem. (405) 6 τὴν νῦν δημοκ.] 'The democracy of the present day' i.e. the extremest and most unfettered species: cp. vi(iv). 4 10 and the other references given in n. (400 b). Susem. (406)

8 Εφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε] Schömann

Antiquities p. 341 f. Eng. tr. Susem.

9 μισθοφόρα] Böckh Economy of Athens p. 232 Eng. tr.: also notes on V(VIII). 5 § 23 (1055), VI(IV). 13 § 5 (1260). SUSEM. (408)

Aristotle is quoting the opinion of others, but without denying it (Case).
§ 5 11 pawera St ov kara the \(\Sigma\). Thus while Aristotle agrees with Solon's panegyrists in respect of their judgment, but qualifies the historical grounds assigned for it, n. (400 b) on § 2, he entirely adopts1 the historical statement of Solon's critics, but attacks the censure which they inferred from it as not justified. Compare furthermore 9 § 12 n. (296), § 21 (321 b). Susem. (409)

12 από συμπτώματος] accidentally, "in the course of events" (Susemihl). ναυαργία=the supremacy at sea, like passozría: not found elsewhere in this

13 έφρονηματίσθη] acquired over-weening confidence in themselves, became aware of their importance. Eaton compares v(vIII). 6. 11 μετά τὰ Μηδικά

¹ This is strangely overlooked by Oncken II.

This is strangely overlooked by Oncken II.

the fact that Artistate only make these critics
peaked 50 has a basing introduced the appointpeaked 50 has a basing introduced the appointsearch of the peaker of the continue of the contraction of the c

νηματίσθη καὶ δημαγωγούς ἔλαβε φαύλους ἀντιπολιτευο- (ΙΧ) 15 μένων τών ἐπιεικών), ἐπεὶ Σόλων γε ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδιδόναι τῷ δήμω δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αίρεῖ-

σθαι καλ ειθύνειν (μηδέ γάρ τούτου κύριος ών δ δήμος § 6 δούλος αν είη και πολέμιος), τας δ' άρχας έκ των γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων κατέστησε πάσας, ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσιο- (p. sr) 20 μεδίμνων καὶ ζευγιτών καὶ [τρίτου τέλους] της καλουμένης

14 ἀντὶ πολιτευομένων Γ P⁶ Ar. | 16 ἀποδοῦναι? Schneider, perhaps rightly | 17 ων δ δήμος κύριος M*P1 Susem.2, ο δήμος ων κύριος [?] Γ Susem.1 | 18 [rds δ' άρχὰς...21 μετῆν] Susem, Fahrb. f. Philol, XCIII. p. 331 Diels | 19 ἐμπόρων P2-3 Qb Tb | πεντακοσίων μεδίμνων Γ Ma | 20 [τρίτου τέλους] Susem. doubtfully, τοῦ τέλους Spengel, who afterwards transposed καὶ to follow τρίτου τέλους; [τρίτου τέλους] and και ζευγιτών transposed to follow 21 Ιππάδος Oncken. But then we should expect καl <τῶν > ζευγιτῶν and might equally well conjecture καl τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος καὶ τρίτου τέλους «τοῦ τῶν» ζευγετῶν

φρονηματισθέντες έκ τῶν ἔργων, and VIII(V), 4. 8 πάλω ο ναυτικός σχλος γενόμενος αίτιος της περί Σαλαμίνα νίκης καί διά ταύτης της ήγεμονίας διά την κατά θάλατταν δίναμιν την δημοκρατίαν Ισχυροτέραν έποίησεν, where see n. (1521). SUSEM. (410)

This is why in a fragment of his Polity of Athens Aristotle mentioned Themistocles' proposal to create a fleet from the annual profits of the silver mines (see Polyaen, Str. I. 30 § 6): Diels op.c. p. 34-14 Here as elsewhere Aristotle's sym-

pathies go with the Athenian opposition to extreme democracy: the Moderates (ἐπιεικεῖ) headed by Aristeides, Cimon, Thucydides (δ Μελησίου), Nicias, and Theramenes (Frag. 369, Plut. Nic. 2), who opposed the democratic leaders from Themistocles to Cleophon

15 ἐπεὶ Σόλων γε κτλ] But above, § 3, Aristotle has said that Solon merely allowed the previously established mode of electing the archons to continue. In any case his words are not clear, as Schömann remarks. Either before Solon's time the archons were elected by the whole body of the people; and then Aristotle himself commits the fault he has censured in Solon's admirers, of inaccurately describing him as the author of an institution which he merely perpetuated. Or else he intends to attribute to Solon the transference of this election from the nobles to the whole body of citizens; if so, he ought to have mentioned this beforehand, amongst the other demo-eratic additions which Solon made to the Athenian constitution. Which of these alternatives is correct cannot be decided.

Susem. (411) 17 καλ εύθύναν] By this control over the magistrates is meant, that during their tenure of office the magistrates could be brought before a popular court or perhaps even before the popular assembly direct; and more particularly that after the expiration of their term of office they could be brought before - popular court and required to give an account of their conduct. Cp. Exc. v.; further III. 11 § 8 n. (569), VI(IV). 11 § 19 n. (1303), 14 § 3 (1319), § 6 (1325), § 10 (1332); n. on 16 § 2; and VII(VI). 1 § 4 (1475). SU-

SEM. (412) "With this statement of the draykardrara of democracy, compare the summary of the characteristics of true loopopla which Herodotus III. 80 puts into the mouth of Otanes: πάλω μέν άρχας άρχει, ὑπείθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλεύ-ματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει [sc.

τό πλήθος]" (Jackson). μηδέ γαρ...δούλος αν είη και πολέμιος] Here again is a substantial contribution to Aristotle's own views on the requirements of a good constitution. SUSEM. (413)

§ 6 18 7 às 6' doxàs] The right of electing officers and holding them strictly accountable, which the commons enjoyed, is opposed to the right of office from which they were in part excluded. 19 the τών πεντ. κτλ] On these four Solonian classes see Schömann Antiquities I. p. 329 ff. Eng. tr. Further see III. 11. 8 n. (569), VII(VI). 4. 5 (1417).

Susem. (414) The order of the classes is not correct even if we omit the words tpirou réhous ίππάδος το δε τέταρτον το θητικόν, οίς οὐδεμιᾶς άρχης μετην. (ΙΧ) [νομοθέται δὲ ἐγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροίς τοίς ἐπιζε-5

φυρίοις, καὶ Χαρώνδας ὁ Καταναίος τοῦς αὐτοῦ πολίταις καὶ 24 ταις άλλαις ταις Χαλκιδικαις πόλεσι ταις περί Ίταλίαν καὶ § 7 Σικελίαν, πειρώνται δὲ [[καί]] τινες καὶ συνάνειν ως 'Ονομακρίτου μέν γενομένου πρώτου δεινού περί νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθήναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτη Λοκρὸν ὅντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατά τέχνην μαντικήν τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα έταιρον, Θάλητος δ' ακροατήν Λυκούργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου 30 δὲ Χαρώνδαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτίτερον τῶν γρόνων έγοντες ενένετο δε και Φιλόλαος ο Κορίνθιος ο

22 [νομοθέται.....b 26 aν] Bojesen | 23 αὐτοῦ Γ P¹, αὐτοῦ Μ*Π² | 24 ταῖς before Χαλκιδικαι̂s Schmidt would omit | 25 καl omitted by III Ar. | 27 αυτόν omitted apparently in Γ, perhaps rightly | κάκει or και <έκει> Tegge, perhaps rightly | 28 μαντικήν omitted in ΓΜ* | θέλητα (in Γ after έταῖρον) and 29 θέλητος ΓΜ" | 30 τών χρίνων Αι., τῶ χρίνω ΓΠΕΚ. | 31 έχοντες Susem., λέγοντες Γ II Ar. Bk., cp. Plat. Gorg. 501 C ασκέπτως έχων τοῦ αμείνονος

or, with Spengel, transpose them to go with ζευγιτών. Cp. H. Landwehr in Philologus Supp.-Band v. 1885, pp. 118 ff. 21 Comp. Julius Pollux VIII. 130 οἰ δὲ τὸ βητικὸν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ῆρχον.

A list of legislators: §§ 6-14.

Many of the arguments with which Göttling Comm. p. 345 f., impugued the genuineness of the whole chapter were answered by Nickes De Aristotelis politicorum libris p. 55 ff., and Spengel, Ucher die Politik p. 11 note, Arist. Studien III. p. 18 f. Göttling was followed by Böckh and Bernays Ges. Abh. I. 172. The case must depend mainly on the language.

22 Aospois rois enisopolois] i.e. the Locrians living on the promontory Zephy-rion in Lower Italy. The laws of Zaleukos about (?) 664 B.C. are said to have been the first which were committed to writing; see Schömann p. 17 Eng. tr., to writing; see Scionomin p. 17 Eng. 17.
Antig; in: publ. 89 n. (8). SUSEM (415)
23 Xapairõas] Mentioned I. 2 § 5 n.
(16), Vi(1), I 1 § 15 n., 13 § 10. SUSEM
(416) On his laws see Diod. XII. 15.
24 rafs Xchardisacis rochard) i.
the colonies which Chalcis in Euboca the colonies when Chaicas in Eurocea planted in those countries: see E. Cur-tius Hist. 1.436 ff. Eng. tr. Sussem. (417) §7 25 resported for trues [Ephoros Strabo p. 483; cp. Plutarch Lycarg. 4. Trieber of A. 67, 73, 101. Sussem. (4818) The construction after curdyes, de-

and genitive absolute in the one clause

balanced by an accusative with infinitive

in the other, is awkward; but it can be nearly paralleled from Plato Philebus 16 C: τὴν φήμην παρέδοσαν ὡς ἐξ ἐνός μὲν...δυτων, πέρας δὲ...ἐχόντων. δεῖν οὖν ἡμᾶς κτλ. Cp. Rep. 11. 383 Α λέγεω καὶ ποιείν ώς μήτε αὐτοὺς γύητας δντας, μήτε ήμας παράγειν.

28 Kard with the accus. may mean "for the purpose" κατά θέαν ήκαν, or "in connexion with," almost "prac-

tising his mantic art."
Θάλητα] See Exc. VI. p. 352 f. Su-

SEM. (419)
29 'To the arguments advanced against the genuineness of this portion of the chapter may be added one derived from the fact that here we have Θάλητος as the form of the genitive, and Θάλητα of the accusative. Aristotle elsewhere uses the proper dialectic form, the Ionic gen. θάλεω 1259 a 7, the Doric 'Αρχύτα 1340 b 26; comp. also the quotation from Alcaeus III. 14 § 10. Plato on the other hand regularly changes quotations from other dialects into Attic; cp. Gorg. 485 E, 505 E, with Dr Thompson's note (Ridge-

505 g., with DT Hompson store (Adageway of λ. c. p. 135).
30 dλλά ταντα μέν κτλ] This criticism is very just. SUSEM. (419 b)
The same date circa Ol. 29 or 664 B.C. is the best attested for Thaletas, who comes second, and Zaleukos, who comes fourth, in this succession, with Lycurgus between them whom the latest estimate only brings down to 776!

§ 8 νομοθέτης Θηβαίοις. ην δ' ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν (IX) Βακγιδών, έραστής δὲ γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος 'Ολυμπίασιν, ως έκείνος την πόλιν έλιπε διαμισήσας του 35 έρωτα του της μητρος 'Αλκυόνης, απήλθευ είς Θήβας κάκει § 9 τον βίον ετελεύτησαν αμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ἔντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν των Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μέν συνόπτου τοῦ δ' οὐ συνόπτου μυθολογούσι γὰρ αὐτούς ούτω τάξασθαι τὴν ταφήν, τὸν μὲν? . 40 Διοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀπέγθειαν τοῦ πάθους, ὅπως μὴ ἄποπτος έσται ή Κορινθία ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, τὸν δὲ Φιλόλαον, ἔπως 1274 δ αποπτος. ώκησαν μέν οὐν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παρὰ τοις Θηβαίοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοις ἐνένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ' άλλων τινών και περί της παιδοποιίας, ούς καλούσιν 4 εκείνου νόμους θετικούς και τουτ' έστιν ίδίως ύπ' εκείνου § 11 νενομοθετημένον, ύπως δ άριθμός σώζηται τῶν κλήρων. Χα- 8 ρώνδου δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ίδιον πλήν αι δίκαι τῶν ψευδο-

μαρτυριών (πρώτος γάρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν), τῆ δ' ἀκρι-33 βακχιδών Γ M* (unless Γ had βαχιδών) βακχιαδών $P^1\Pi^2$ Ar. Bk. Susem. $^{1\cdot 2}$ 34 'Ολυμπιάσω Göttling, perhaps rightly | 35 μητρικάs? Spengel | 39 γραφήν II2, corrected in the margin of P4

1274 b 1 την omitted by Pt.3 | 5 σφζεται Bücheler | 6 οὐδέν έστιν ίδιον P1, There oddén égye P4. There mèn oddén égye P3-3 Ob Tb Ald. Bk. | wendomagrupian Scaliger and Bentley (Phalaris p. 358 Leip. ed.), ψευδομαρτύρων Γ Π Ar. | 7 ἐπίσκηψω Scaliger and Bentley, entered T II (in P3 the scribe's correction conceals the original reading)

§ 8 32-33 τῶν Βακχιδῶν] The ancient royal house at Corinth; see E. Curtius Hist. 1. 271-277, 434, Eng. tr. Schömann pp. 114, 153 Eng. tr. Company of the core also with (20) History (20) H

Schömsnan pp. 114, 135 Eng. tr. Compared ioner. 6330 mit. 18, 56, 1658) on VIII(*), 10 3 6. SUBERL (2009) discussed in the control of the con planation necessary, when its necessity or even utility is not further discoverable, then he ought at any rate a fortior to have shown how a Corinthian stranger came to give laws to the Thebans. Susem. (421)

SUSEM. (422) \$ 11 7 inforthing sc. herbohap-typus (Stobaeus says suroparties) pro-secution for perjury. Editors quote Pl. Laws XI. 937 F. [Dem.] 1139, 7. 4 θετικούς] laws of adoption. The Cretan term for adoption, we now learn,

was ἀνάφανσις, ἀναφαίνεσθαι. και τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἰδίως κτλ] Aelian Var. Hist. 11. 7 relates that at Thebes it was forbidden under penalty of death to expose a child; but in case of pressing poverty the father might bring his child in its swaddling clothes to the magistrate, who then sold it by a regular contract to the lowest bidder (τῷ τιμὴν ἐλαχίστην δώντι), whom it had to serve like a slave when grown up, in return for its maintenance. Perhaps, thinks J. G. Schneider, there is here a survival of the old laws which tended to preserve the original family estates unaltered by means of adoption. Hardly so, for the purchased child is bought as a kind of slave. On the further constitutional history of Thebes see Exc. 1 to B. viiI(v).

βεία των νόμων έστι γλαφυρώτερος και των νύν νομοθετών. (ΙΧ) § 12 Φαλέου δ' ίδιον ή των οὐσιών ἀνομάλωσις, Πλάτωνος δ' ή (p. 58) 10 τε των γυναικών καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἔτι δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν μέθην νόμος. τὸ τοὺς νήφοντας συμποσιαρχείν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοίς άσκησιν όπως αμφιδέξιοι γίνωνται κατά την μελέτην: 14 ώς δέον μή την μέν χρήσιμον είναι ταίν χεροίν την δέ § 13 άχρηστου. Δράκουτος δὲ νόμοι μὲν εἰσί, πολιτεία δ' ύπαρ-9 χούση τους νόμους έθηκεν ίδιον δ' έν τοις νόμοις οὐδέν

8 τῶν νόμων omitted by Π^1 Ar., perhaps rightly \parallel 9 φιλολώου Π^{1-3} Ar. and 1st . hand of P2-3 (corrected by corr.1) | απομάλωσε Βk., απωμάλωσε Π, όμαλότης Spengel, ὁμάλωσις Chandler | 12 την.....13 ἄσκησιν] Vettori first observed the harsh construction; either \$\delta_1....\delta_p\sigma_1 \text{or} < \delta_p\sigma_p \text{before } \text{they would be expected.} Schneider proposed to read the former and Schmidt the latter | 13 yévorou P2-2-4 Qb Tb | 14 700v P2-3 Qb Tb Ald. Bk. (perhaps right), 77v Ma (1st hand)

§ 12 9 Φαλίου δ' ίδιον κτλ] Even Fülleborn with good reason wonders what we want with Phaleas and Plato here over again, and is surprised that their original ideas are presented so imperfectly and in a manner which agrees so ill with the preceding criticisms. Cp. note (425). The interpolator did not reflect that Aristotle himself expressly tells us in § 1, that in the above review of Plato Phaleas Hippodamos he has said enough of the political ideas of mere theorists (είρηται σχεδόν περί πάντων): also that in § x f. he has given us to understand no less clearly that amongst practical statesmen, who created not merely a code of laws but a constitution, he has only Solon to consider, since Lycurgus has already been taken along with the criticism of the Lacedaemonian constitution. Accordingly if the interpo-lator, contrary to Aristotle's intention (see on § 1 n. 399), wanted to append a list of legislators simply, this ought at least to have consisted of practical men, who neither changed nor desired to change the constitution in any respect. Both limitations are inapplicable to Plato and Phaleas. From this may be seen what a misconception it would be to deny to Aristotle §§ 1—6 and assign them, with Göttling, to the same interpolator as the rest of the chapter. Susem. (423)

dνομάλωσις] equalization: Rhet. III. 11. 5 καὶ τὸ ἀνωμαλίσθαι ('read ἀνομαλισθήναι; Ao, our almost unique authority, has ἄνω μάλιστα εἶναι' SUSEM.) τὰς πόλεις ἐν πολύ διέχουσι ταῦτό, ἐν ἐπιφανεία καὶ δινάμεσι τὸ ἴσον. See Cope's note. Not a fresh equalization, but a breaking up of the present distribution to restore equality: so άνανέμειν, άναδασμός, άναδιδόναι ψήφοις.

10 ή τε τών γυναικών κτλ] Cp. 6 § 2 n. (153); 6 § 5 n. (150). Susem. (424) 11 έτι δ' ό περί την μέθην κτλ] Laws 1 637 ff., 643 ff., 11 664—672, 673 D ff. The fancy is strange enough; and Plato insists so much upon it that there is some justification for adducing it amongst the special peculiarities of his legislation. The next point however is not material enough for this, and much besides would have far greater right to be mentioned; cp. n. (423) just above. Susem. (425)

12 kml rly iv rots mod. krd.] Laws

VII 794 D-795 D. SUSEM. (426)

Fuit auctor, quod ad structuram verborum facit, durior: videbatur enim vel eodem casu, quo prima duo protulit, di-cere debuisse καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῦς πολεμικοῖς ἄσκησιε vel plene loqui hoc pacto: καλ < δ περί> την έν τοις π. άσκησιν (Vettori). One of these suggestions was taken up by Schneider, the other by Schmidt. SU-

§ 13 15 πολιτεία δ' ύπαρχούση κτλ] From n. (423) the irrelevance of this remark is obvious. It would imply that the same statement was not true of Za-leukos Charondas Philolaos, in which case it follows from the explanation given in m. (423) that they should not properly be included here. It may be said that the remark serves to distinguish Draco's laws from those of Phaleas and Plato, which

έστω ὅ τι καὶ μετίας άξων, πλην ή χαλεπότης διά τὸ τῆς ὑη· (IX)
μίας μέγεθος, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Πεττακός νόμων ὅημιουργός
ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτείας: νόμως ὅ Τειος αἰτοῦ τὸ τους μεθύοντας,
το ἀν τι πταίσωσα, πλείω ὑρμια ἀποτίνεω τῶν νηφώτιων διά
γὰρ τὸ πλείους ὑβρίξεω μεθύοντας ἡ νήφοντας οὐ πρὸς την
συγγρώμην ἀπίβλεκξεν, ὅτι δεὶ μεθύονται ὑγιεν μάλλων, ἀλλὰ
ἐ14 πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ᾿λλδροδόμας শγηῦνο νομοθίτης Καλειδεύσι τοῦς ἐπὶ Θράνης, οῦ περί τε < τὰ> φοτὸ νικά καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ῖδιών γε οὐδὲν
αὐτοῦ λέγμω ἔγοι τις τὰ.):

20 th stallows: L', the stallows: \mathbb{C}^n , thetherwise Γ $\mathbb{P}^{1,2,3,4}$ Q \mathbb{N}^n \mathbb{Q}^n \mathbb{T}^n A.A.d. Ek., thetherwise \mathbb{V}^n , then the stall and the stall and the stall and \mathbb{R}^n $\mathbb{R$

were made for an ideal state. But this does not mend matters because, as Draco was not the author of a constitution, there was not been dealer for the state of t

18 On Pittacus see III. 14. 10 with Exc. II. on B. III. SUSEM. (429) νόμων δημιουργός has been objected to; but Nickes cites αρετῆς δημ. IV(VII). 9. 7. 20 διά γάρ το πλείους κτλ] Cp. Rhd.

11. 25. 7, 1402 b 11 Ενστασε ότι οδικου ό
11. αδεντό το ότρα ότρα έμμα ένομοθέτησεν έδυ τες μεθώνο άμαρτάτη: Νέε.
Είλ. 111. 5. 8, 1113 b 30 και έτα ότρα ότρα έχει δεξι
τό άγουδε κολάξουσε, έδυ σέτιου είναι δεξι
τό άγουδε κολάξουσε, έδυ σέτιου έπιλ από τ
έτετίμα: κύρως τὰρ τοῦ μὲ μεθυσθέρει (Ελείοι). SUSEM. (430)

[Rattur]. SUSSAN. (1809)
§ 18. 42 Κλαλικοθείνι τουξ έτι Οράκης]
The inhabitants of the peninsula Chalcidice, which derived its name from its colonization by Chalcis in Euboea. This took place before the settlement of the western colonies of Chalcis, noticed in § 6 n. (417): see E. Curtius 1. 428 ff. Eng. tr. SUSEAN. (431)

tr. SUSEM. (431)
25 Laws of Charondas respecting heiresses are mentioned by Diodoros XII.

NOTE ON ARCADIA.

διοίσει δὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις έθνους, δταν μή κατά κώμας ὧσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλήθος, άλλ' οδον 'Αρκάδες: Η. 2. 3.

"It is well known that the entire population of Arcadia was divided into a number of city communities politically independent, nor was this altered by the subsequent foundation of Megalopolis (see n. 459). They were held together by a tribal league sometimes more loosely, sometimes more rigidly organized, which left the political sovereignty of the various cities pretty nearly intact. Clearly a race or tribe thus organized does not greatly differ from a συμμαχία, or league offensive and defensive, and Aristotle is right in remarking that qualitative differences between the members (which are the separate towns) are not required in the one case any more than in the other, but that the essential advantage depends upon something quantitative. To this kind of cover, however, conceived as analogous to a guugavia, is opposed another which Aristotle excludes from this analogy by the addition of the words όταν μη κατά κώμας ώσι κεγωρισμένοι το πλήθος, 'provided their population be not dispersed over a number of villages.' By the latter he means the floor which forms a political unity (usually with monarchical constitution), which is not divided into a number of city-states, nor centralized in a single city, but where the people live scattered all over the territory in detached villages or unwalled towns without political independence (κώμαι). In other words it is the organization with which the Greeks became acquainted in most of the neighbouring non-Greek nations; whereas tribal federations composed of separate city-states were a somewhat more Hellenic development. It is obvious that a non-Greek tribal state of the kind certainly bore no analogy to the συμμαχία, and that in its case the qualitative distinction between the individual members, the rulers and those whom they ruled (see n. 133), was as essential as in the separate Hellenic πόλις." Dittenberger in Gött. gel. Anz. 1874, p. 1382. SUSEM. (132)

To Dittenberger's explanation of this obscure passage it may be well to append a short conspectus of other interpretations. It has been commonly supposed (i) that there is a reference to some evocasepic of Arcadians, and that the "rober is distinguished from those = the unerganized rate. Then if it be granted that the may h given $h^2 = the$ in the uncords will be rendered: "A city will differ too from a tribe by not having the population scattered over villages but centralized like the Arcadians." Thus p_k gard.

 $κ_0$ μαι εχωρισμένο will denote the previous condition of Arcadia, the primitive stage of village life, which long lingered there as in Epirus, Aetolia, Acamania. The analogy between this state of things and the συμαγρία must consist in the isolated independence of the villages: the fibres 'Apoulable being composed $l_{\rm c}^2$ $l_{\rm c}$ $l_$

It would appear that, though this interpretation is open to the serious objections enumerated in the note ad loc, it can hardly be directly refuted. Aristotle may have interposed at this point the remark that as the molus differs on the one hand from the larger aggregate, a confederacy of cities, so too it differs on the other hand from those more primitive elements of which it is itself an aggregate. But such an interposition is, on other grounds, unsatisfactory. "No one," says Mr Postgate, "could mistake a disunited and unorganized community, with nothing but race in common, for a state; but when it has received a sort of union and organization, and, so to speak, simulates a state, confusion may arise and discrimination is necessary. In other words, the state, an organized combination of parts for a common end, requires distinguishing from similar combinations, the confederacy and the organized race, but not from the non-organized race, which conforms to none of these conditions" (Notes p. 3). Yet on the above interpretation of the passage the organized race is the moles; Aristotle has distinguished between race and state where there is no danger of confounding them and has omitted to distinguish them precisely where one may be mistaken for the other.

Another solution is (11) to understand by Ebros the organized race or tribe, as something distinct from the moles, retaining the reference to the events of 370-369 B.C., but primarily to the rise of the new Arcadian league, or federal state, which is wholly distinct from the contemporaneous foundation of Megalopolis, to serve as the federal capital. The principal references to the constitution of the league are as follows1: Xenoph. Hell. VI. 5. 6 τῶν δὰ Τεγεατών οί μέν περί του Καλλίβιον και Πρόξενον συνήγον έπι το συνιέναι τε πάν τὸ ᾿Αρκαδικόν, καὶ ὅ τι νικώη ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ των πόλεων' οἱ δὲ πεοὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἐᾶν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι: ἐδ. VI. 5. 12 ὁ δὲ ᾿Αγησίλαος...καταλαβών πόλιν διιορον ούσαν Εύταιαν καὶ εύρων τοὺς ἐν τῆ στρατευσίμω ήλικία οἰχομένους είς το 'Αρκαδικόν όμως οὐκ ήδίκησε την πόλιν: ib. VII. 4. 2 ὁ Λυκομήδης πείθει τούς μυρίους πράττειν περί συμμαχίας. (Comp. Harpocr. p. 280 μύριοι έν Μεγάλη πόλει...συνέδριον έστι κοινον 'Αρκάδων απάντων διείλεκται δε καὶ περὶ αὐτών καὶ 'Αριστοτέλης έν τῆ κοινῆ 'Αρκάδων πολιτεία.) Xenoph. Hell. VII. 4. 12 καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἸΗλεῖοι Δασιώνα, τὸ μέν παλαιὸν έαυτών ύντα, ἐν δὲ τώ παρόντι

With what follows compare Freeman Federal Government pp. 197-207.

From these passages it may be inferred that 70 roper, the League, was a federal state, trenching in some respects upon the autonomy of its constituent members, the individual communities. It had a greatives and other officers, an assembly (μύριοι), a federal army (ἐπάριτοι) paid out of a common fund (Xen. Hell. VII. 4. 33, 34), and a common foreign policy. It would appear that the League is something distinct from, and politically superior to, its members, not excepting Megalopolis the greatest of them all. It is not impossible then that Aristotle intends here to draw a distinction between the organized race, as illustrated by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ᾿Αρκάδων, and the ordinary autonomous canton-state (πόλιε), yet this solution does not remove all difficulties, especially those of an historical nature. (1) An Arcadian league of some sort existed from ancient times, as attested by coins. Vague notions of tribal kinship and some degree of unity had been kept up, as in Ionia, by common religious rites. It is true that this secured no real political union, and that the leading states, Tegea and Mantinea, were generally hostile to each other. But in this respect the events of 369 B.C. made no permanent alteration. (2) Within eight years of its formation the new Arcadian league was broken up: after the party strife of the years 364-362 it ceased to exist as a federal union of all Arcadians, who cannot be said to have been ever again one as towards other states. Arcadians fought on opposite sides at Mantinea (362 B.C.) and in the struggle between Agis and Antipater thirty years afterwards (Aesch. III. 165, Quint. Curt. VI. 1. 21), Indeed, not long after Mantinea many of the smaller townships incorporated in Megalopolis demanded autonomy. The Great City would have been dismembered upon the disruption of the League but for the timely interference of 3,000 Thebans under Pammenes, who compelled the seceders to return, Diod. XV. 94. About a century and a half later Philopoemen actually made Aliphera, Asea, Dipaia, Gortys, Pallantion, and Theisoa, independent members of the Achaean league, thus putting an end to their dependence upon Megalopolis (194 B.C.). In the time of Pausanias, all except Aliphera and Pallantion were again reduced to the condition of 'villages' of Megalopolis'.

Bearing these facts in view, we proceed to inquire about the meaning to be assigned on this hypothesis to the words ward adjuen expoperflow. Since its supporters would probably not take them as Dittenberger has done, they may be presumed to fall back upon the former suggestion that they describe the unorganized race, which lives ward seplane "probable" pri "Dibblos repires. And doubtless such was the mode of life of certain districts in the southwest of Arcadia, down to the foundation of Megaphoplis. But just as certain

¹ Plut. Philop. 13; Paus. vIII. 27. 7; Freeman p. 626 n. 4.

is it that (a) the league embraced Teres, Orchomenos, Mantinea, Heraca, πόλεις which were not absorbed in Megalopolis: while (β) most of the townships or tribes whose coalition provided the population of the capital are unmistakably called πόλεις, not κώμαι, in respect of their previous existence1. It was after the foundation of the capital and the formation of the new league that these places became κώμαι: previously they had been πόλεις2. Nor is this the only difficulty. For if Aristotle is really desirous of distinguishing the πόλις (1) from a συμμανία or federation of states (Staatenbund) and (2) from a federal state (Bundesstaat), and if Arcadia is the illustration of (2) which he has chosen, he must regard the federal state as still existing in his own times, which in face of its manifest disruption would only be possible if he judged Arcadian politics exclusively from the point of view of Megalopolitan interests. A zealous partizan might hold no doubt that the opposite faction had cut themselves off from the Arcadian race. Yet even with the scanty evidence at our command we can discern that the league of all Arcadia must have been reduced, at certain times, to the single federal city Megalopolis, in which case the distinction between the organized tribe and the πόλις, ex hypothesi all-important, disappears.

(II) Some of the older commentators inferred from the passage that the condition of Arcadia was one of extreme disintegration, an organization so so low in the scale as to contrast unfavourably with that of the villagecommunity. Bernays perhaps adopts this view when he turnslates: 'when the trible is not divided into villages with a definite number of inhabitants, but lives scattered and without political organization'.

The obscurity of the passage is increased by the uncertainty of those who have examined it as to whether the Arcadinas are cited as an example of a $\pi \partial u_0$ or an $\ell \partial v_0$. The view cited as (i) makes them both. Victorius and Camerarius apparently consider them adduced as exemplifying the $\pi \partial u_0$ implying that distribution of the population over villages or 'demest' (earl $\pi \partial u_0 u_0$) was a characteristic feature of the normal Greek state. But apart from other obvious difficulties one fails to see how αu_0 tribe or region of Greece, whether it had towns or not, can have been without villages.

¹ Paus, VIII. 27 83 3, 4, describing the founding of Megalopolis: πόθειε δε' νεανίδε όπέσει, πατρίδει τοίξειν διότε ελλετείν πελίστον οι 'λαράδει. Then follows a list of forty names. Mr Wyse however rightly remarks that not much stress can be laid on the term πόδεια τίρι, is often interchanged with κόρια: cp. crates N. 35 ππράδον καl κατά κώρια κοίδειων (both of Attica before Theseus).

εταιες λ. 35 ο πορωγορ και κατα καριώς οδικούσαν (both of Attica Defore Theseus). 2 Ιδ. VIII. 27. 7, των κατευλεγμένων πόλεων αι μο θε άπανε είσει θε ήμισε ξηρικο, τὰι δε Έχουναν οἱ Μεγαλωταλίται κώμας, Γύρτυνα, Διπούσας, Θεισόσαν την πρότ 'Ορχομένη, Μεθόδριον, Τούθυ, Καλ-Λίας, Κιλιστοντα: 12 § 2 Μεθόδριον πόλεν μελ οδικέτι κάμπη δε θε το Μεγαλοπολιά μελ οδικέτι κάμπη δε θε το Μεγαλοπολιά. τικὸν συντελοῦσαν (cp. the similar language of Xen. Hell. vII. 4. 12, as quoted above, with regard to a single city, Lasion, as a member of the Arcadian

Lesgue).

⁹ Excipio, inquit, cum cives ipsius totaque illa multitudo, quae civitatem conflat, non fuerint per pegos distincti;...ut sunt autem, addidit, nunc Areades, e quibius distantibus inter se intervallis locorum, domiciliaque habentibus valde diiuncta, conficiebatur tamen civitas. Victorius

Comm. p. γ8.

4 ούτοι [sc. ol ἐν Πελοποννήσω] μὲν γὰρ
κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλείν φασίν, λθηναῖοι δὲ δήμους, Poet. 3 § 6, 1448 a 36.
Dr Jackson has supplied this reference.

EXCURSUS I.

διπερ φασί και στιμβαίνων τωθε τών τὰς τῆς τῆς περιέδους πραγματινομένων είναι γάρ τιστ τῶν ἄνω Διβών κοινὰς τὰς γιναίκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέκνα έναιριόσθαι κατὰ τὰς όμοιδτητας. 11. 3. 9.

'Certain of those who have written books of travel round the world assert that this is actually the case; that there are tribes in the interior of Africa who have community of wives, and assign the children that are born to different fathers by their likeness to them.' From the fragments by writers of this kind anterior to Aristotle nothing of this sort can be adduced; only Herodotos (IV. 130), who is in a way at least to be ranked with this class of authors, tells this story of the Auseans (Aurées) living near Lake Tritonis, west of the Lesser Syrtis. Of later writers Mela 1. 8 relates it of the Garamantians (Schlosser), for which compare Pliny v. 8. 45 (Göttling): Nicolaus Damascenus, Frag. III. in Stob. Flor. XLIV. 41 (Müller Frag. hist, Graec. III. p. 458), of the Liburnians 1 (Eaton). Diodoros III, 15, 2 does indeed attribute community of wives to the Troglodytae on the Red Sea, but he says explicitly that they have community of children as well. Herodotos (IV. 104) ascribes to the Scythian race of the Agathyrsi community of wives, but without a distribution of children and for the same object as Plato had in view 'in order that they might all be brothers,' ωα κασίγνητοί τε άλλήλων έωσι καὶ ολεήτοι είντες πάντες μήτε φθόνω μήτ' έχθει χρέωνται ές άλλήλους. The case of the Massagetae, cited by Congreve, Herod. 1. 216, is still less in point. Other stories of community of wives and children adduced by Oncken, I. p. 134 f., p. 178 n. I, border on the fabulous; as those related of the Tyrrhenians by Theopompos Frag. 222 in Athen. XII. 517 D, E, Müller Frag. hist. gr. 1. 3152, and of the Scythian Galaktophagi by Nicolaus Damascenus Frag. 123 in Stob. Flor. v. 73, Müller Frag. h. gr. III. 4608.

1 Λιβύρνιοι κοινώς τὰς γυναϊκας ἔχουσι καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐν κοινῷ τρέφουσι μέχρι ἐτῶν πέντε, εἶτα τῷ ἐκτῷ συνενέγκαντες ἀπαντα τὰ παιδία τὰς ὁμικότητας πρός τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰκάζουσι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ὅμοιου ἀποδιδόσει

warpi.

2 Octorques & to 79 m² rûn terrepûn 20 Octorques & to 79 m² rûn terrepûn 20 Octorques deal épez raza rûn Tagar paktifika ceşêşê rûn ve quistra mi papat-¿cobu nodicin nal par ûnşûn, kister & 20 ul 196 karûn. "reşêşer & 196 ti Ingervole nûre rê posigere malka de elêren fere warpê kerrê karren, fînê de al The description seems to Owe much to Plato's republis

8 elal δὲ καὶ δικαιότατοι, κοινά ἔχοντες

và ve ariganta sal vàs yveditats, dere role ple spec Berlopes atribe serapto despidensolo di Secrelione smillen, role di Questo colo di Secrelione smillen, role di Questo colo di Secrelione smillen, role di Questo di Carriero di Carriero di Carriero di calcattre fin use in Hawaii and Rottma and other islando of the Parifici, Calassifing and not describing the pesson and and other islando of the Parifici, Calassifing and not describing per appearance of the extensive per appearance of the color of the color of Nicolaus in must be acopti in his cert of province, sin questo, or parific of the periodic periodic periodic periodic periodic periodic contriero and hamacoloros, appropriate depresentation and color of the color of the color of the periodic pe

It is worth while to reproduce the remarks of Oncken I. pp. 179-181. 'Here Aristotle touches the surface of a profound problem. Unquestionably there is a maternal instinct which assures the mother more than any external likeness that the child is hers; and though Aristotle is here looking at the whole matter from the outside, a passage in the Ethics shows clearly that at least this is not due to the want of a right conception of the moral dignity of marriage and the inner relationship between parents and children. On the contrary he regards both relationships as altogether moral and spiritual in thoroughly modern fashion. Between man and wife, he tells us, Nic, Eth. VIII. 12. 7, 1162 a 16, there is a natural tie of love and friendship; for man is by nature even more designed for fellowship in marriage than in the state, inasmuch as the family is prior in time and more indispensable than the state, and propagation a characteristic common to all living beings, whereas the social life of a community is only found in a few other cases. But in the animal world pairing is restricted to one purpose; whereas human beings do not marry merely to bring children into the world, but to share their lives together. From the outset the functions of man and wife are distinct; by making their different endowments common property they mutually assist each other. Hence such a relationship of love and friendship combines utility with pleasure; and this pleasure, provided both are excellent in their own way, rests on the mutual delight of each in the other's diverse excellence2. Children are the bond of union as being the common property of the parents; for what is possessed in common strengthens their union; and this is the reason why a marriage is more easily dissolved when there are no children.

'Further, § 3 of the same chapter, 1161 b 27; parents love their children as themselves; for, owing their origin to their parents, children become by the separation as it were a second self. Children love their parents as the source of their being: brothers and sisters love one another on account of their common origin; for their common relation to their parents unites them to one another, whence the expressions one blood, one stock, and the like, Again, § 5, 1162 a 4; the relationship of children to their parents, like that of men to the gods, rests on the feeling of attachment to benefactors and superiors: for they have received from them the best gifts, life, sustenance and education: enjoyment too and utility make this a closer tie than that between strangers, since it has in it a greater and more intimate fellowship in life.' Comp. also Zeller, op. c. II, ii. p. 688. 'Hence it is not simply its impracticability that Aristotle urges against community of wives and children. Whereas in Plato's view human marriage is no more than the pairing of animals'-and to use Zeller's apt expression (Plato p. 478 Eng. tr.) his pronosals 'degrade it to a mere economic breeding of population'-'Aristotle has unheld against him the right and dignity of marriage in its relation to civil life. has shown what is at stake if marriage be abolished, the loss of the most

¹ διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον εἶναι γὰρ ἐκατέρου ἀρετή, καὶ χαίροιεν ἀν τῷ δοκὰ καὶ τὸ ἢδὸ ἀν ταίτη τῆ φὶλία. ἐξη ὅ τουοῦτφ. ἀν του ἐκτψ. ἐκτψ.

primitive and sacred ties which bind man to man before a state arises to develope out of the family a higher unity.\textit That these considerations do not recur in the Politics, when he is expressly refuting Plato, may be partly due to the fact that he did not wish to repeat himself; partly and more especially it is because his object is only to meet Plato with arguments which the latter must himself concede. A thinker who once took such a view of marriage as Plato, could only be opposed with agaments deductible from his own premisess. He who roundly denies that marriage has any but a political min is safe from attack on the side of its moral purpose.\(^2\) SUSEM: (M49)

[Clearly Oncken, writing in thorough sympathy with his author's conceptions, understands by the family which is the ultimate social unit approximately the modern or monogamous family. From the time of Plato¹ and Aristotle down to the present generation this belief has been almost universal¹. But two causes combine to render the Aristotlelan theory untenable. The comparative study of customs, ceremonies and social usages discloses facts in abundance which will not square with it: while at the same time the extension of the doctrine of evolution from man's physical to his mental and social condition shows us what interpretation to put upon these facts. In short, when Aristotle derives other social forms from the monogamous family, he commists a mistake in scientific procedure: for the family is a moλλογώ λ-γόμονον, and what he assumes to be its simple and primary from turns out to be a roduct of lone alaboration.

The facts tell against a primitive monogamous family exactly as they tell against inatae moral ideas. Locke showed that in many parts of the world men lived apparently destitute of such ideas. Ethnologists are busily at work collecting notices of varieties of men who are equally without the monogamous family and apparently destitute of the ideas on which it rests. Beginning with the Auseans, Troglodyses, &c. adduced in this Excursus, nearly all the stages of social progress can be illustrated from the ancient world, many of them from facts within the knowledge of Aristothe himself.\(^{4}\)
The phrase elva social relay you with social fieldy to have been literally true, or to have had one and the same meaning, in all cases.\(^{4}\) Few thirds are to have had one and the same meaning, in all cases\(^{4}\). Few thirds are

It is well known that Plato was a bachelor, whilst Aristotle had been twice happily married.
2 Prof. Susemihl is in no way respon-

^a Prof. Susemili is in no way responsible for the remainder of this excursus, and he would perhaps consider the subject hardly relevant in an edition of the Politics.

⁸ But for this limitation of his view Oncken would have observed that maternal instinct, however important in Callipolis, has nothing to do with the Libyan custom in question which attempts, in a rough fashion, to settle paternity.

⁴ B. III. of the *Laws* is a most interesting study in the history of civilization.
⁶ McLennan's epoch-making work

Primitive Marriage is here followed. Down to the year 1857 its author accepted the Aristotelian account of the origin of society. See Enc. Brit. (8th ed.)

Art. Law, vol. XIII. p. 255.1.

^o That is, assuming the reports to be trustworthy. There must have been a rich harvest for a scientific observer in Greece about 330 E.C. How much Aristotle collected in Nonuna papapapa, we cannot tell: the few extant firements

are of little value.

What else it may have meant we can conjecture in the light of the fuller information we possess respecting Hawaians, Nairs, and Tibetans. backward as to have no rule of incest at all; they mostly follow definite rules, but not our modern ones. Thus over a wide area it is incestuous to marry within the group to which one belongs (Exogamy), the 'group' being constituted by all of the same blood who trace their descent through females only from a common ancestor (who is often an animal, a vegetable or inanimate object)1. It is quite certain that, under favourable circumstances, the working of this rule conferred great powers upon women. Of such a state of things, known as the Matriarchate, there is evidence in the important place of the Greek female divinities, in certain legends (e.g. of the Amazons and the Lemnian women), in eponyms like Oenone, Thebe, and Messene, in the use of untois for 'motherland' by Cretans and Messenians2. Down to historical times it was in force in Lycia (amongst a people possibly of Indo-European race)3 and amongst the Cantabrians of Spain4. Athenian traditions assert that children were once named after their mothers; amongst the Locrians nobility came on the mother's side6. Kinship is traced through females in Homer and succession to property is so regulated in the legend of Meleagers. Exogamy must anciently have been the rule of the Roman gentes?. The Attic law permitted a man to marry his halfsister by the father's side. The levirate is found in Sparta and in legendary Troy8.

and a kobong in Australia. Reverence for it is the rudimentary germ to which the worship of animals and plants, of the animal gods and the heavenly bodies, can be traced. The asparagus was the totem of an Attic γένος; Plut. Theseus c. 8 § 7 δθεν Ίωξίδαις καὶ Ἰωξίσι πάτριον κατέστη μήτε ἄκανθαν ἀσφαράγου, μήτε στοιβήν καίειν, άλλὰ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν. See 'The Worship of Animals and Plants' in the Fortnightly Review Oct. 1860-Feb. 1870. 2 Plato Rep. Ix. 575 D, Pausan. IV.

¹ Called a totem in North America

26 § 3.

Berod. I. 173, Nicolaus Damasc. Frag. Hist. Gr. III. p. 461 (Müller) Auxon τας γυναϊκας μάλλον ή τους άνδρας τιμώσι ται γωνωίας μαιλού η τους αυθράς τιμώντ και καλούνται μητρόθεν, τάς τε κληρονομίας ταις θυγατράσι λείπουσικ, ου τοις ιδοί. Comp. the genealogies of Sarpedon and Glaucus, Hom. II. vi. 150 ff.: the daughter's son succeeds before the agnate. The bilingual Etruscan inscriptions prove that Etruscans were named after the

⁴ Strabo III. 4 § 18, p. 165 τὸ παρὰ τοῖ: Καυτάβροις τοὺς ἀνδρας διδόναι ταῖς γυναιξί προίκα, τὸ τὰς θυγατέρας εληρονόμους ἀπολείπεσθαι, τούς τε ἀδελφούς ὑπὸ τούτων έκδίδοσθαι γιναιξίν. έχει γάρ τινα γιναιroxogriar. The couvade among the same people, ib. § 17 p. 164 τεκοῦσαί τε διακονούσε τοις ανδράσεν, έκείνους άνθ' έαυτῶν κατακλίνασαι. From Herod. II. 35 matriarchate and female kinship were sus-pected amongst the Egyptians. This has been confirmed by the evidence of the monuments. ⁶ Varro apud Augustin. De civ. Dei

XVIII. 9: cp. Justin 18. 2, Suidas p. 3102. For the Locrians, Polyb. XII. 5 warra ra διά των προγόνων ένδοξα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γιναικῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εξη: Aristotle apud Polyb. XII. 6, 1560 b 8 ff. διδ και την δνομασίαν τη πόλει την άπδ τών γυναικών είκοτως ἐπέθεσαν καὶ τὴν ολκειότητα την κατά τὰς γυναϊκας προσεποιήθησαν, έτι δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς σύμμαχίας τὰς προγονικάς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν γιναικών άνενεούντο.

6 Hom. Iliad II. 661 ff. (Tlepolemos). XXI. 95 cp. XXII. 49 (Lyknon). Hyginus Fab. 229, 174 implies that Meleager's maternal uncles were his lawful heirs, and hence arose the feud narrated in Homer Itiad IX. 562 ff.

7 Plutarch Quaest. Rom. § 6 p. 265 D η μη νενομισμένου συγγενίδας γαμείν... πρότερον γάρ ούκ έγάμουν τὰς ἀφ' αἴματος, άσπερ οιδέ τὰς τιτθίδας οιδ' ἀδελφάς γαμοῦσυ, ἀλλ' όψε συνεχώρησαν ἀνεψιαϊς συνοικεῦν: § 108 p. 289 Ε διὰ τί δὲ τας έγγυς γένους ου γαμούσι;

8 Deiphobos is an instance. Lycurgus declined to take his brother's wife. This is a survival of polyandry which, though

The presumption is, then, that the system of male kinship established in Greece (as amongst other Indo-European peoples) in historical times had superseded an earlier system of female kinship. And if so, the 'stocks' (yén) and 'brotherhoods' (фрагріві) which when we discern them already appear on the point of falling into decay, or made subservient to political ends, are the survivals of the ruder tribal associations, anterior to the rise of the family in our sense of the term, which were formerly the only recognized ties of blood. Their common rites and burial-place, the obligation on all the members to succour and avenge one another, their right (in certain cases) to inherit property, all point to close ties of kinship, though of a rudimentary form. Certainly in no other way is the intermixture of alien blood and alien rites in the same city and local tribe so naturally explained. Aristotle, apparently transferring to ruder times the freedom of communication and voluntary action of his own day, leaves it to be accounted for arbitrarily, by contiguity of residence. Others, not more successfully, bring in the fiction of adoption and artificial extension of homogeneous groups. Unfortunately these questions have been only recently investigated, and in the present state of our knowledge we must be satisfied with provisional results, leaving many matters of detail in uncertainty. The Greeks, when they first become known to us, are so far advanced as to recognise kinship both by males and by females; they have marriage by contract or purchase (see n. 271), though traces of the custom which was superseded by purchase, viz. wife-stealing, are particularly well preserved 1. What interval separated them from the matriarchal period? To what age belong the terms cited from Charondas and Epimenides, όμοσίπνοι and όμόκοποι οτ όμόκοποι? And which is the true form of the latter word? Something of more than usual importance is involved in this v. l. The δμογάλακτες (t. 2 § 6) were undoubtedly united by female kinship; i.e. all the members of a γένος (for ὁμογάλακτες=γεννήται, though Aristotle brings in the term to explain the village community) might be said to be nourished on the same mother's milk. On this analogy the members of a primitive family (ologe: L 2 § 5) may have been known as 'sharers in one meal-sack and the smoke of one hearth.' This can be supported by two Gaelic words for family, one meaning 'those who eat together' (coedichc), and 'those who have a common residence' (teadhloch)?. There is no mention of the blood tie, which is particularly emphasized in ourvierrous and άδελφός, the latter word having superseded in Greek the earlier φράτωρ, as we see by the cognate languages. In Greek φράτωρ continues to designate a member of the older and ruder association3

outraging all our instincts of decency, is an established institution of semi-civilized tribes, superseding still ruder arrangements and itself gradually decaying as monandry increases. Comp. Polyb, XII. 6 παρ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Λακεδαμαστώει και πάτριον ἢν και ἀνογθεν τρεῖα ἀνδρακ Κχευν γνασίακ και Γάττραρς, κοτό ἐδ καὶ πλοίους τοῦς καὶ γνασίας καὶ Γάττραρς, κοτό ἐδ καὶ πλοίους καὶ γνασίας καὶ Γάτιον ἐποξεκτορ καὶ τοῦς καὶ γνασίας καὶ τοῦς καὶ γνασίας καὶ τοῦς ἐδ καὶ πλοίους καὶ γνασίας καὶ τοῦς ἐκδικορὸς ἐποξεκτορ παιδεία Καιον) ἐκδικορὸς καὶ γνασίας καὶ γνασίας καὶ γνασίας καὶ γνασίας καὶ γνασίας καὶ τοῦς ἐκδικορὸς ἐκδικο

γεναϊκά των τῶν φίλων καλὸν καὶ σίνηθες.

¹ The form of capture a marriage ceremony at Sparts, Herod. v1. 65, Plut. Lyr. 15, Xen. Ref. Lac. 1 § 5. In Crete, Ephoros apud Strab. X. p. 481 n. The Ionian etiquette (one consequence of capture), Herod. 1. 146.

² Studies in Ancient History p. 123: Lang Essays p. 97 n. ² This explanation seems the most

Aristotle with his healthy respect for facts would doubtless have modified his own theory, if this line of inquiry had been suggested to him. He had a poor, though just, opinion of the lower varieties of mankind?; he has to admit that ylique, yquude, fail to express his own conception of marriage (1. 3 § 2); and he speaks with contempt of the coursel bodys and bodos, the different species of which he can hardly have examined with attention. Here, therefore, as upon the question of slavery, while the advanced thinkers of Greece had caught an early glimpse of truth?, he is content with a cautious conservative attitude, party idealizing the actual relations of husband and wife and assuming the social development to have begun from a point where its course was well-night complete.]

EXCURSUS II.

HIPPODAMOS OF MILETUS: IL 7. I.

Hippodamos, one of the most famous architects of his time, the first to introduce the fashion of laying out towns on a regular plan with broad straight streets, see IV(VII), 11 § 6 n. (850), was born at the earliest about 475 B.C. His oldest work appears to have been the construction, on the plan described, of the port town of Peiraeeus, near the fortifications which had already been made by Themistocles. The market-place in the Peiraeeus was called after him ή Ἱπποδάμειος ἀγορά; Xen. Hell. II. 4. 11, Andoc. I. 45, Harporr, p. 154. Next it was he, in all probability, who directed the building of Thurii 444 B.C., since only a long residence there would account for his being called a Thurian. Considerably later in 406 B.C. he built Rhodes, Strabo XIV. p. 6543. Through the outline of his ideal state there runs the same striving after mathematical regularity as in his town architecture, the persistent employment of a threefold division especially. It is quite possible, although by no means so certain as Hildenbrand and Oncken assume, that this was due to Pythagorean influence and that, at least in a certain fashion and to a certain extent. Hippodamos was an adherent

² An Orphic poet had described primitive men as cannibals, Seat. Emp. 1x. 15. Kritisa began his fiancous analysis of religion that; by Zofes of the fraction of religion that; by Zofes of the finance deligionary files and legadory legico the religion that; by Zofes of the finance deligionary files and legadory legico the representation of the religionary of the property of the religionary of the religiona

δετίσθη κατά τὰ Πελιστονησιακά ὁπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὡς φασίν, ὑφ' οῦ καὶ ὁ Πειραιείς. [A very cautious statement.] of the Pythagoreans. During his residence at Thuril he might easily have come into personal relations with the sect, as also with many other philosophers and sophists. At all events this is the easiest explanation of the fact that subsequently two works were ascribed to him, one on Happiness (repla videaguesies) under the name of Hippodamos the Thurian, and one on Government (repla whereai) under the name of Hippodamos the Pythagorean: we still possess extracts from these works in the Florilegium of Stobacus. Both bettry their spuriousness by a frequent use of Plato and Aristotle: and that the second is not the genuine work of Hippodamos which Aristotle criticized may be inferred from the fact that the contents of its fragments cannot be reconciled with Aristotle's statements.

The genuine ideal of a polity set forth by Hippodamos, Henkel (p. 164 f.) rightly places amongst the attempts to effect a compromise between democracy and oligarchy or aristocracy. 'It is a democratic feature to allow the whole body of citizens a share in public affairs' (\$\\$ 2, 7, 9 nn. 253) 261, 262), 'to restrict legislation to the negative function of the protection of person and property' (8 4 s. f. n. 255 b) 'and to attach especial importance to the improvement of the administration of justice' (8 5). 'It is characteristic of aristocracy to adopt the vote instead of the lot as the normal mode of appointment to offices of state' (§ 7 n. 260 b), 'to subordinate the popular tribunals to a supreme court of appeal' (§ 4 n. 256), 'whereas the genuinely democratic popular tribunals exclude the very idea of an appeal, inasmuch as they are committees and representatives of the highest power in the state. This same tendency to mediate is perhaps discernible even in the regulation of professions. Democracy strives after an economic development of the nation, with which a prolonged service in the army is regarded as more and more incompatible: hence a growing inclination to hand over military service to foreign mercenaries. On the other hand, the warlike character of aristocracy which sees in military service a science and a lifework (Xenoph. Oecon. 4 § 3) leads its partizans to arrogate to themselves political rights to the exclusion of the producing classes; the productive labours of peace are considered irreconcilable with the fulfilment of political duties (Xen. De Rep. Lac. 13 § 5, Plut. Pel. 23). Hippodamos, then, combines the two opposite tendencies by granting political privileges to the labouring and producing classes, and by handing over the profession of arms to an independent military caste in the nation, which is in return to derive its sustenance from the public land and possess no private property.' It may be quite true that in the Greek democracies the state had more and more laid aside its paternal character and had applied itself to the improvement of positive law, in order to safeguard person and property on all sides against attack. Yet it was after all something novel for men like Hippodamos and the sophist Lycophron (III. q. 8 n. 552) to give explicit and conscious utterance to this truth in theory; and, in place of the positive educational function which more or less Laconizing theorists like Xenophon (see Henkel p. 137 ff.) Plato and Aristotle assigned to the law, either to

attribute to it a purely negative function as 'the mere surety of mutual rights' in Lycophron's phrase, or with Hippodamos to reject all laws whose aim is not solely the prevention or punishment of injuries to one's neighbour in honour, property, or life. We do not know for certain whether Hippodamos preceded Lycophron in the declaration of this opinion, but it is highly probable: still less do we know whether he was the first to put forward theoretically this new principle of legislation, which broke altogether with old Greek notions of law and justice; but the supposition that this is so derives support from the fact that he was the first to devise a theoretical scheme for a pattern state at all. If this is the case, then in spite of Henkel's dissent we must credit him, as Oncken does1, with originating an important idea when he separated morality from the department of law, although after what has been said we cannot go so far as Oncken, who thinks that by these conceptions Hippodamos had left his age far behind. According to the old Greek notions, to which Socrates Xenophon Plato and Aristotle adhered, 'religious, ethical, and political duties are inseparably blended and united in law; nothing can be immoral that is not also illeval, and nothing can be morally right and yet at the same time illegal.' The later development of democracy had considerably loosened this unity; after which Hippodamos, it would seem, was the first to make its dissolution explicitly a fundamental principle, rendering impossible all such extravagances as those 'in virtue of which Aristotle goes the length of requiring the law to fix an annual budget of children' (II. 6 § 10 ff. cp. nn. 209 and 211). After its full and logical development by the Roman jurists, this principle passed over into the modern state, so that in the law 'we see no more than the barrier against disturbances of the social order, and leave to the forces of morality and religion the training of citizens in virtue.' The Greek political theories would be very imperfectly appreciated if, side by side with the conceptions of Plato and Aristotle, we did not recognize the full importance of such ideas as these, which had their origin in democracy. In such spheres of thought there arose that repudiation of slavery as the law of nature which in a certain respect is all the more deserving of admiration for being so premature. In such spheres too, it is true, there arose doctrines and ideas which were not merely instrumental in disintegrating the Greek state, but in their tendency destructive of all political structures; and these were especially employed by Sophists. In opposition to these ideas even we moderns, although we look at the state as a mighty engine for dispensing justice rather than for education, are obliged to range ourselves on the side of Plato and Aristotle in so far as we violate our principle by compulsory education and the universal obligation to military service. It is significant that even Isocrates, the admirer of an idealised ancient Athens, assumes this separation of law and morality: but just for this reason, since he too regards the state as exclusively an educational institution, he thinks but little of a written code of laws: see Henkel p. 140 ff. From the above point of view we see why

¹ Staatslehre 1. 214 ff. whose account is in the main followed here, the quotation marks indicating actual citations.

Hippodamos occupied himself so minutely with the improvement of the judicial system ($\S, 4$ f.). And his political theory is essentially distinguished from that of Phaleas 'by its pervading ethical features, while in the scheme of Phaleas socialistic tendencies are prominent' (Henkel): see 7 § 1. SUSEM, (2800)

NOTE ON THE CELTAE: IL 9. 7.

On the Kelts see also IV(VII). 2 § 10 n. (722) and 17 § 3 (953) and Nic. Eth. 111. 7. 7, 1115 b 26 ff. where we are told the Kelts fear nothing, neither earthquakes nor waves of the sea. 'De Celtorum amoribus puerorum testatur etiam Athenaeus XIII. 603 A' (I. G. Schneider). 'See also Ammian. Marcell, XXXI, q' (Fülleborn). Plato Laws 1 637 D f. describes them as warlike but fond of drinking. It is known that at this time there were Kelts in Western Europe, whence came mercenaries in the service of Dionysios the tyrant who aided the Spartans against the Thebans 360 or 368 B.C., Xenoph, Hell, VII. 1. 20. There were others again in Hungary and Servia. who sent an embassy to Alexander the Great, when he had crossed the Danube, Arrian Anab. 1. 4. 6 ff.: at a later time they repeatedly made incursions into Macedonia and at last sent out a band of immigrants to Asia Minor, which finally remained settled there, in the country called after them Galatia. Hence Aristotle Meteor, L 13 § 18, 350 a 36 ff, makes the Danube rise in Keltic territory in the mountain Pyrene i.e. the Pyrenees. Still greater is the inaccuracy of Herodotos (IL 33) a hundred years earlier; he is only acquainted with Kelts in the extreme west of Europe, but nevertheless makes the Danube rise in their country, and near Pyrene which he turns into a town.

To all appearance Aristotle, like the earlier Greeks, does not as yet distinguish between the Germans and the Kelts. While he mentions the story that the Kelts are not at all afraid of the sea Nic. Eth. III. 7. 7, his pupil Eudemos III. 1 § 23, 1229 b 28 f., speaking more precisely, says that 'the Kelts go forth fully armed to meet the waves of the sea.' The same story was told by Ephoros Fr. 44 (see Nicol. Dam. Fr. 104, Aelian, V. H. XII, 23); Strabo (VII. p. 293) says he told it of the Cimbrians; but here, as Casaubon saw, there is a mistake on Strabo's part. Müllenhoff Deutsche Alterthumskunde I. 231 ff. (Berlin 1870) rightly remarks that this story could only refer to the inhabitants of the coast of the North Sea: he thinks it quite conceivable that 'there, at times of inundation and high tides, when no escape was possible, the men put on their armour, not indeed actually to do battle with the invading waves, but in order that, in their best array, like heroes and warriors, they might meet the death which had not been granted them on the battle field. These stories must have been conveyed to the Greeks through Massalia, Sicily, and Italy.' The first Greek who made his way to the settlements of the Germans was Aristotle's contemporary Pytheas of Massalia: he at any rate recognized that they were different from the Kelts, but at the same time undoubtedly fell into the other mistake of taking them to be Scythians: see Müllenhoff of pc. 4,744—95. Although Müllenhoff's views in regard to the amber island described by Pytheas and the neighbouring coast of the Teutons, and their position in and on the coast of the North Sea about the mouths of the Eider, allow of considerable doubt, yet this much at any rate seems certain, that in Pliny N. H. XXXVII. 35 Pytheas Gutonibus Germaniae genti etc., the words Germaniae genti etc., the words Words of the Simple Simple

EXCURSUS III.

THE EPHORS AND THE Kérmon

οί μὲν γὰρ ἔφοροι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῆ Κρήτη καλουμένοις κόσμοις, πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ δὲ κόσμοι δέκα εἰσίν: ΙΙ. 10. 6.

The resemblance between the Ephors and the Κόσμοι is certainly far less than that between the senators of the two states. For the Enhors are a democratic element; but the Koguos, being elected out of certain noble families, are an aristocratic or oligarchic element, § 10. But the similarity lies in this, that the Kóomos too are changed year by year, unlike the senate which sits for life; that after they have resigned office their conduct is subjected to a scrutiny: and that in spite of the restricted election no pains are taken to exclude all from the office but men of especial merit. That the official powers of the two magistracies are (with the exception of the difference afterwards pointed out) the same, we must believe on Aristotle's authority: the only other difference he finds is in their respective numbers. Both indicate a contrast between the proper governmental authority, the activity of the executive or the administration on the one hand, and that of criminal jurisdiction and deliberation on the other; both magistracies share the idea that younger and more energetic force belongs to the former, while the latter is appropriate to the dignity of age. Lastly, while the power of both has grown at the expense of the enfeebled monarchy, only the Κόσμοι have entirely absorbed it, so that the supreme command in war is transferred from the kings to them, whereas the Ephors were content to direct all military operations from home or else to superintend the execution of everything by means of two of their number who were present in the camp; see n. 340 on 9 & 30 (Trieber). Compare n. (343) on 9 & 33. Yet after all there remains a difference which is by no means unimportant, viz. that the Ephors never come forward as generals or superior officers; all they do is to observe the commanders in the field. By the very meaning of the terms themselves the εφοροι are 'overseers', the κόσμοι are 'orderers' (Oncken). Ephoros (Strabo p. 481 f.) also maintains the similarity of the functions of the two, although the offices have different titles: but he diverges from Aristotle in arguing from the similarity between the senators in the two states to that between the Ephors and Kóruos. It may be that his judgment on the Cretan constitution is that of romantic, uncritical admiration and that Aristotle's is far less favourable and severely critical: still that does not justify us in inferring with Oncken (II. 401) that Aristotle could not have derived his facts, for the most part, from Ephoros. Indeed the conclusion that he did, receives decided support from the great similarity, which even Oncken (II, 405) points out, between the account of Crete by Ephoros and that in the so-called Holureian which we have under the name of Heracleides1 of Pontos: for probably these are for the most part excerpts from Aristotle's Hohereias, as Schneidewin who edited them has shown: and in this instance from his Cretan Polity. It is less likely however that he could have taken from Ephoros the facts which stand in strong opposition to the latter's verdict of approval, like most of those in §§ 12-14. SUSEM, (360)

THE CRETAN TEPIOLEOL

φόρων οθς φέρουσιν οί περίοικοι: ΙΙ. 10. 8.

It is in itself surprising that Aristotle does not compare the Cretan reflosor. (see r. 155) with the Spartan mydosor, but rather with the Helots (5, cp. n. 357); and this becomes still more strange when we learn from two later writers on Crete, Sosikrates and Dosiadas (Frag. 6. 2), as quoted in Athenaeus V. 263 E.I., that there were first dependent classes of the Cretan population, viz. (1) the slaves or serfs belonging to the state, the Mnoitse, (2) those belonging to private individuals, the Aphamiotae, and (3) the replease, with the additional information about these last that the Cretans called them "subjects.\(^{12}\)? Further, in a skelion quoted in Athena XV. Soil (in Bergk Pact. fyr. Gr. no. 28 p. 1294), the Cretan poet Hybrias boasts that the Mnoitae call him their lord.\(^{12}\). Kallistratos, the disciple of Aristophanes of Byzantium, as quoted in Athen. Xv. 505, describes the Aphamiotae as

¹ Heracleides was not, as Oncken thinks, a pupil of Aristotle, but of

² την μέν κοινήν δοιλείαν οι Κρήτες καλούσι μνοΐαν, την δε ίδιαν άφαμιώτας, τούς δε περιοίκοις ύπηκόους.

³ Spear and sword are my great treasure and my goodly shield withal, my body's safeguard: for therewith I sow, therewith I reap, therewith I am called lord of the slave-folk. But whose durst not carry

spear and sword, all shall fall down and worship (me) addressing me as lord and mighty prince.

έστι μοι πλούτοι μέγας δόρυ και ξίφος και το καιλου λαισήμου, πρόβλημα χρωτός. τούτω γὰρ ἀρῶ, τούτω θερίζω,

τεύτω δεσπότας μυσίας κέκλημαι. τοί δε μη τολμώντ' έχειν δόρυ και ξίφος ...πάντες γόνυ πεπτηώτες άμόν

^{...}προσκινεύν τί (με) δεσπόταν καὶ μέγαν βασιλήα φωνέοντες,

'the slaves or serfs on the estates, of native birth but enslaved in war, who are also called Clarotae '1: and earlier still Ephoros (Frag. 32 a, in Athen. VI. 263 F) says, not quite correctly, that the Cretans called their slaves Clarotae2. It may be conjectured that the estates in the private possession of the Dorian masters were called adaption, as well as xhapon, which is the ordinary term for allotments of land : see Schömann Antiquities p. 298 Eng. tr. Accordingly we should expect Aristotle to compare with the Spartan Helots either (a) both the clarotae and mnoîtae; or (β) the mnoîtae, the villeins who tilled the state land or public domain; or lastly, if this seemed inappropriate because at Sparta there was no public domain, (v) the clarotae alone, as being the serfs on private estates. And a closer investigation unquestionably shows that this last is what he has actually done. He has used the term περίοικοι in a somewhat different sense from Sosikrates, not for the inhabitants of dependent Cretan towns liable to pay tribute, but for the clarotae. It could not possibly be said of the former that they tilled the land of the Cretans: nor could Aristotle possibly have believed (§ 8) that the cost of the mess was defrayed by the state out of the public domain and the tributes of their subjects (which is the meaning that the words φόρων οὺς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι would then have) but that private individuals contributed nothing to them from their own estates. Moreover, a passage of Dosiadas (Fr. 1) in Athen. IV 143 A. which has unfortunately been rendered obscure by the inaccuracy of the epitomist and has probably come down to us in a corrupt text, unquestionably attests this fact at least, that at Lyktos every citizen was bound to contribute the tenth part of the produce of his estate towards the messtable to which he belonged. The remainder of the passage3 I interpret to mean that out of its own revenues the state assigned a fixed portion to every family of citizens and accordingly distributed these its contributions amongst the various mess-associations; and lastly, we read, each slave had to pay a poll-tax of an Aeginetan stater. Putting on one side this last point (see n. 366 on § 8 extr.), Aristotle's account in the main agrees with this, as soon as we assume him to mean by his mepiousou the clarotae. Only his text too. as it has come down to us, is evidently not sound. For if φόροι ούς φέρουσα of περίοικοι can only mean that part of the produce of the estates cultivated by the clarotae which they pay to their lords as rent in kind, it is unreasonable to suppose that the citizens should have been obliged to pay away the full rent, from which they had to provide all other necessaries of life, to the state in order to defray the cost of the mess, the worship of the gods, and the public burdens. Dosiadas says that only a tenth part went towards the

1 καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οἰκέτας χρυσωνήτους, ἀφαμιότας δὲ τοὺς κατὰ ἀγρόν, ἐγχωρίους μὲν ὅντας δουλωθέντας δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον' διὰ τὸ κληρωθήναι δὲ κλαρώτας. al roser refers 1% robest els role kdorwed actions with Hanse (Miscell, Filled, prefixed to the Breslau. Winterkatalog 1856—57), being unable to accept either the interpretation of the passage which Schömann doebtfully advances, for the reasons given by Haase, or Haase's own explanation of his conjecture, for the reason advanced by Schömann p. 307 n.3 Eng. tr.

ρωθήναι δὲ κλαρώτας.

* κλαρώτας Κρήτες καλοῦσι τοὺς δούλους
ἀπό τοῦ γενομένου περὶ αὐτῶν κλήρου.

* I read: ἔκατος τῶν γενομένων καρπῶν

³ I read: ἐκαστος τών γωομένων καρπών ἀναφέρει τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἐταιρίαν, καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως προσόδους [ἄς] διανέμουσιν

common meals, but the extract is our sole authority for this statement. And on grammatical grounds merely the assumption of a lacuna before φόρων is unavoidable, whether we supply < ἀπὸ μορίου τῶν>, or in agreement with Dosiadas < ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάπης τῶν> φόρων.

The term περίοικοι is adopted by Aristotle in order to characterize the freer position which these peasants occupied (cp. II. 5 § 19 n. 171, 9 § 3 n. 281) as compared with the Spartan Helots, since they were not obliged to contribute to their landlords anything beyond the rent before-mentioned, and in particular they had no personal service to render. For this latter purpose, in fact, the Cretan Dorians in the cities made use of purchased slaves: Schömann p. 298 Eng. tr. In Iv(VII). 9 § 8, 10 § 13 (cp. nn. 815, 840 and 282 on II. 9. 4) Aristotle expressly draws a distinction between the two cases when the land is cultivated by δούλοι and by περίοικοι: and this would be a reason for invariably rendering the term mepioson by 'villeins' or 'vassaltenants', which is just what the Cretan mepionous are, whereas the Helots are δούλοι pure and simple 1. The former might very well get the name περίοικοι, i.e. "dwellers around", from living in the flat country round the cities which the ruling Dorians inhabited; as Schömann suggests p. 229 E. tr.2 And seeing that Aristotle never mentions the Laconian περίοικοι, the attentive reader will be less likely to misunderstand him as meaning by the Cretan περίοικοι a class corresponding to them. Susem. (364)

[The discovery of the civil code of a Cretan state (for so the Cortynian inscription copied in 1884 by Halbherr and Fabricius may roughly be described) has thrown fresh light upon these problems. It is gratifying to find the conclusions of the Excursus confirmed by most unimpeachable authority. We recognise the reploses of whom Aristotle speaks in the Footies of the code's and the replosess e-infosco of Docisidas and Sosikrates in the diphrange of the code, both these classes of the population being legally distinguished from the full citizens (robustra) and from purchased slaves's of the uporful the inscription says nothing. Thus the threefold

1 [Blackstone himself compares unemancipated villeins with the helots, Commentaries B. H. c. 6 vol. H. p. 92-Prof. Susemihl renders δεθλα by Leibeigene, περίακου by Hintersassen. The Gortynian ofωfes, though a specially privileged class of villeins, are nevertheless called δώλαs: vid. inf/m.]

less called & & civit in fra:]

But when Schömann continues "and are actually once so called by Aristole," once", for the term occurs three times, viz. 10 § 8, § 10 as well as in the interpolated pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only businesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only pussesses § 1810 in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 3 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 4 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 5 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 5 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 5 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 5 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussesses § 5 [also in c. 9 § 3]. It is only interpolated pussess

to be sufficiently refuted by the above.

³ The text with English translation and commentary was published by A. C. Merriam in the American Journal of Archaeology I. pp. 324—350, II. 24—45. ⁴ "Susemihl rightly recognised that

Aristotle's wepteened are not the wepteened of Dosiadas and Sosikrates, but on the contrary the shapfirat: i.e. those who in the code are called Fourier." Zitelmann in Das Recht von Gortyn p. 63 n. 56.

⁸ We find oleeds for olectrys in Homer,

Sophocles, and an Attic law quoted by Lysias x. 19, ολεήσε καὶ δούλης (Bücheler). Comp. Kallistratos as cited above p. 337

n. 1.
⁶ The ἐνδοθιδία δώλα or "maidservant that is within the house," mentioned in the code II. 11, is obviously a 'purchased slave' (χουτάνητοι): Zitelmann ib. p. 6.4.

distinction of πολιαταί, ἀφέταιροι, Γοικέες, answering to that of Σπαρτιαταί, περίοικοι, ἔλωτεε at Sparta, is vindicated against the doubts of Höck, Grote, Oncken, and others.

The full citizen of this Cretan city was necessarily a member of armspia; he lived in his house in the town, this house and certain cattle (râ amprairoda', Code Iv. 36), which he pastured doubless on the common lands (Oppiono), passing at his death to his sons. He had besides an estate (Aŭpoo, outside the town, consisting of a certain alloument of land and the Fossées who tilled it. To these Fossées he stood in the capacity of máoras, 'lord' or fastronus. The rent in kind which they paid him secured him leisure to devote to the civil and military duties of political limits.

The $d\phi frespow$ was also a freeman like the $\pi o \lambda u \pi r_0^2$ but his name implies that as he did not belong to any $\pi \epsilon v_0 u \hat{r}_0^2$. he was excluded from the citizenship. The law ordained that the money-fine which he was to receive in compensation for an offence committed against him was only one-tenth that of a full citizen, but four times that of a Fouch (100 staters, to staters, 5 drachmai= -2ξ staters, Code 11. 3-9: in other cases the proportion between the serf and the freeman is 1: 2 and 1: ξ , Ziffennan p. 10: π 8. Si

The Fourier were not free men: Fourier and babes are used indifferently in the code², and the terms deplusions and shapsire alo not occur. The Cretan peasants were in a state of villenage or serficon, but assuredly their condition was far superior to that of the ordinary bondman or slave⁴. They were annexed to the lands which they cultivated, on which they had houses: they are accounted as part of the household and together with the lands which they tilled are entitled «Apport». They could acquire property and are assessed at a money-fine for the offences they commit. Strange as it may appear, a villed prosessed a subsidiary right of inheritance to his lord's property in default of nearer heirs. His family rights were legally protected, and he could marry without his lord's consent. He could even marry a free woman, and if he was received into her house the children of the marriage were free. In legal proceedings he was represented by his lord. Thus his status was something altogether far removed from that of the servans, if indeed it be not that of the clience, at Romel.]

¹ By the 'strong-footed' may be meant (1) all large beasts, as opposed to sheep and goats; or (2) oxen (cp. Pind. Oi. XIII. 81, where the scholiast says the word means a bull in the Delphic speech); or (3) horses and mules, like pubruyes firmos.

μώνυγες Έντου. 2 It is probable that the êταιρία as a division of the φιλή answered to the Attic φρατρία, and that admission to it was an indispensable condition before any one could become a full citizen. See Athen. Iv. 22 p. 143. Zitehnann pp. 55, 161. In the Dreros inscription fines paid by the Kόσμος are to be divided amongst the éταιρία (p. 337). At the foundation of these close mess-companies lay, no doubt, an earlier and ruder tribal associa-

tion (p. 330 f.): cp. Höck Kreta III. p. 126.

3 In the code, as by Aristotle, δέλοs is used to include any form of servitude.

4 Their tenure of the land might almost

be compared with that of the privileged villeins who by gradual emancipation are on their way to becoming copyholders. 5 Code V. 26 76s Fouclas of Turks K' forri

⁵ Code V. 26 τᾶs Foiklas οἱ τινές κ' ἱοντι (=ἄν ὦσι) ὁ κλᾶρος.

⁶ v. 27, Zitelmann pp. 64, 144.

⁷ vII. 1, 2 Zitelmann p. 65 f. That the children follow the status of the mother is probably a survival of the matriarchate and female kinship; see above p. 329.

EXCURSUS IV.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CARTHAGE: II. 11 \$\ 3-8.

τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἐταιριῶν.

Movers tries to show that the class of full citizens at Carthage—patricians, nobility, optimates—was divided into three tribes and thirty gentes, the former answering to the Greek ophal and the three ancient Roman tribus, the latter to the Greek ophal as and the three ancient Roman arrivant, the latter to the Greek openples and the 90 Roman carrier (see below on propowers, and compare III. 2 § 2, 9 § 13). According to him it is these latter divisions or 'gentes' that are here called Paragular, wrees associations'.

This explanation has the great advantage of presenting a real similarity with the φιδίτια in the Spartan state, although it is altogether a false opinion of Movers that the a'Bai, the sub-divisions of the Spartan tribes (see Schömann Antiquities of Greece I. p. 211, p. 231 Eng. trans.), were called guggirua: we are unable to suppose the existence of any systematic organization of the separate Spartan mess-tables 'in accordance with tribal divisions, or districts and places of residence' (ib. p. 271 E. tr.), and probably the same is true of the ανδρεία in Crete. It might indeed have been the case, as Movers himself observes, that the dinners of the Carthaginian associations were not held every day; yet they must have taken place frequently and at fixed times and were attended by all the members of each association, out of whose common property the costs were undoubtedly defraved. 'In the ancient world feasts which were held at stated times by whole families or by political corporations acquired a politico-religious character and are to be connected with the sacrificial feasts celebrated by every family at stated times which are mentioned even in early Jewish history (1 Sam. c. 20, 6, 29; c. q. 12, 23; 1 Kings 1. 9). In this respect we shall most suitably compare the συσσίτια of the Carthaginian associations with the banquets likewise held on certain festal occasions by the curiales in their places of assembly or curiae.' It is also to be remembered that éraspla was actually the name in Crete for any division of the citizens who dined together at the same table: at least Dosiadas specially used the term in reference to the Lyctians, διήρηνται δ' οί πολίται πάντες καθ' έταιρίας, καλούσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα (Frag. 1 in Athenaeus IV. 143 B). Mommsen too takes the Carthaginian clubs to have been at least public corporations, though not composed of the privileged citizens; 'probably guilds under oligarchical management' (II. p. 17 Eng. tr.). But the συσσίτια at Sparta, with which Aristotle compares them, consisted of none but full citizens

Klug, Heeren, and most of the other commentators prefer to understand by this phrase the banquest of the political party-clubs, since such oligarchical clubs were certainly called *erupia* in Greece (cp. n. 15). If we were obliged to share this view, Aristotle, who is professedly comparing the public institutions of the two states, would be convicted of the huge mistake of having compared a Spartan public institution with the arrangements of merely private associations at Carthage, two things moreover in which one does not at all see how there can be any similarity.

The circuit and convivia at Carthage are further mentioned in Livy XXXIV. 61 § 5; their 'meetings' (σώσδοι) also in Theodoros Metochita Hyponn. c. 104 § 11 (cited by Kluge p. 215): but from neither passage can more exact information about them be obtained. SUSEM. (378)

ή των έκατον και τεττάρων άρχή.

Kluge and Heeren incorrectly hold that this is a different board from that of 'The Hundred' mentioned § 7. The latter however is only the shorter and less exact form: or possibly, as Movers conjectures, p. 552, the number of members proper was really only a hundred (he conjectures more precisely, 10 from the larger, 90 from the smaller senate; but is this right?): to these were added the highest magistrates, the two Shofetes (see below βασιλείε) and perhaps the two high-priests. It is not true that Aristotle's statements about the Hundred in any way oblige us to distinguish them from the Hundred and Four: if they were elected by the Boards of Five, why should this exclude the latter from taking account of personal merit? Now we learn from Justin XIX. 2 that the Hundred was not an original element of the Carthaginian constitution, but was introduced as a protection against the dynastic government of a few families or the usurpation by a single family of despotic power. about 450 B.C., when the house of Mago, which had laid the foundations of the Carthaginian power and had exclusively filled the office of general for three generations, had become so overbearing as to threaten the liberty of the state. For this reason, as Justin tells us, a hundred judges were chosen out of the number of the Senators, to demand an account of their proceedings from the generals on their return home, in order that the latter, thus possessed with a wholesome fear, might in their command abroad keep before their eyes the laws and the tribunals awaiting them at home: dein cum familia tanta imperatorum gravis liberae civitati esset omniaque ipsi agerent simul et judicarent, centum ex numero senatorum judices deliguntur, qui reversis a bello ducibus rationem rerum gestarum exigerent, ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi iudicia legesque respicerent. Thus it was, as Heeren says, a high political tribunal exercising powers of police for the maintenance of the existing constitution, which however from the nature of the case soon degenerated into espionage and tyranny: hence he in every respect rightly compares it with the Council of Ten at Venice, and the political inquisition connected with it. Before long the power of the Hundred rose above that of the senate, so that Aristotle § 7 calls it the highest magistracy of all, since it summoned not only the generals 'but beyond doubt the Shofetes [kings] and Gerusiasts [senators] also, when circumstances required, on resigning their office to give an account of their stewardship, and even, if they thought fit, inflicted capital nunishment, often with the most reckless

cruelty,' comp. Diod. XX. 10. 3: since moreover as a general rule, 'in this as in every instance where administrative functionaries are subjected to the control of another body, the reality of power was transferred from the controlled to the controlling authority; and no doubt the latter came to interfere in all matters of administration,' so that 'the fear of the board of supervision at home, which regularly meted out its award according to success, hampered the Carthaginian statesman and general in council and action,' Mommsen 11 p. 17 Eng. tr. But there is no authority for Mommsen's assertion (ibid.) that the Senate submitted important despatches first to the Hundred and then to the people; and Heeren is decidedly wrong in thinking that generally the most important state affairs were first discussed in this committee (so to speak) of the larger senate1: see below pepouria and n. (387) on § 5. During the second Punic war and the period immediately following, Livy (XXXIII, 46) even goes so far as to describe these 'judges' as, properly speaking, the supreme body in the state, whose arbitrary power respected neither the laws nor the magistrates and extended to the property the reputation and the lives of all, while its members were so closely united that whoever offended one had to face the hostility of all. Thus the state treasurer (quaestor) 195 B.C., because he would be elected to this board after the expiration of his term of office, ventured in a spirit of defiance to disregard the summons of Hannibal who was then Shofete and probably invested with extraordinary powers (practor, cp. Justin XXXI, 2, 6, turn temporis consulem: see below). This induced Hannibal on his side to appeal to the popular assembly and to carry a law, that these 'iudges' instead of serving for life, as formerly, should only be elected for a year, and that no one should be 'judge' two years in succession: judicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime, quod idem perpetui iudices erant, res fama vitaque omnium in illorum potestate erat, qui unum eius ordinis obfendisset, omnis adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices deerat. horum in tam impotenti regno...praetor factus Hannibal vocari ad se quaestorem iussit. quaestor id pro nihilo habuit, nam...quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus animos gerebat. enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal viatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem iudicum, prae quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam esset neque magistratus, accusavit. et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animadvertit et infimorum quoque libertati gravem esse superbiam

¹ In Diod. xiv. 47. a the declaration of war which the elder Dionysius sent to the smaller senate, was not read as Kluge states, p. 10.6, first there, then in the states, p. 10.6, first there, then in the suppose, first in the Council of the Hundred and Four and then in the popular senate properties of the contrary, the words are proposed, first in the council of the Hundred and Four and then in the popular senate properties of the contrary, the words are proposed to the contrary, the words are proposed as the properties of the proposed and period words are proposed as the contrary to the proposed and period words.

smaller senate of thirty (see below), just at the Roman senate is frequently called edypolyment by Polybios. Consequently the smaller council first deliberated upon the smaller council first deliberated upon the popular assembly. As to Polybios' general usage (when he is speaking more exactly) of yepsorla for the small council and edypolymes for the Great Council of Carthage, see below (m. §87). But the called edypolymes and edy polymes and edypolymes and edy polymes and edy polymes and edypolymes are all the edypolymes and edypolymes and edypolymes and edypolymes are all the edypolymes are all the edypolymes and edypolymes are all the edypolymes and edypolymes are all the edypolymes are all the edypolymes are all the edypolymes are all the edypolymes and edypolymes are all the ed

eorum, legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque, in singulos annos iudices legerentur, neve quis biennium continuum iudex esset. After all this, the points of resemblance between this board and the Spartan ephors are so great that it would be quite inexplicable if, notwithstanding, Aristotle had compared another Carthaginian magistracy with the ephoralty. The only remaining point which could render another comparison possible would be the civil jurisdiction of the Ephors (9 § 23 n. 325); and as such civil judges the Hundred and Four are regarded by Kluge and Heeren, who insist that they should be distinguished from the Hundred and existed before them. But their own admission, that there was no further similarity between the Hundred and Four and the Ephors, is sufficient to refute their hypothesis. To make matters superfluously clear, the Ephors are called the highest office in the state (μεγίστη ἀρχή, 9 § 21) in precisely the same words as are used of the Hundred, 11 § 7 (comp. also 9 § 19 ή γάρ άρχη κυρία τών μεγίστων αὐτοῖς ears). In particular what is said of the Ephors, q § 26, that they control to some extent all other magistrates (δόξειε δ' αν ή των έφόρων αρχή πάσας εὐθύνειν τάς ἀρχάς), is exactly applicable, as we have seen above, to the Hundred. Even the remark (9 § 20) that in order to find support and protection against the Ephors, the kings themselves had been forced to flatter the people, reminds us forcibly of Hannibal's procedure on the above occasion, when he had recourse to the popular assembly. In Aristotle's time, moreover, the members were not as yet chosen for life, since according to his statement the Boards of Five exercised their powers longer than any other officials: thus we should be obliged to assume that the nomination for life was of later introduction. But even Livy's account allows of no other interpretation than that the quaestor had previously belonged to the Hundred and Four and after resigning his office again entered this body or at least (see below) had the right to enter it: and, as the number of members was strictly limited, this can only be reconciled with their holding office for life by the assumption that in such cases a substitute was appointed for the intervening time. Probably then Livy's statement simply means, as Mommsen assumes, that for the most part the same individuals were always on this board, because each retiring member could be immediately re-elected, and that Hannibal's reform only provided that no member of this Council of the Hundred could he elected to hold office for two consecutive years. SUSEM, (379),

οί βασιλείς.

Greek and Roman writers as a rule call these officers 'kingg' and seldom by their proper official tile shocketes (sufferes), i.e. Judges, the title borne by the heads of the Israelites before the establishment of the monarchy. That there were two shofetes is expressly attested by Cornelius Nepos alone (Hannid, 7, 4), but it may be inferred from the comparison with the consuls at Rome (Livy XXX 7, 5, Festus 9, 390 h 29, Orosius V. 11, Npc, L. c., pr. Justin XXXI. 2. 6); and Polybios also VI. 51. 2 speaks at least more vaguely of kings at Carthage in the plural, as does Livy of shofetes at Gades

(XXXVIII. 37, 2), remarking that this is the highest office amongst all the Phoenicians. All the more apposite is the comparison made with the dual kingship at Sparta. But that these two Shofetes were elected from different families, is a statement which Movers through a strange mistake attributes to Aristotle, who only says, that while at Sparta the royal dignity was hereditary in the same family, that of the Heracleidae, which moreover was not distinguished by any special excellence above all the other Spartan families, the Shofetes at Carthage could be taken from any of the gentes of the citizens with full civic rights. Comp. 9 § 30 n. (339). Further, Movers thinks that the consistent mention in historical narratives of only one Carthaginian king. even in notices of the annual election 'of a king' (Zonaras Ann. VIII. 8) in ancient writers must be explained from the fact that the second Shofete was to a certain extent subordinate to the first and appointed more to act as a check upon him, and for that reason mostly elected out of another, and preferably a hostile, family: an opinion which may indeed be correct but cannot actually be proved, though this kind of policy would be in further accord with the Spartan belief that discord between the two kings was advantageous for the state (o § 30) and was largely put into practice at Carthage on other occasions also (Diod. XX. 10, 1 #, 1507; comp. however on the other side Diod, XIII, 80, 2)1. It is readily intelligible that only one of the two Shofetes conducted the business referred to in the above historical narratives; besides, it frequently happened that one of them was absent, because employed in the service of the state abroad2. It is indeed very surprising that Aristotle should designate the command in war as a distinguishing prerogative of the Spartan kings and of the ancient kings in Crete (10 § 6)see the parallel passages given in n. (343) on o 8 33-while at the same time expressly noting that the generals at Carthage were distinct from the kings (11 § 9, § 12), so that here, generally speaking, civil and military powers were dissevered. However it was not infrequent, especially as the accumulation of several offices in the same hands was customary (\$ 13), for one of the two Shofetes to be invested with the generalship at the same time; but then the supreme command had to be conferred upon him expressly by the senate (Justin XXII. 7.7, Diod, XIII. 43. 5, XIV. 54. 58, XV. 15. 2, XX. 20. 2, cp. 33. 2, Polyaen. 1. 27. 2). The office of Shofete was held by the celebrated Hanno who at the command of the state undertook a voyage, with 60 ships and 30,000 persons of both sexes, to the west coast of Africa to found settlements of Liby-phoenicians, and wrote a narrative of this voyage which we

Beathelewer and Beathele serk whose) have been wholly misunderstood by Kluge p. 93, and Heeren p. 136. They denote an elected king as distinguished from an hereditary king Beathels serk 4960, as is clear from pseudo-Plato in Diog. Leet. III. 521. This 52 Beatheles if phe serk 4960, as is they are the serk of the serk

¹ It is a curious parallel that Xenophon in his pamphlet De Rep. Laced. speaks throughout of the king in the singular, except once, c. 15 § 5 (Wyse).

except once, c. 15 § 5 (Wyse).

2 Only the incorrect statement of Zonares l.c. remains without justification on this view: but in fact neither is it justified

upon the hypothesis of Movers.

3 Comp. Oros. Iv. 6. The words κατὰ νόμου added to the title of King in these passages of Diodoros (κατὰ νόμους τότε

still possess in a Greek translation. The points of resemblance to the Spartan kings were as follows: (1) the Carthaginian Shofetes may be assumed to have had like the kings (III. 14. 3) a sort of priestly office: (2) in any case they had, as their title denotes, a kind of supreme judicial office; although after the appointment of the council of the Hundred and Four .whose members were also called "judges" or shofetes (see above, also Cato as cited by Festus s. v. mansues), but no doubt, with some distinguishing addition,-this would be mainly restricted to the duty of presiding at that board (which though not expressly attested can hardly be doubtful) and in the full session of the ordinary courts (see below); further, (3) they held meetings of the senate and the popular assembly, and one of them directed the business of these meetings (Polyb. III. 33, 3, Livy XXX. 7. 5, 46. 5 f.). Mommsen asserts that the Roman writers also called the kings praetors: but without laying stress on the fact that Nepos l.c. expressly distinguishes the Praetor at Carthage from the King in a passage which is, it is true, in the last degree confused1, we find that the term practor is only used by Livy and Nepos in reference to the appointment of Hannibal B.C. 195 and thus in any case denotes, as Heeren and Kluge assume, the devolution of extraordinary official powers, although only in combination with the dignity of shofete (Justin XXXI. 2. 6 tum temporis consulem, Zonar. IX. 14 s.f. την μενίστην τών Καρνηδονίων ἀργήν). According to Cicero's statement, De Rep. 11, 23, 42, if indeed this is really what he means to say, one could easily suppose with Heeren that the shofetes were elected for life; but this is disproved by what Aristotle says of the Boards of Five (\$7)2; and not merely Zonaras VIII. 8, as was already said, but Nepos also l.c. definitely states that the election was made annually, although it is very surprising that Aristotle has not emphasized such a pronounced deviation from the Spartan kingship. SUSEM. (381).

ή γερουσία: § 3.

Mommen says (II. p. 15 Eng. tr.), it is doubtful whether along with the senate there existed a larger one, as Heeren and others assume. But at any rate Livy XXX. 16, 3 says unambiguously that thirty leading senators formed a smaller council which had the real direction of the senate: triginta seniorum principes, id erat sanctius apud illos concilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. It may be conjectured that one of these thirty was chosen from each of the thirty Carthaginian families (see above). And as Mommsen himself actually limits the number to thirty on the authority of this very passage, there must have existed another larger senate, because the Hundred were elected out of the number of the senators (see above). Such a larger council is usually called σύγοληνος, even by Aristotle III. 1, 10 (cm. 4.42), and although the terms yevooria, σύγολονος, and variety.

.¹ Praetor factus est, postquam rex fuerat anno secundo et vicesimo. Heeren, p. 138 n., proposed to alter rex into dux: but that here also rex denotes the Shofete and that the alteration is therefore unnecessary is shown, apart from all other reasons, by the very next words: ut enim Romae Consules sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reres creabantur.

uotannis annni bini reges creabantur.

² πλέονα άργευ γρόνον τῶν άλλων.

δριον are indifferently used with the same meaning for even the smaller senate at Carthage1, yet Polybios expressly distinguishes the smaller and the larger senate by the terms γερουσία and σύγκλητος Χ. 18. 1 δύο μέν...τῶν έκ της νερουσίας, πέντε καὶ δέκα των έκ της συγκλήτου and XXXVI. 2, 6 τριακοσίους ομήρους...τούς υίους των έκ της συγκλήτου και της γερουσίας. Possibly from the last passage we may infer with Movers that both senates together consisted of 300 members, so that the 30 gentes were again divided into 300 families, the heads of which-if this supposition is correct-were life members of the full senate, and presumably elected from amongst themselves (and probably only for a year) the smaller senate and the shofetes, unless we prefer to assume with Mommsen that the popular assembly had the right to elect the members of both senates and the shofetes out of the privileged gentes (see below). At any rate if we except this point, Mommsen is right in observing that the larger senate was not of much importance; and accordingly Aristotle evidently does not notice it, but in his comparison with Sparta is thinking of the smaller senate, especially as the number of members either tallied exactly, if we follow Mommsen in the assumption (which is however wholly unsupported) that the two shofetes were included in the thirty as the two kings were at Sparta2; or at any rate corresponded approximately, supposing the shofetes to have been added to this number. 'It was this senate of Thirty which mainly transacted the business of the state, making for instance the preliminary arrangements for war, directing levies and enlistments, nominating the general3 and assigning to him a certain number of Gerusiasts [senators] from whom' 4 probably, see Polyb. I. 21. 6, 'the subordinate commanders were taken; to it despatches were addressed' (Mommsen II. p. 15 E. tr.), 'to it reports were made through the shofetes, and it received foreign ambassadors' (Heeren). If it agreed with the shofetes, see 11 \$ 5, n. (387), it undoubtedly possessed full legislative powers and even the power to decide upon war and peace (n. 387), although in this respect it might seem advisable often, if not in most cases, further to lay the question before the popular assembly. Lastly, it certainly had the control of the financial administration. Over and above the common baths for the citizens there were at Carthage special baths for the senators⁶ (Valer. Max. IX. 5. 4 ext.

As in the passages which Klage prog, 165, 165 misundestood, vir. Diod.

XIV. 47. - 168e p. 345 m. 13 md XX. 521. - 168 m. 168 m.

- ² Duncker (Hist. of Antiquity II. p. 188, ed. 4, 1875) formerly agreed with Mommsen. But in the English translation of Duncker, Vol. II. p. 275 (which follows the 5th German edition), this assumption is withdrawn and 30 is given as the number of senators exclusive of the
 - ⁸ See above n. (381), also n. (392 b)
- below.

 4 Whether it was so "regularly", as
 Mommsen writes, can hardly be proved.
 - ⁵ For the senators Mommsen (II. p. 16, E. tr.) arbitrarily substitutes the judges, namely the Hundred and Four, although it may certainly be quite true

insolentiae vero inter Karthaginiensem et Campanum senatum quasi aemulatio fuit : ille enim separato a plebe balineo lavabatur ; cp. Juven. v. 90 propter quod Romae cum Bocchare nemo lavatur, also Movers p. 501 n. 57). The deputies of the senate (σύντδροι) with the army formed part of the general's council of war, Polyb. III. 71. 5; and in the oath ratifying the treaty concluded with Philip, next to 'Hannibal the general' and his three lieutenant-generals mentioned by name, all the senators in his camp and all the Carthaginians serving under him are introduced without mention of their names, καὶ πάντες οἱ γερουσιασταὶ Καρχηδονίων μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες Καργηδάνιοι οί στρατευόμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, Polyb, VII, ο § I, § 4. Movers, p. 498, prefers to understand members of the smaller council by the three former names, and only members of the larger council by the woowngaral; but this title is not suitable for the latter, nor can it be shown to have been given to them anywhere else. It is perfectly arbitrary for Movers to assume (p. 522 n. 308) that these plenipotentiaries of the senate also belonged to the Hundred. These deputies strongly remind us of the ephors sent into the field along with the Spartan king (cp. nn. 340, 360). SUSEM. (382)

ό δήμος.

'The kings and the senate, if both are agreed, have it wholly in their own power to bring any given question before the people or not: if however they are not agreed, the popular assembly must decide the question. But whatever is submitted to the assembly, the people are not merely allowed to listen to the resolves of the government, but have the supreme decision, and any citizen who likes may oppose the propositions submitted, which is not allowed under the other constitutions, 'at Sparta and in Crete: § 8, 6.

Kluge was mistaken in supposing the passage to mean that unless the whole body of the senators was unanimous, a question had to be brought before the popular assembly; that this was not the case may be seen from Livy XXI. c. 3 f_* , c_* , 0, \S 3 – 11, \S 2, XXII. c. 12 f_* . However the senate and the shofters might often find it advisable, as was remarked above (n, 38a), to bring important and critical matters before the people of their own free will. Gradually this would become more and more frequent, so that at the time of the second Punic war, according to Polyb. VI. 5. 6, the popular assembly at Carthage already had the greatest influence on deliberations, whilst the senate held this position at Rome $(r^{ip} \pi^{ik} erry b^{in} v_{ip} u^{i} + r r v_{ip}^{i})$ whilst the senate held this position at Rome $(r^{ip} \pi^{ik} erry b^{in} v_{ip} u^{i} + r v_{ip}^{i})$ when $i^{ip} f_* f_* v_{ip}^{i} = f_* v_{ip}^{$

that the latter are also called "senators" being elected, as a matter of fact, from by the Greek and Roman writers, as the (smaller and larger) senate.

αί πενταρχίαι.

This is all we know of these Boards of Five; we are therefore reduced to uncertain conjectures respecting them. But above all nothing should be read into this passage which is not contained in it. Now it says that there was not merely one such corporation, as Movers makes out (p. 499 f. n. 53), but a number of boards: it does not say, as Kluge and others state, that the members of these boards afterwards extered the council of the Hundred, but only that they elected that council: nor does it say that before entering upon office they had invariably filled another office, and after the expiry of their term again filled such an office, but on the contrary that they discharged the duties of the same office as members elect beforehand and as members retriced for some time afterwards, probably in the canactiv of assistants, substitutes, or assessing.

Further Heren has shown that the government of the provinces did not belong to this office, as Kluge assumed: but Kluge and Heren agree in thinking that the total number of the officers requisite for the special administration of Carthage itself were included in them: consequently the state-treasurer (see above p. 342), who is mentioned along with the shotetes at Gades and therefore as one of the highest officers of state (Liy XXVIII. 37.2), and the censor (praefectus morum: Nep. Hamilt. 3.2) would have belonged to them. And then certainly by principilus qualundam of magistratibus mentioned by Livy in the course of his narrative of the events of R.C. 195 (cited above p. 342)—vectigalia publica partin neglegantia dilabebantur partim pracedae ac divisial principilus quibudam et magistratibus erant, XXXIII. 46. 8—we should understand with Movers the magnates of Carthage employed upon the Boards of Five.

But there is at least as much probability in another conjecture, to which we are led by the fact that the Boards of Five elect the Hundred. According to Aristotle's own statement (II § 7 s. f., III. I § II cp. nn. 391, 444) there was more than one board of judges at Carthage, and thus far there is some truth in Heeren's and Kluge's mistaken severance of the Hundred and Four from the Hundred (see above, p. 341). The Hundred was one such board and it is easy to conjecture that the Boards of Five constituted the others; that they had exercised high political jurisdiction before the introduction of the Hundred for the loss of which they were compensated by being at least allowed to elect the members of the new court of justice, while they retained the ordinary criminal, as well as the entire civil, jurisdiction, its different branches being assigned to different committees each of five men, while cases of special importance were no doubt definitively decided in full session under the presidency of one of the two shofetes as chief justice. This conjecture further receives considerable support from the fact that it is only these Boards of Five that are said to have discharged their duties without pay and not to have been chosen by lot, which is not easily intelligible except as in contradistinction to the popular courts in democratic states. Also immediately after (1) the Boards of Five and (11) the Council of the Hundred Aristotle goes on to treat of the exclusive administration of justice by boards appointed expressly for this purpose; and this fact favours the supposition that these boards were simply and solely the two already mentioned together with the two shofetes or chief judges. Moreover in their election of the Hundred and Four the Boards of Five were by no means entirely free, but obliged at least in part to select from certain officials of the previous year: at any rate it appears to follow from Livy's account (see above n. 379), that the state treasurer had a right to be elected to the Hundred and Four in the following year, and the Boards of Five could only pass him over for very special reasons. But they evidently could not elect members of their own body to the Hundred and Four, as would else have happened frequently; and the reason for the prohibition may perhaps have been that in the following year they had to continue to discharge their own official duties, as described above: unless we are bound to suppose, that here too the principle of concentrating various offices upon one person (§ 13) was applicable. SUSEM. (390)

ой отратууой,

The powers of the Carthaginian generals must have been very considerable and in purely military matters perhaps unlimited, although they were also in the habit of consulting the council of war (see above n, 382). But state affairs were undoubtedly managed by the general in conjunction with the plenipotentiaries of the Senate, and alliances were likewise concluded (as above n, 382) by him in the name of the Senate (Heeren). Isocrates (III, 24) says that the Lacedaemonians and the Carthaginians had an oligarchical government at home but a monarchical government in the field: which means of course, that the generals, not the Carthaginian 'kings', exercised such a government: whereas Movers (p. 540) takes it to mean that 'the Shofetes were not held to be kings, unless they were also generals.' The Carthaginian generals are moreover called dictators by the Romans, Justin XIX. I. 71, Cato cited in Gellius X. 24.7, Frontin. Strateg. 11. 1; as well as that one of the generals who discharged his duties in Carthage itself as director of the entire military administration, or war minister, Livy XXIII, 13, 82. The fact that state appointments at Carthage, in particular the offices of shofete and general, could be bought, which is likewise attested by Polyb. VI. 56. 4, seems to point to a right of election or confirmation by the popular assembly; vet possibly the smaller or the larger senate may not have been inaccessible to bribery, in spite of the fact that, in order to guard against it, only the richest citizens were, as a rule, elected into the smaller senate (§ 4). This much seems certain, that the election of the generals rested with the smaller

¹ There is no ground for assuming with Kluge, p. 92f., that the term dictator was especially applied to those who were at once shofetes and generals, or

that the Hasdruhal in question filled both offices in conjunction eleven times.

2 At least I take this to be the most

probable view.

senate: see Diod. XIII. 43. 5 (emforpow; cp. above n. 381), XX. 10. If (y popoula...parmypow)...dm266.y). But it may be conjectured that the election required to be confirmed by the popular assembly. At least when Hannibal was elected by the army the Senate was not satisfied with an approval of the act on its own part, but invited the popular assembly to confirm it, Polyb. III. 13. 4; and such a confirmation may have been requisite for the appointment of the senators and shofetes, in case it did not entirely rest with the popular assembly to elect them (see above n. 382). SUSEM. (3824).

EXCURSUS V.

THE SOLONIAN CONSTITUTION: IL 12, 3.

ἔοικε δὲ Σόλων...τὸν δήμον καταστήσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων.

The question whether in reality there is no sufficient ground for doubting this statement, as Schömann tries to show1, must in this place be left undecided. Here we are only concerned with the meaning of the words and the question whether they are really by Aristotle. In the first place Schömann has sufficiently refuted the monstrous construction which Em. Müller and Oncken² have put upon the singular form τὸ δικαστήριον here twice used, as if it did not mean the Heliaea, but the whole community assembled to demand an account of their stewardship from the retiring officials-'a general assembly of the people before which the judicial authorities were brought to render an account of their office, appeals were entered against their decisions, and these decisions cancelled confirmed or amended at pleasure.' It is another matter when Frankel The Attic δικαστήρια p. 63 f. infers from III. II. 8 that the genuine Aristotle did not intend to ascribe the establishment of the tribunal of the Heliaea to Solon, but regarded the matter essentially in the same light as Fränkel himself, who was partially anticipated by Em. Müller and Oncken. His view is that in certain cases Solon gave the assembled community the right of rejecting the sentence pronounced by their magistrates; that he compelled the magistrates, when their commission expired, to render an account of it publicly to the people in their assembly, where it was open to the people to bring a charge against them which the Areopagus had to decide. Now this hypothesis respecting Solon's legislation may be correct or not; but at any rate let the critics take upon themselves the responsibility for it, and leave Aristotle out of the question. Even he was by no means infallible in matters relating to Athenian constitutional history. Had Frankel not severed the passage in B. III, from its context, he would have seen that there Aristotle is saving

tions over again. Cp. n. (409). I do not defend everything which Schömann has stated, as is clear from the sequel.

¹ This exposition Fränkel has not quite fairly passed over.
² The refutation has not prevented Oncken from simply repeating his asser-

precisely the same thing as here, only in fewer words. There he says that the people must be suffered to participate in the deliberative (or decreeing) and the judicial functions, and these only; and therefore Solon rightly ordained that it should merely elect officers of state and require them to render an account1. Here he says that Solon allowed the people these two most indispensable rights and accordingly instituted tribunals taken from the whole people with jurisdiction over all matters without exception. If then, as Fränkel thinks, it is really a contradiction to say both in one breath, at least the mistake has been committed not merely by the assumed interpolator, but by the genuine Aristotle. Furthermore, if Frankel's explanation be consistently applied to VI(IV), 14 § 3, § 6, § 10 (see nn. 1319, 1325, 1332) it must lead to this absurdity; that wherever a popular assembly took into its own hands the control of responsible officers of state Aristotle was only acquainted with two results, one of which invariably followed, either condemnation by the assembly itself or a reference to the Areopagus or some similar board; and that in no case was the matter referred to a popular tribunal. And since Aristotle regards those two fundamental rights as the most indispensable concessions to the democratic principle, without any indication that they should be limited, it is in itself scarcely conceivable that he should nevertheless have tacitly introduced the limitation that it is sufficient for the people to frame the resolution of accusation without either proceeding themselves to give a verdict or to procure the verdict of condemnation through a popular court; but that the case must be referred to a non-democratic board neither taken from the whole people nor even directly elected by the people. But if he regarded those two concessions in the sense explained above, it is not only not 'obscure', but from this point of view even strictly consistent that the gradual development of absolute democracy should be characterized as their result in Athens, brought about not through Solon's fault but by the course of events2: though Fränkel may again object, rightly or wrongly, from his point of view3 that to entrust popular courts with power must be regarded as the consequence and not the cause of the democratic state principle. Lastly, the Athenian Heliaea consisted, as Frankel very ably proves (pp. 1-21), of all Attic citizens over 30 years of age with full civic rights, not legally hindered by other employment from entering their names in the list of judges for the year, who had actually had their names so entered and (p. 51 ff., cp. pp. 21-51) not only this Heliaea as a complete body but even each separate court of justice formed out of it was similarly regarded as another exxharia, as

¹ Fränkel hinself observes (n. 47) that in Fränkel hinself observes (n. 47) that is n.c.) e60wax has the wider sense of "trials" generally, and not the later, narrower sense of "trials" of state officers because when presenting their accounts they have not been granted a discharge; Wilamowitz Aus Kydathen p. 88f. shows that the word has not even the former

sense in that place but means "punish-

ments."
² ἀπὸ συμπτώματος.

^{*} For in any case it is not from such point of view that we can decide what Aristotle way or may not have said

Aristotle may or may not have said.

4 It is indeed more than questionable whether δλία=ἐκκλησία, popular assembly, is really only a shorter form of ηλιαία

a representation of the popular assembly¹. All the more readily and fittingly could Aristotle, if he ascrible their foundation to an author so early as Solon, characterize them as a boon granted to the people itself and to democracy.² All this however does not exclude the possibility that on Aristotle's view even Solon at the same time granted to the popular assembly also certain plenary powers with reference to the deposition, punishment, and control of the officers of state: indeed on the analogy of VI(V), 14, 6, (132) there is a certain probability even, that by his remarks in 11, 18 § 5 Aristotle intends to refer back to Solon the right of laying complaints or information, brought against officers of state during their time of office, directly before the popular assembly for immediate decision or with a view to further proceedings³. SUSSM, (409).

EXCURSUS VI.

THALETAS: II. 12. 7.

Thaletas or Thales was in reality a lyric poet (as indeed we are told in Plutarch) and musical composer of Gortyn (or according to Suidas, of Elyros) in Crete, younger than Archilochus; the first to introduce the paeonian and cretan rhythms into artistic lyric poetry and vocal music (Glaukos cited in Plutarch De Music. 10. 1134 D, E, Ephor. in Strabo p. 480 f.). These he borrowed from the sprightly native dance tunes sung to the dance in the worship of Apollo in Crete (Athenae, V. 181 B), which were called Paeans and Hyporchemes, and it was songs of this kind which he himself wrote and set to music and brought to their artistic perfection (Heracleid. Pont. quoted in Plut. De Music. 9. 1134 C, Schol. on Pind. Pyth. 11. 127), availing himself in them not only of paeonian rhythms and metres, but probably of dactylic rhythms and rhythms compounded of successions of dactyls and trochees. According to the story which dates from so early a writer as Ephoros, Lycurgus while staving in Crete despatched Thaletas, a man well versed in politics, to Sparta, in order that he might by means of his songs spread the spirit of political harmony there and thus pave the way for the Lycurgean reforms in the constitution. But another and far more credible legend informs us that Thaletas was summoned to Sparta by the order of the Delphic oracle in order to assuage a pestilence by his musical art (Pratinas fr. 8 in Plut. De Music, 42. 1146 C. Plut. Philos. cum principibus 5 p. 779 A. Aelian. Var. Hist. XII. 50; cp. Strabo p. 482). It can hardly be decided whether the only signification

or indeed whether the two words are at all connected in their derivation: see Wilamowitz op. c. pp. 87—94.

¹ Fränkel, pp. 21—27, endeavours to show that the Heliaea possessed important functions besides those of a judicial nature, but he can hardly be said to have succeeded.

² And that they were at least earlier than Cleisthenes, and may thus very well have existed in Solon's times or even before them, is shown by Wilamowitz, pp. 04—06.

pp. 94—96.

3 E.g. to induce the assembly to depose the magistrate.

underlying these legends is one which belongs to the history of literature, symbolizing the healing and soothing powers of poetry and music, or whether Thaletas was actually a priest wielding expiatory powers like Epimenides (Exc. 1 to B. 1); the latter explanation is supported by the fact that at his home of Gortvn there was really a shrine of Apollo, to which embassies were sent from foreign states, to obtain aid in case of pestilence (Stephanos of Byz. s. v. Γόρτω). In any case Thaletas was also employed in Sparta, perhaps about 665 B.C. (?), and introduced the Cretan paeans and hyporchemes there also: the Laconian Sosibios, frag. 5 in Athenae. XV. 687 C, relates that his songs were sung even at a later time at the Gymnopaedia along with those of Alcman. In Crete he composed in Knosos as well as in his native town; for in all probability he was the same as the Knosian rhapsode Thaletas from whom he is distinguished in Suidas (Suidas asserts that Thaletas of Gortyn lived before Homer), and the same as the Thales who is said by Demetrios of Magnesia, in Diog. Laert. I. 38, to have been contemporary with Homer, Hesiod, and likewise Lycurgus. See on Thaletas Litzinger De Thaleta poeta Essen 1851, 4, Höck Kreta III. 330 ff., Bernhardy History of Greek Literature 3 ed. 1 p. 378, Christ Metrik p. 415 ff., also E. Curtius History of Greece I p. 182 Eng. trans. SUSEM. (419)

1171 b 17 τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, τάς τε κυρίας καὶ τὰς
28 ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημένας, ἔστω τεθεωρημένα τὰν τρέπων τοῦ38 Ἱτον τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπικακοποῦντι, καὶ τις ἐκάστη καὶ
ποία τις, σχεδὸν πρώτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἱδεῖν, τί ποτέ
ἐστιν ἡ πόλις. νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦντι, οἱ μὲν φάσκωντε ὶ
35 τὴν πόλιν πεπρακόμαι τὴν πράξιν, οἱ δὶ οῦ τὴν πόλιν Δλλ
τὴν ὁλγιαργίαν ἡ τὰν τόμωνων τοῦ δὲ πολιτικώ καὶ τοῦ
νομοθένου πάσαν όρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν οῦσαν περὶ πόλιν,
ἡ δὲ πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πὸλιν οἰκούντων ἐστὶ τάξες τἱς.
In the notes to this book fi, denotes the palimpset Vat. gr. 1908, collated
Heylbuti πɨκɨnɨ dinɨ. Kill. 1889, p. 100 fi. See fix. III - 1, 45, - Λs a rule it is

B. III includes two parts: a statement of General Principles, oc. 1–18, followed by a review of Monarchy, oc. 14–18, the first of the forms of government examined in detail. See Analysis p. 108 ft., Intred. 37 ft. The former part is the most valuable exposition of Aristotle's positive political theory to be found in the whole work. Comp. Oncken II pp. 117–174.

Mr A. C. Bradley has some valuable remarks on Aristotle's conception of citizenship in *Hellenica* pp. 212—218.
1274 b 27 kupfasj Constitutions "proper," i.e. those actually in force

"proper," i.e. those actually in force or 'valid' in existing states as opposed to schemes on paper. So κυρίως with ἐπίσπασθαι, to know properly or unconditionally, is opposed like ἀπλῶς to ἐξ ὑποθέσεως.

35 αλλά την όλιγαρχίαν] "that it is not the state which has done this or that but the oligarchy." Comp. Thuc. III. 62 § 4 (Eaton) and n. (455) on c. 3 § 2

below. Susem. (432)
36 πολ. και τοῦ νομ.] See above on
1. 1. 2, II. 12. 1.

38 τάξει τις] "a certain ordering of the inhabitants." The character of this organization is explained 6 § 1 πόλεων τάξει τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κυρίας πάντων, π. (522). Comp. VI § 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ή πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅλων 2 40 μεν συνεστώτων δ' έκ πολλών μορίων, δήλον ὅτι πρότερον

ό πολίτης ζητητέος ή γάρ πόλις πολιτών τι πλήθος έστίν. 1275 2 ώστε τίνα χρη καλείν πολίτην καὶ τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστὶ σκε- (> 59) πτέου. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης ἀμφισβητεῖται πολλάκις οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦσι πάντες εἶναι πολίτην ἔστι γάρ τις

δς έν δημοκρατία πολίτης ών έν όλιγαρχία πολλάκις οὐκ τούς μέν οὖν ἄλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύ- 8 § 3 έστι πολίτης. 6 της της προσηγορίας, οἶου τοὺς ποιητοὺς πολίτας, ἀφετέου

ό δὲ πολίτης οὐ τῶ οἰκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν (καὶ γὰρ μέ-§ * τοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοινωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως), οὖδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέγοντες ούτως ώστε καὶ δίκην ύπέγειν καὶ δικά-10 ζεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινω-

1275 a το και τοῦς <μετοίκοις και τοῦς> Bücheler, most likely right.

(ΙV). 1. ΙΟ τάξις ή περί τὰς ἀρχάς, τίνα τρόπον νενέμηνται, και τί το κύριον кта, п. (1129), vI(IV). 3. 5 п. (1156). Susem. (432 b) § 2 39 έπει δὲ κτλ] "Since the state is an aggregate of individuals, like any other whole made up of parts"

41 τι πλήθος] "a body of citizens": namely, a body numerous enough for in-dependence of life, Ικανόν εἰς αὐτάρκειαν

ζωης, § 12 (Eaton). See notes (434), (447). Susem. (433)

1275 a I worte riva kth] Schlosser's censure of Aristotle is not altogether without reason. The synthetic method which was applied before, I. 1 § 3 n. (4), 3 § 1 (29), 8 § 1 (66), is certainly out of place here. "There is far more truth in the remark at I. 2 § 12" where see note "that the conception of the state must precede that of its members. It cannot be said that we have to define πόλις by reference to πολίτης; on the contrary, the relative conception of the citizen must be explained by reference to that of the state" (Schlosser I. 218). In reality it is the latter course which Aristotle adopts. He takes the conception of the state obtained in cc. 1, 2 as the foundation for his definition of the citizen, as Schlosser justly observes: so that he is involved in a formal circle, when he afterwards defines the state (see III. 1. 12 st.) as a body of citizens adequate for independence of life, i.e. comparing 1. 2. 8 n. (21), adequate for the end of the state. And just because this

is so, in spite of the grave formal blunder, the definition of the citizen has not in any way suffered. Schlosser assumes that it is only applicable to the most advanced democracy and not to the best constitution, and that it restricts the notion of the state obtained in I cc. 1. 2. But this is a misapprehension. On the contrary, Aristotle is of the opinion that the ideal exactly answering to this conception is never completely realized until all who are actually citizens have equal rights and duties. Herein he is certainly right: the error is in looking for any such realization, because facts never do completely answer to conceptions. See nn. (440) (441) on § 10 below. Susem. (434)

§3 6 τους ποιητούς] "honorary citizens" (Susemihl). But probably cases like those of 5 §§ 7, 8 are contemplated: "those on whom the franchise is con-ferred." [Demosth.] c. Neaer. 1376, 15,

τή ποιήσει πολίτας. 7 οὐ τῷ οἰκεῖν που] "Domicile does not make a citizen." Comp. on the one

hand o \$ 12, ούκ έστιν ή πόλις κοινωνία τόπου, with n. (357); on the other o \$ 10 n. (554). SUSEM. (434 b) § 4 8 016 01 Two bikalwo] "northe

advantages of common jurisdiction, in the sense of the capacity to bring, or defend a civil action ": &kaua = iura. 10 τούτο] these civil rights, δίκην

υπέχειν και δικάζεσθαι.

τοις άπο συμβόλων] "the parties to a commercial treaty." More fully ex-plained below 9 § 6, 7 (Schneider) nn. 549, 550. SUSEM. (435)

rights.

The treation would contain provisions at the works in which changes might be brought and cases tried when disputes arose between members of the different contracting states; such perhaps as pit \$4 cause \$4 caus

of Phil. 1880. I. pp. 3—11.

12 νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην] "they
must procure a patron." So at Athens:
Meier and Schömann Att. Process p. 315 ff.,

501, 572: Schömann Antiquities I. p. 353 Eng. tr. Susem. (436) Cp. Harpoc. των προστάτην με νεμύντων μετοίκων (Wyse). § 5 13 τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας = 2 franchise limited to participation in legal

ray collemp and masses and It is the same with common jurisdiction as it is in the cases adduced, viz. children too young to be enrolled, and superannuated old men exempt from service: those who can bring or defend a civil action may in a certain approximate and restricted sense be termed citizens, but only with a qualification. SUSEM. (437)

inay in a certain approximate and restricted sense be termed citizens, but only with a qualification. SUSEM. (4377) 17 robs µbv drāvās] Cp. 5 § 2, n. (505). SUSEM. (437 b) Add L. 12. 7. 0. †ya/Ayna hopbūroso štop.] flaw or defect requiring correction, viz. by an added qualification, as citizen under age. 25 τον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν, ἡ διὰ τινών ώρισμένων χρό-(I) § 7 νων ὁ δ΄ ἀόριστος, οἶον ὁ δικαστής καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα τ μὲν οὖν ἀν φαίη τις οὐδ΄ ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὐς τοιούτους,

μὰν οὖν ἀν φαίη τις οὖδ ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὖδὰ μετέχειν διά ταῦτα ἀρχῆς καίτοι γελοῖου τοὺς κυρωτάτους ἀποστερείω ἀρχῆς. ἀλλά διαφερέτω μηδών περὶ διόματος 30 γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀνώνυμου γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ ἐκκληνιαιτοῦ, τί δεῖ ταῦτ ἀμών καλέμ. ἔτον ὁλ διοριεμοῦ

§ 8 χάριν ἀόριστος ἀρχή. τίθεμεν δή πολίτας τοὺς οἴτο μετέχοντας. ὁ μὲν οῦν μάλιστ ἀν ἐφαρμόσας πολίτης ἐπὶ πάν· (ι. 6.) τας τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδὸν τοιοῦτος ἐστίν· δεῖ δὲ ο

35 μ) λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἶς τὰ ὑποκείμενα μὸ omitted by Γ, perhaps rightly, unless it be changed to ἢ with Spengel: Ar. leaves it untranslated || 17 μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ¹⁴⁻⁴⁶ fir, μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ¹⁴⁻⁴⁶ fir, μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ¹⁴⁻⁴⁶ fir, μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ̄μ̄ ½ μ̄μ̄ ½ || Γ̄μ̄ ¾ ||

margin of P¹ 3 se erwej redraw or restrey? Spengel [34 woldraw-lhiyws-? Schneider.

§ 6 of 8 f signarron sc. signam: in roth sinders of the second second

discharging judicial or legislative functions no one would regard the &searrie and deslayatearyis as themselves &gayers but only as parts of the complex &gayers, the &searrigear or &schopela. A fortion, the description of schopela. A fortion, there is termitted functions cannot make an &gayer when the actual discharge of them is not enough (Shute). In Aristophanes &gayers—&seaffren, e.g. Filtum 20, 6.0seary &scarrie &gerrights i white

äρχειν καθίστησιν; cp. n. (438). § 7 28 σύδι... διά ταντα | Int to serve on a court of justice or as member of the legislature does not constitute office; and yet it seems absurd to deny to those who wield the highest authority a claim to hold office.

matrax wholes? Comp. Plate Leave $\sqrt{7}$ ϕ , h: "in a certain sense to appoint courts of justice is to choose officers of state. For every member of the executive must needs be a judge of sundry matters, and a dilaxit, without really holding office of the executive must need be a judge of sundry holding office of the executive must be a dilaxit, which are the holding office of the executive of the executive

rid 'julpur, jesq år spinur rije Repy drovedje. Hence the elleast may also at redding. Hence the elleast may also at redding. Hence the elleast may also at the spinus at redding at the elleast may also at the elleast elleast may also at the elleast ellea

20 dblå Sadpofre krl) "But let us waive the point, which after all is verbal, since we can find no common term applicable alike to the judge and the ekklesiast. For the sake of distinction, we will call theirs an 'indefinite' magistracy" (Jebb).

*Such then is [the notion, or definition of] the citizen which best applies to all who are so called." We find êπ with gen. after this verb, ≥ 3 and 11 § 5 below: but the dat. (4 § 2) or πρὸε with acc. is more usual.

35 των πραγμάτων εν οξε κτλ] "Where classes of things (like πολίτης) contain individual members distinct in species" i.e. essentially different, like the several

διαφέρει τῷ είδει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστι πρῶτον τὸ δὲ(1) δεὐτερον τὸ δὲ ἐχόμενον, ἢ τὸ παράπαιν οἰδὲ ἐνεστικ, ἢ § στοαίστη, τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γλόχρον. τὰς ἐξ πολιτίας ὁρῶμεν είδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων, καὶ τὸς μὲν ύστέρας τὸς δὲ

1175 υπροτέρας ούσας τὰς γὰρ ήμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας ἀναγκαίου ὑστέρας εἶναι τῶν ἀναμαρτήταν (τὰς δὲ παρεκβεβηκυίας πῶς λόγομε, ὕστερου ἐσται ἀρακρό). ὅστε καὶ 4 τὸν πολίτην ἔτερου ἀναγκαΐου εἶναι τὸν καθ ἐκάστην πολι-\$10 τεῖαν. δύστερ ὁ λεχθείς ἐν μὲν δημοκρατία μάλιστ ἐστὶ τ πολίτης, ἐν δὲ ταῖε ἀλλιας ἐδέξεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγ-

37 οὐδ' ένεστικ Madvig, οὐδέν έστιν Γ Π Ar. Bk., ουδενεστιν fr. | [‡ τοιαῦτα] Bas.2

37 ode everte stading, dece even i II. Avvenire and, consequently, the real-reg as determined in each of them, "one of these being primary, another secondary, cases the generic attribute, in right of which they belong to the class III. are such, is other altogether has or barely in technical plrame, 6 planya. Here however real-reg is probably reaghenge, like 6-yelfs in Art. Eth. 1. 6 § 8 – 12, common attribute in virtue of which all the things denoted as "good" are such. See Zeller Plate p. 250 n. 103 Eng. the Common attribute in virtue of which all the things denoted as "good" are such. See Zeller Plate p. 250 n. 103 Eng. the common attribute in virtue of which all good and the common attribute in virtue of which all good as a color offerine et a quibas such as a seen of the constraint of the

us row recovery and the property of the party of the part

however loose the connexion between the particulars which come 'under' it, is treated as a whole or 'thing,' if it is denoted by a single term.

§ 9 30 'serviess... sportfoas] Logically 'posterior' and 'prior'. Not 'late' and. 'earlier' in time or historical development, but 'lower' and 'higher' in the order of thought and of real existence: the former less really, the latter more really a form of government. See 1. 2. 13 n. (27). SUSEM. (439)
1275 b 1 "importpulsoas] Plato's word

reany a form of government. Sec. 1.2. 13.18. (27). SUSEM. (489) Plato's word Ref. v 449.4, v 1115.44. The participle 'perverted' has been converted into an adjective 'wrong, perverse'; cp. 68 11, v111(v). 1. 5; N.E. IV. 9. 35, VIII. 10. 4. In vIII(v). 1. 5; it is a true passive participle. Compare aroseronµbros=desperate.

3 υστερον] cc. 6, 7. Comp. 3 § 2 n. (456). SUSEM. (439 b) § 10 5 δ λεχθείs] The citizen as thus defined.

defined.

• pls Smacepariq srN] But democracy is one of the degenerate forms. If

the property of the degenerate forms are

in particularly applicable to democracy, then clearly under the best constitution the position of the clitters will be just the position of the clitters will be position of the clitters will enjoy equal rights amongst them solve. See 13 5 12 nm. (1985), 5690;

IV(VII.) 9 28 7—9. 13 8 9, 14 38 3—5 14 nm. (1985), 78, 285, 4 nm.

**The property of the clitters will be property of the clitters will be property of the clitters will be clitters will be clitters will be clitters. The clitters will be clitters will be

5 mm. Susem. (440)
6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς άλλαις] With the tacit exception of the best constitution, which

καΐου. <εν> ενίαις γάρ οὐκ ἔστι δήμος, οὐδ εκκλησίαν νομί-(1) ζουσιν άλλά συγκλήτους, καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οδον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει

το τών έφόρων άλλος άλλας, οί δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, § 11 έτέρα δ' Ισως άργή τις έτέρας, του αυτου δε τρόπου και περί Καρχηδόνα πάσας γὰρ ὀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ' ἔχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ε ταίς άλλαις πολιτείαις ούχ ὁ ἀόριστος ἄρχων ἐκκλησιαστής 15 έστι καλ δικαστής, άλλ' δ κατά την άρχην ώρισμένος τού-

των γὰρ ἡ πᾶσιν ἡ τισὶν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ή περὶ πάντων ή περὶ τινῶν. τίς μέν ουν έστιν ό πολίτης, εκ τούτων φανερόν (ώ γαρ εξουσία κοινωνείν αρ-

χης βουλευτικής και κριτικής, πολίτην ήδη λέγομεν είναι ταύ-1275 b 7 < \$\varepsilon > Koraes | 11 < 00 > \tau \varepsilon ? Schneider (afterwards rejected by him), Korses, Trieber; [καί] Trieber. But see Comm. n. (444) | 13 γὰρ after εγαι

omitted by P1 Qb, possibly by Γ; erased in P4 | 16 ἀποδίδοται Γ, perhaps right | βούλεσθαι II2 (emended by corr. of P4) fr. | 17 περl before τινῶν omitted by Mº P1. perhaps rightly | 19 and Ar. Spengel, \$\tilde{\eta} \Gamma \text{II} (including fr.) Bk. Susem.\text{1} (in text) would otherwise not become perfectly addiscover that there is no contradiction

justed to the real nature of its citizens, as however it must be in order to be actually "the best." Susem. (441) 8 συγκλήτους] Meetings of a great

council specially convened upon extraordinary occasions. It may be shown, as in Exc. IV to B. II p. 345 f., that there existed at Carthage a great council of this kind, side by side with the smaller council and the popular assembly. Susem.

κατά μέρος] not "in turn" but "by

sections."
και τὰς δίκας...κατὰ μέρος] "They try
cases before special courts." Thus of the two 'indefinite magistracies', the popular assembly and the popular courts of justice, neither is here found: the larger council specially convened (σύγκλητοι) replaces the one, and the other is superseded by the conversion of the judicature into a

special government department. SUSEM. 0 ty Aakebaluovi] Comp. II. Q. 25, VI(IV). 9. 9 nn. (329 b), (1266). SUSEM.

(443 b) τῶν συμβολαίων] II. 5. 11. Cp. Cope's note on Rhet. I. 1. 10, "any private every-day transactions as opposed to σύμ-βολα which are κοινά." δίκαι τῶν συμ...

civil suits, nisi prius cases.
§ 11 12 Καρχηδόνα] If we bear in mind what is said in π. (443) we shall

between this passage and II. 11. 7, rai τό τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' άλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Auxeoulum (cp. Exc. IV. p. 348 f. and nn. 391, 391 b). The more subtle distinction that at Sparta the administration of justice was distributed over the different branches of the executive, while at Carthage it was separated from them all and entrusted to a special judicial depart-ment, is not here taken into account, but merely that which is equally a feature of both systems, viz. the jurisdiction of special boards as distinguished from that of desagral annually chosen for this purpose as a committee of the entire civic body. See further II. 9. 23 n. 325, SUSEM. (444)

15 ο κατά την άρχην ώρισμένος]
"the officer defined by his tenure of the
office" (of judge or legislator). And
therefore in such states Aristotle regards as citizens only those who have the unrestricted right of being elected to these definite offices. (Nothing can be more erroneous than Oncken's assertion, II. p. 121 n. I, that presumably Aristotle has in mind the division of responsibility in the Athenian democracy between έκ-κλησία and βουλή on the one hand, Heliaea, νομοθέται, and Areopagus on the other.) Susem. (445) § 12 18 αρχής βουλευτικής καλ κριτι-

20 της τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλῆθος ἰκανὸν(Ι) 2 πρός αὐτάρκειαν ζωής, ώς άπλως εἰπεῖν) ορίζονται δὲ πρὸς κ την χρησιν πολίτην τον έξ αμφοτέρων πολιτών και μη θατέρου μόνον, οδον πατρὸς ἡ μητρός, οδ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' έπὶ πλέον ζητούσιν, οἷον ἐπὶ πάππους δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἡ πλείους. 25 ούτω δὲ δριζομένων πολιτικώς καὶ ταχέως, ἀποροῦσί τινες τὸν § 2 τρίτον ἐκεῖνον ἡ τέταρτον, πώς ἔσται πολίτης. Γοργίας μὲν (p. 61) ούν ο Λεοντίνος, τὰ μέν ἴσως ἀπορών τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, έφη, καθάπερ όλμους είναι τους ύπο των όλμοποιών πεποιη-

21 δὲ ΓΑτ., δἡ Π (including fr.) Bk. | 23 τοῦτ' ἐπὶ] τούτου ἔτι? Koraes || 24 έπιπάππους P2 and corr. of P3, ξτι πάππους Camerarius, accepted by Schneider and Koraes | 25 8h P3 H3 Ar. Bk. | # # # # Camerarius, apparently right: πολιτικώς, ταχέως ἀποροῦσί Spengel

κης] "He who is entitled to a share in legislative or judicial office." But this is not quite exact, for by what precedes Ari-stotle ought to include "executive office," as in fact he does virtually in § 7 (doportos άρχή). SUSEM. (446)

ηδη is simply untranslateable: without

going further, without anything more being necessary. 21 πρὸς αυτάρκειαν [ωῆς] "a body of such citizens adequate to secure independence of life." Cp. n. (21), IL 2. 8 n. (136) and the passage there cited. Su-SEM. (447)

c. 2 πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν] "for practical purposes." This definition was adopted by Pericles, according to Plutarch, for the famous law which disfranchised 5.000 out of 19,040 citizens: νόμον έγραψε μό-νοις Αθηναίοις είναι τοὺς ἐκ διεῖν Αθηναίων

25 πολιτικώς] Like our word 'popular' or popularis in Cic. De fin. IV. § 24, V. § 12: i.e. superficially. Comp. for the

emendation παχέως, pingui Minerva. § 2 26 Γοργίας] The celebrated orator and nihilistic philosopher, already referred to 1, 13, 10 (cp. n. 118), who lived between 483 and 375, visited Athens on an embassy from his native city Leontini in 427, and a second time soon after-wards. There he enchanted every one with his florid and rhythmical periodic eloquence and gave a great impulse to to during and gave a great impulse to the formation of an Attic prose style: at a later period he lived, and perhaps died, at Lanisa in Thessaly. Isocrates went to Larisa to hear him. He trained a considerable school of rhetors, which subsequently had rivals in the schools of Isocrates, of Polycrates, and of the Cynics:

Alkidamas (n. 31), Polos, Likymnios, Protarchos and Lycophron (nn. 207, 552) were its most eminent names. See Foss De Gorgia Leontino (Halle 1828), Frei in the Rhan. Mus. VII. 1850. 527 ff., VIII. 1853. 268 ff., Zeller Pre-Socratics vol. 1853. 468 ff., Zeller Pr-Secratics vol. 1p. p4.18—41 ff. ff., tr., Blass Die attische Beradsamkut (Attic Oratory) 1. p.
4, III. 2, 323 ff. Susemild Gegiar and
4, III. 2, 323 ff. Susemild Gegiar and
4 may 10 ff. 1 f

The following passage, Il. 26—30, is elaborately treated by Prof. Ridgeway, in Transactions of the Camb. Philological Soc. vol. 11 pp. 135-138. His results are here accepted. He further suggests (Fournal of Philology XV. p. 164) that the particular occasion of creating new citizens, which called forth this jest, was a defeat of the Larisaeans by Lycophron of Pherae in 404 B.C., as related by Xenophon Hellen. II. 3. 4

27 εἰρωνευόμενος=ironically, though the word could have the meaning "jestingly." But we are told Rhet. III. 7. 11, 1408 b 20, ή μετά είρωνείας δπερ Γοργίας ἐποίει, that Gorgias used to be ironical in his speeches. Susem. (449) 28 ἔφη καθάπερ δλμους κτλ] "said

that mortars were the staple manufacture of the place and freemen of the magistrates." This untranslateable play upon words turns on the double sense of δημιουργοί, which was (τ) the title for the chief magistrates in many places (cp. n. 1586), thus answering to 'mayor' or 29 μόνους, ούτω καὶ Λαρισαίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πεποιη-(I) 83 μένους, ἐὐναι γάρ τινας λαρισοποιούς]· ἔστι δ΄ ἀπλοῦν. εἰ γάρ μετεξου κατὰ τὰ ψηθέντα διορισμών τῆς πολιτείας, ἡσαν [ἄν] πολίται· καὶ γάρ οἰδὲ δυνατὸν ἐφαρμόττευ τὸ ἐκ πολίτου ἡ ἐκ πολίτου τὸ ἐκ πολίτου τὸ ἐκ πιαίωτου.

άλλ ίσως έκείνο μάλλου έχει άπορίαυ, δσοι με-10 35 τέσχου μεταβολής ογευμένης πολιτείας, οἰου 'Αθήνησιν ἐποίησε Κλειαθένης μετά τὴν τῶν τυμάννων ἐκβολήν- πολ-§ «λούς γὰρ ἐψυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. τὸ δ

29 λαρισαιους fr., Λαρισαίους not Λαρισσαίους Bk.2 (so throughout) | των omitted by MaTh | 30 [εξναι....λαρισοποιούς] Ridgeway | λαρισαιοποιούς Camerarius. larissacorum factores Ar., haptocomotoles III (including fr.) Bk.1 | 32 hoav av P2-3 Qb Tb Ar. Bk., now H1 fr. Ald. and, over an erasure, P4, n av Ub | Kal yap où PAOb Th L. Bk., où be vào Susem. 1 misled by William's translation neoue enim ! 33 έκ omitted by P1 and perhaps by Γ, [έκ] Susem. 1-2, perhaps rightly | οἰκισάντων [η κτισάντων] Bender | 34 έκεῶνο Vettori (ms. correction in the Munich copy of his rst ed.) and an unknown hand in the margin of the Aldine at Munich, excluse P4 and, with an erasure over et, P1: exelvy Susem.1 in text and perhaps M1, exelvy P2-6 QMb Qb Tb Ub Ar. Ald. and P8 (corrector), probably also Mt, accepted by Bender; έκεθοι apparently P8 (1st hand): Γ uncertain, illi magis habent William, whence έκεινοι......εγουσι the editors from Vettori and Morel to Bekker | 35 οΐον <ά> Chandler | 37 δούλους και ξένους M* (1st hand) and Valckenaer (notes on Herod. p. 404) | και δούλους «και» μετοίκους Ar. Bk.2, και [δούλους] μετοίκους οτ και πολλούς μετοίκους? Göttling, μεχρίκους και δούλους Niebuhr (μ. 305 n. 2, Eng. tr.), μετοίκους Elvous Spengel. See Flowever Meier De gentil. Att. p. 6, Bernays Herakl. Briefe p. 155 f., and on the ther side c. 5 8 2 with n. (503)

'burgomaster,' and as this was so in parts of Thessaly (see Schömann Antiq. fur. publ. p. 84 n. 10, Antiquities of Greece p. 142 Eng. tr.) it may have been also at Larisa: while (2) at the same time iu Attica, and the common language generally, it was the term for workmen or mechanics (J. G. Schneider). The jest, when cited in this context, raises a presumption that the magistrates of Larisa bore this same title at the foundation of the city and had full powers to make citizens of whom they pleased: yet who in the world would spoil such a joke or pun by inquiring whether this was historically true? (But the jest would lose all its point if δημιουργοί he taken, as Oncken suggests, to mean the founders, not the magistrates, of Larisa. For every town has its founders, and not merely Larisa and certain towns like it: nor does the word bear this meaning unless some more precise phrase be added.) Further comp. vIII(v). 6 § 6 m. (1573), 10 § 5 n. (1651): VI(IV). 4. 16 n.

(1188). SUSEM. (450) Cp. Thuc. 1, 56

30 dbus ydp vusat Asparerousold, "For the suid some [of them just Larian-malers," Le. hardware mannlecturers, "Le. hardware mannlecturers, but the suid of the sui

§ 3 30 ἀπλοῦν] a simple question, οὐδὸν ποικίλου.

37 πολλούς γὰρ ἐψυλέτευσι ξένους και δούλους μετοξιασύς "for he admitted into the tribes many resident-aliens of foreign and servile extraction" (δούλους = freedmen). It is well known that Cleisteness abolished the four ancient tribes

άμφισβήτημα πρός τούτους έστὶν οὐ τίς πολίτης, άλλὰ πότε-(1) ρου άδικως ή δικαίως. καίτοι κάν τοῦτό τις έτι προσαπορή-1276 2 σειεν, άρ' εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης, ώς ταὐτὸ δυνα-§ 5 μένου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁρώμεν καὶ ἄρ-

γοντάς τινας αδίκως, οθς άργειν μεν φήσομεν άλλ' οθ δικαίως, ό δὲ πολίτης ἀργη τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν (ὁ γὰρ κοινωνών 5 της τοιάσδε άρχης πολίτης έστίν, ώς φαμέν), δήλον ότι πο-3 λίτας μεν είναι φατέον και τούτους, περί δε του δικαίως π

μή δικαίως συνάπτει πρός την είρημένην πρότερον άμφιαπορούσι γάρ τινες πόθ' ή πόλις έπραξε καὶ πότε 9 οὐχ ή πόλις, οἷον ὅταν ἐξ ολυγαρχίας ἡ τυραννίδος γένηται § 2 δημοκρατία. τότε γάρ οὖτε τὰ συμβόλαια ἔνιοι βούλονται

διαλύειν, ώς οὐ τῆς πόλεως άλλά τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, 30 καν Bk.2, καλ·ΓΠ Ar. Bk.1, προσαπορήσειση <αν> Göttling, τις <αν> Spengel 1 τοῦτό Wb La Ald, Bk., τοῦτο Ma (est hand), τούτω Γ P1.5-3.4 Qb TbMa (corr). 1276 a 5 798 omitted by MaPl. [798] Susem. I # #paner Pl II Ar. Bk. | 7

συνάπτειν? Koraes | ο γίνηται Γ Ar. (see p. 340) and established in their place

ten local divisions, for which he retained the name outlast: Curtius Hist. I pp.

382—387 Eng. tr., Schömann pp. 336, 365 Eng. tr. Comp. n. (588) on 9 § 13, VI(V1). 4. 19 n. (147). Susem. (481) Congreve supports the reading of Bekker 2 and Thirlwall (11. 74) by a com-parison of IV(VII). 4 § 6 800ham dashpide patison of twelview real feron, § 14 foots with the work of the profess. But this is unlifted by Aristoph. Ach. 503—8. Eq. 347 of were building the real reason of the profess. That doubte may be used of freedmen is capable of abundance of the profess. That doubte may be used of freedmen is capable of abundance of the profess. dant proof: Athenaeus VI. 93, 267 B, C διαφέρειν δέ φησι Χρύσιππος δυθλον οίκέ-του γράφων έν β΄ Περί όμωνοίας, διά τὸ του γραφων & β Liest ομοσοιας, σια το του δ απελευθέρου η μεν δούλους ξει είναι, ολείται βεί τούς μὴ τῆς πτήσεως αφτιμένους Lysins c. Αξουταίς βις δούλου και δε δούλου δετιν (οf a citizen): Issues VI § 49, ούτοι δρώλογομένη οδεια δούλη (οf a freedwoman): Harpocration ε.υ. μετοίκου, c.p. Bocckh Publ. Economy p. 48 Eng. tr. (the freedmen paid this tax). The proceeding of Cleisthenes was not more violent than that of Euphron at Sicyon: Xen. Hell. VII. 3. 8 δς δούλους μέν ού μόνον έλευθέρους άλλα και πολίτας erroles: and the two commonest sources of an artizan population are cited side by side, infra c. 5 § 3 παρ ενίοις ήν δούλον το βάναισον ή ξενικόν. There

is no authority for δούλους μετοίκους and is no authority for control perfoction and if any change were needed Niebuhr's would be the simplest. See also Grote IV. 170 n. 1, Schömann Constitutional History p. 60 f. Eng. tr. § 5 1276 a 6 kal rotrous] Even those

who have received the franchise in consequence of a revolution. Susem. (452) 7 πρότερον] 1 § 1 n. (432). SUSEM. (453) c. 3 The identity of the state depends

not upon its territory but upon its con-

§ 2 10 Evot] Possibly writers who advocated repudiation are meant: Introd. p. 20 n. 1. SUSEM. (454)

11 διαλύειν=discharge, pay in full.

ώς οὐ τῆς πόλεως κτλ] "on the ground

that it was a loan to the tyrant and not to the state." This question was really raised in B.C. 403, when after the expul-sion of the thirty, the Athenian state debated whether it was obliged to repay a loan of 100 talents borrowed by them from the Spartans, Demosth. XX. 11 f., Isocr. VII. 68 f. (Vettori). The converse case, viz. that the credit of a service rendered by the expelled tyrants was claimed by the state, arose, when the Corinthians after the expulsion of the Cypselidae demanded that the offerings dedicated by this family at Delphi and Pisa should be inscribed with the name of the town, and the acts of their tyrants be thus regarded as acts of the state.

ουτ' άλλα πολλά των τοιούτων, ως ένίας των πολιτειών τῷ (Ι) κρατείν ούσας, άλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ κοινή συμφέρον. * *. εἴπερ οὖν 11 καὶ δημοκρατοῦνταί τινες, κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον όμοίως 15 <ού> της πόλεως φατέον είναι [ταύτης] τὰς της πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ολυγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος.

§ 3 ἔοικε δ' ὁ λόγος οἰκεῖος εἶναι τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης, πῶς ποτέ χρη λέγειν την πόλιν είναι την αυτην ή μη την αυτην άλλ' έτέραν. ή μέν οὖν ἐπιπολαιστάτη τῆς ἀπορίας (ρ. 6) 20 ζήτησις περί τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν ἐνδέχεται γάρ διαζευχθήναι [τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους], και § 4 τούς μεν έτερον τούς δε έτερον οἰκησαι τόπον. ταύτην μεν οὐν

12 πολλά omitted by Ald. and P4 (1st hand, added in the margin) \parallel < $\ell \pi l > \tau \hat{\varphi}$ Lindan | 13 συμφέρου. <άλλὰ καὶ ή δημοκρατία οὐ σκοπεί τὸ κοινή συμφέρου> or something similar? Susem. | 14 καὶ δημοκρατούνται κατὰ δημοκρατίαν ἐτράκοντό Susem.1-2 following William's incorrect version in democratian versue fuerant | 15 <ού> Hayduck | "ταύτης is pleonastic" Eaton; [ταύτης] Thurot; τῆς αὐτῆς Koraes (with mark of interrogation after 16 reposition and a comma after 14 rollrow instead of before κατά) | 17 ὁ λόγος after οίκεῖος Pl Π2 Bk. | [πως] πότε Spengel Şusem.1, see § 5 1 21 [τον.....ανθρώπουν] Susem., dittography from 20, [τον τόπον καί] Bücheler

The Delphians admitted the claim, the Eleans rejected it: see Plut. De Pyth. arac. 13. 400 E (Schlosser). Comp. further n. (432) on 1 § 1. SUSEM. (455)

Broughton (p. 171) cites the case of the United States and the bonds issued by the abortive Confederate government. λαβόντος] Comp. Thuc. III. 81 άπέ-θανον...άλλοι (ξυεκα) χρημάτων σφίσω δφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων (τῶν

δανεισαμένων Schol.).

ouverquevan Schol.).

12 &s evias erA] "for some forms of
the state rest upon superior force and are
not due to public expediency." This is
the second time that Aristotle refers beforehand to his doctrine of 'degenerate' forms of government, more precisely laid down in c. 6; see above nn. (439 b, 440). SUSEM. (456)

13 συμφέρον. * *] The lacuna may perhaps be thus supplied: < But depernaps be thus supplied: < But de-mocracy also is a government of this sort. > SUSEM. (487) 14 δημοκρατούνται] Ridgeway sug-gests that William of Moerbeke took this

word to come from δημοκρατόω, and hence his rendering: in democratiam versae fuerunt.

§ 3 17 FOLKE & KTA] But the true grounds of this controversy lie deeper in another question which now needs to be investigated. Susem. (458)

20 ζήτησις] The most obvious mode of investigation is concerned with the place and the inhabitants.

21 διαζευχθήναι] "disjoined," "senarated." Aristotle has in view the measure which the Greeks called &outitur, cp. VIII(v). 10. 11 n. (1668), when a town was destroyed by its conquerors and the inhabitants were driven to seek new homes in the neighbourhood in a number of unwalled villages and hamlets, as was done to Mantinea by the Spartans in 385 B.C. This was an oligarchical mea-sure: for the custom of living together in a walled town was usually favourable to democracy. The opposite and de-mocratical procedure, the union of several country places, hitherto unwalled, in a single town was owned(to: and directly after the battle of Leuctra this was done by the Mantineans who rebuilt their city B.C. 370 and moreover gave the impulse to the foundation of a common capital of all Arcadia, namely Megalopolis. See

Curtius Hist. IV. pp. 305, 417 ff. Eng. tr., Schömann Antig. p. 171 Eng. tr. Cp. also I. 2. 8 π. (20 b). SUSEM. (459) § 4 22 ταύτην μὸν σῦν πραστέραν] In this form the problem must be regarded as easier to solve, for the variety of meanings of the word 'state' facilitates a solution.

πραστέραν θετέον την ἀπορίαν (πολλαχώς γὰρ της πόλεως (Ι) λεγομένης, έστί πως εὐμάρεια τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως). όμοί-12 25 ως δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε § 5 δεί νομίζειν μίαν είναι την πόλιν; οὐ γάρ δη τοις τείχεσιν είη γαρ αν Πελοποννήσω περιβαλείν εν τείχος, τοιαύτη δ' ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ Βαβυλών καὶ πᾶσα ήτις ἔχει περιγραφήν 29 μώλλον έθνους ή πόλεως ής γε φασιν εαλωκυίας τρίτην § 6 ήμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης της απορίας είς άλλον καιρόν χρήσιμος ή σκέψις (περί γὰρ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, τό τε πόσον καὶ πότερον έθνος εν ή πλείω συμφέρει, δεί μή λανθάνειν τον πολιτικόν) άλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, 18 35 πότερου έως αν ή τὸ γένος ταὐτὸ τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν είναι φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ αἰεὶ τῶν μὲν φθειρομέ-

23 πρωτέραν Qb Tb, Spengel thinks the word corrupt | 25 αὐτὸν τύπον P4-6 Wh L' Ar. Ald. Bk. Susem.1; perhaps also T, eundem locum William | 26 elvas ular M. P. | 26 84 862 P. O. | 27 πελοπονήσω Γ M. P. | 28 και πάσα......29 πόλεωs transposed to follow 30 πόλεωs Kamus | 32 ποσὸν Mª Pt | 33 ἔθνος omitted by II2 Ar. and in P1 where a lacuna of twice its length is left

23 πολλαχῶς λεγομένης] As in Greek there is only the one word πόλει for 'city' and 'state', in such a case as that just cited in π. (459) it might well be asked, whether the state of Mantinea continued to exist at all in the interval between the destruction and the rebuilding of the city. In fact, the dispute did not merely turn upon different meanings of the word πόλις, as Aristotle thinks: but the imperfection of the Greek conception of the state, which even Aristotle has not surmounted (Introd. p. 22), is brought clearly to light. See however q § 10 n. (554). SUSEM.

Unquestionably it would be a great gain if we could keep this limited concention always before us, and the translation of πόλις, πολιτικός, by 'city' 'civic' rather than 'state' 'political' is in many cases desirable on that account. But one uniform rendering is clearly impossible. To bring home the fact that the citizens of Rome formed what we may call a "municipal corporation" we cannot be always styling them the 'burgess-body."

§ 5 26 ov ydp 81 rols referrul
Editors compare Thucyd. vII. 77. 7 aroses

γάρ πόλις και οὐ τείχη οὐδε ναθς; Soph.

Ocal. Rex 56 ώς οὐδεν ἐστιν οὕτε πύργος

οὕτε ναθς ἔσπιος ἄνδρων τῶν ἐνοικούντων

ξω; Tac. Hist. 1. 84 quid? vos pulcher-rimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum stare creditis?' Susem.

(461)27 Πελοποννήσω] Cp. Pseudo-Lysias 11 (έπετάριοs) § 45, περί άπασαν την Πελο-πόννησον τείχος περιβαλείν, viz. the wall across the isthmus proposed in the Per-

sian wars. 28 ἔχει περιγραφήν] has a circumference of a nation; i.e. encircles a nation

rather than a state. 29 μάλλον ἔθνους] Comp. n. (11)

and the passages there cited. Susem.

ης γέ φασιν έαλωκυίας! The capture by Cyrus is meant: Herod. I. 178, 101. Nothing is there said however of an interval of three days, but we are told that when the extremities of the town were captured the Babylonians who lived in the centre had not yet discovered that it was taken. See also II. 6. 6 n. (200). SUSEM. (462)

§ 6 31 els άλλον καιρόν] The size is discussed in IV(VII). c. 4; the uniformity of race in VIII(V). 3. 11 f.: cp. n. (1531). See however Introd. p. 56. Susem. (464) Comp. for the phrase solvere in alium diem.

νων των δε γινομένων, ωσπερ και ποταμούς ειώθαμεν λέγειν (Ι) τούς αὐτούς καὶ κρήνας τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπυγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ' ὑπεξιόντος, ἡ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώ-40 πους φατέον είναι τους αὐτούς διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, τὶν κοινωνία πολιτών πολιτείας, γινομένης έτέρας τῷ εἶδει καὶ διαφερούσης της πολιτείας αναγκαίου είναι δόξειευ αν καί τήν πόλιν είναι μή την αὐτήν, ώσπερ γε καὶ χορον ότὲ 5 μεν κωμικόν ότε δε τραγικόν έτερον είναι φαμεν, τών αὐ-§ 8 των πολλάκις ανθρώπων όντων, όμοίως δὲ καὶ πάσαν άλ-14 λην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν έτέραν, αν είδος έτερον τῆς συνθέσεως ή, οδον άρμονίαν των αὐτων φθόγγων έτέραν εξ-§ 9 ναι λέγομεν, αν ότε μεν ή Δώριος ότε δε Φρύγιος. εί δή τοῦ-

1276 b 2 "moltrelas is pleonastic or the text is corrupt" Eaton, moltrela Congreve, [πολιτών]? Susem. | 3 αν omitted by Π1, δόξειε Μ* | 6 ανθρώπων omitted by P4-6 Qb Tb | The punctuation (comma for full stop after orrus) Welldon | 7 1 792 συνθέσεως Π2 Bk | 8 είναι omitted by ObTb and P4 (1st hand) | 9 λέγομεν Albert Ar. Morel, Névouse I'II

37 ποταμούς] The allusion is to the dicta of Heraclitus ποταμοΐσι δίς τοῦσι αύτοισει ούκ αν έμβαίητ, Frag. 41, 42, 81 ed. Bywater (Eaton, Ridgeway). § 7 1276 b 2 κοινωνία πολιτών πο-

Acre(as] Ridgeway rightly defends this, translating "For if the state is a kind of community, but it (ή πόλιs) is in fact a community possessed by citizens in a constitution," and adducing the MS. text of 9 § 14 as another instance of the double genitive with κοινωνία. If any change is to be made at all, we should omit πολιτών, which, though grammati-cally unobjectionable, is superfluous and somewhat obscures the sense. Usually κοινωνία πολιτών οτ κοινωνία has been made the subject of the second sentence, and κοινωνία πολιτείας or πολιτεία its predicate, "and fellowship (of the citizens) is fellowship in a constitution" or "consists

in a constitution." Susem. § 8 7 clos erepor the ourderes;
"if the kind of combination be different," i.e. if the elements be differently

combined. 8 άρμονίαν] See Exc. IV on B. v(viii). Susem. (465)

In these two modes the notes (φθέγγα) are the same: but the Dorian mode is

from E to e, and b natural is uton or key-note; while the Phrygian mode is from D to d and a is μέση. Comp. Dio Chrysost. II. p. 21 άρμονία Δώριος καὶ Φρύγιος άλλη και Λύδιος.

§ 9 ο είδη τούτον έχει τὸν τρόπον] "On these principles then it is plain that we must affirm the identity of the city by a reference to its constitution." It would be unjust to Aristotle to apply to this conclusion* in its literal sense his assertion 6 § 1 n. (523), 7 § 2 (535), 13 § 5 (592), that the constitution is nothing but the form of government, πολίτευμα, κύριον. For the truth is that, like Plato, he includes under woltrefa all which goes to condition the form of government as well as all that is directly conditioned by it. Thus, as Zeller II ii p. 551 rightly observes, he includes 'even the main 'features of the commonwealth which 'find expression in the spirit of the state 'administration and in the mode in which the end of the state is conceived': see IV(VII). 8 § 5 n. (800), 8 § 3 (800). Thus his notion of a polity or motureta is not narrower but wider than our notion of a constitution. For when we speak with scientific precision the term 'constitution' usually denotes only the particular form which the political organism assumes, or the sum total of the rules regulating the distribution of political functions:-al-though no doubt, as a matter of fact, the text of a modern constitution does

* Oncken (II. 121-130) ascribes to him, as his real view, almost the exact opposite of this conchizion.

10 τον έχει τὸν τρέπον, φανερὸν ὅτι μάλιστα λεκτέον τὴν αὐ-(I) τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας ὅνομα δὲ καλεῦν (s. εω) ἔτερον ἢ ταὐτὸν ἔξεστι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν, ὅταν εἰς ἐτέραν πολιτείαν μεταβάλη ἡ πόλις, λό-

15 γος ἔτερος.
4 τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπισκέψασθαι II
14 μεταβάλη πολιτείαν II² Βκ. μεταβάλη II² Βκ.

not fully or exclusively contain constitutional rules answering to the definition just given; but admits all those laws in general which, as the fundamental laws of the state, appear to demand special guarantees. Hence it is that to Aristotle no less than to Plato the regulation of . education in the spirit of the constitution is eminently and essentially a part of the constitution: see v(VIII). 1 § 1 f. n. (973), VIII(v). 9 § 11 (1641). Thus he by no means ignores a state of things in which the prevalent morality and education are out of harmony with the existing constitution, but where such is the case he firmly maintains that this existing constitution has not yet been fully realized, v1(IV). 5 § 3, n. (1216). Again, that he includes under the 'constitution' the regulation of property relations, is perfectly clear from IV(VII). c. 9, 10 § 9. Consult also n. (190).

But even when these admissions are made, our judgment must be that in coming to this conclusion he has again (see nn. 82, 296, 339) left too much out of sight, nay utterly rejected, 'the conception of the nation as a natural whole,' to use the words of Hildenbrand p. 416. However the union of a people into one state may have been brought about, whether there is mixed nationality, or all are of the same stock, we shall never cease to regard its constitutional history as simply a main element of its history as as simply a main reletited to its insoly so a a people; and therefore we shall always find it impossible to separate e.g. the English constitution from the English nation. To us the sentiment here exessed will appear outrageous:-that the English nation might be superseded by another race and yet that so long as the same constitution was preserved, there would still remain the same state. See further Isocr. VII § 14, who calls the constitution the soul of the state. Susem. (466)

13 et 8è 8(καιον...λόγος ετερος] 'But whether justice requires us to discharge or to repudiate our obligations (§ 2) when the state changes to another constitution is a different question.' The point is not resumed in the sequel.

"This shows at once the defectiveness of Aristotle's decision. He feels himself that after so deciding he could only consistently answer the present question by affirming the justice of repediation and the same time he does not want to say this right out. But in order to have a scientife justification for this course he should at least have indicated other insulations of the same time to the should at least have indicated other insulations.

stances revoluting the other since of the question." SUSEM. (467) cc. 4, 5 Is the virtue of the good man identical with that of the good citizen? See Anal. p. 109, and Thurot Etudes pp.

Plato's identification of them is a fundamental principle of the Republic, implied in the analogy of the state and the individual and particularly evident in the treatment of imperfect states and imperfect individuals, B. vIII, IX. Aristotle admits it in some cases (4 § 9), i.e. in the perfect state; and he no less precisely asserts that in most constitutions they are distinct (6 § r), the identity of the goodness of the man and of the citizen being only coextensive with the active exercise of the administrative powers which he enjoys. This is in accord with N. E. v. 2. 11: οὐ γὰρ ἴσως ταὐτὸν ἀνδρί τ' ἀγαθῷ eiras sal molity marri, on which see Jackson's note which disposes of Grant's strange view that the author of the 'Eudemian' Book v used, with essential discrepancies, the present chapter and other sections of the *Politics*.

16 τῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρημένων...18 μἢ τὴν cἀττῆν] Schlosser's assertion that this is out of place is quite groundless. On the Aristotelian conception, the state is an institution for educating a human being, or more especially a man (see n. on § 3), at once for happiness and for the greatest possible fitness or excellence. Hence to

πότερου την αὐτην ἀρετην ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπου- (ΙΙ) δαίου θετέου, ή μη την αυτήν. αλλά μην εί γε τοῦτο τυχείν δεί ζητήσεως, την τού πολίτου τύπω τινί πρώτον λη-20 πτέου. ώσπερ οὖν ὁ πλωτήρ εἶς τις τῶν κοινωνῶν ἐστίν, § 2 ούτω καὶ τὸν πολίτην φαμέν. τῶν δὲ πλωτήρων καίπερ ανομοίων όντων την δύναμιν (δ μεν γάρ έστιν έρέτης, δ δε κυβερνήτης, ο δὲ πρωρεύς, ο δ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἔχων τοιαύτην έπωνυμίαν) δήλου ώς ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος ἐκάστου λόγος 25 ίδιος έσται της άρετης, όμοίως δὲ καὶ κοινός τις ἐφαρμόσει πῶσιν. ή γὰρ σωτηρία τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτών § 3 πάντωυ τούτου γὰρ ἔκαστος ὀρέγεται τῶν πλωτήρων. ὁμοίως 2 τοίνυν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὅντων, ἡ σωτη-

λιτείαν. είπερ οὖν ἔστι πλείω πολιτείας είδη, δήλον ώς οὐκ ένδεγεται του σπουδαίου πολίτου μίαν άρετην είναι την τε-17 άγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς Mª Susem.1.2 and perhaps Γ | 19 πρώτον omitted in Pl (1st hand, added by corr.1 in the margin), *porrepor? Spengel needlessly | 20 Kourûr II1 | 23 THY TOLOUTTHY IT. | 25 OLLOS Vettori | 28 Kal omitted by FM | 30 Sid PIII2 Ir. Bk.

« ρία της κοινωνίας έργον έστι, κοινωνία δ' έστιν ή πολιτεία: 30 διόπερ την αρετήν αναγκαίον είναι τοῦ πολίτου πρός την πο-

inquire how far, under any constitution, the state can reach this goal touches a fundamental point in constitutional theory of the utmost generality; and constitutions may be classified as (1) better or best, (2) worse or worst, according as they are more or less adapted to this end. The present inquiry accordingly serves as the basis of the classification of constitutions in order of merit which follows in c. 6, and of the entire theory of the separate constitutions. This then, and this alone, is precisely the right place for cc. 4, 5. That they have defects in the execution we are not prepared to deny, since Aristotle must have himself intended materially to recast them subsequently (see n. 471; compare nn. 473, 478): but this intention was never carried out. SUSEM. (468) One glaring defect in the execution is

the frequent violation of the rule forbidding the hiatus, which is fairly well ob-served in the rest of B. III. There are 40 bad cases in c. 4 alone out of a total of 90 odd for the whole of the book.

19 τόπω τυλ] in outline. A frequent expression: Iv(VII). 16. 12, v(VIII). 7. 2, VII(VI). 8. 24, VIII(V). 2. 1: Nic. Eth. 1. 8. 3, 3 § 4. παχιλώς καὶ τόπω.

20 The simile of the crew is much

used by Plato: Rep. VI. 488 A ff., Poli-ticus 207 B, E ff.; in the latter passage joined with that of the physician which is perpetually recurring in B. III.

§ 2 22 την δύναμιν is an adverbial accus. See π. on φύσιν Ι. 12. 2.
23 κυβερνήτης] steersman, or pilot, answers in some respects more to the ship's captain, as he is skilled in naviga-tion (Plato U. a.) and responsible for the course of the vessel. Whereas the ναίκληρος or skipper, usually the owner of the ship, although nominally in com-

mand, need not be a practical seaman. § 3 27 όμοίως τοίνυν κτλ] Some of the citizens take part in the administration of the state merely as members of the popular assembly, others merely as judges in the law courts or members of the council; others again in a higher degree by filling various official posts. (Schlosser has strangely mistaken the sense: he thinks that the skill of the captain, helmsman, helmsman's assistant in the simile answers to the excellence of the man; and the performance of a successful voyage to civic excellence.) SUSEM. (469) 28 ή σωτηρία τῆς κοιν.] the mainte-

nance of the (political) union, 30 mpos relative to. Congreve compares I. 13 \$ 15.

λείαν του δ' αγαθου ανδρα φαμέν κατά μίαν αρετήν είναι (ΙΙ) § 4 Τὴν τελείαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται πολίτην ὅντα σπουδαῖον 35 μη κεκτήσθαι την άρετην καθ' ήν σπουδαίος ανήρ, φανερόν ού μην άλλα και κατ' άλλον τρόπου έστι διαπορούντας έπελ- ε 8 δείν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. εἰ γὰρ

33 τον δ'.....34 τελείαν omitted by Ma Past Qb Ta fr. Ald. and Past (1st hand, added by corr.3 of P2 and in the margin of P4, and there rhy is also above the line) II ular omitted by Albert Ar. (?) Bk. (who writes κατ') | είναι κατά Γ Bk. | 34 την omitted by Bk. and P1 (1st hand, added by corr.1), for P4 see above | 36 axxia omitted in fr. Π1 (added by pl) | 37 παρά? Susem., <κατά τὸν > περί Schmidt

33 του δ' άγαθου άνδρα] Aristotle speaks here continuously of the virtue and fitness of the man (auto) rather than of the human being, because he regards the doern of the woman as inferior and belonging to a separate species: see 4 88 15—18 nn. (491, 495): 1. 13 §§ 9—11, nn. (114 b, 117, 119). SUSEM. (470) § 4 36 êweddedy ri or west rivos are

separately found: while VIII(V). 10. 1 έπελθεῦν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας ἐξ ὧν φθείperas is equivalent to a conjunction of the two. The meaning would then be "to review the same question in the case of the model state." Spengel takes περί with διαπορούντας; "by raising objec-tions to the possibility of the model state." "But the sense seems to require that έπελθεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον should mean here 'to arrive at the same result'; and if so, παρά might be necessary = 'starting from the best constitution' or 'from the point of view of the best constitution'."
SUSEM.

§ 5 37 el yap dogravov] "For if it be impossible that a state should contain none but virtuous men, since it is impossible for its citizens to be all alike." But how does this agree with the passages quoted in n. (133) on II. 2. 4, according to which at least approximate equality of the citizens must be assumed in the best state? Further (as Thurot p. 108 rightly observes) we are told at c. 18 \$ 1 that it had been shown at the outset of the discussion (ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις) that the virtue and excellence of the man and of the citizen of the best state is necessarily the same, and the reference can only be to cc. 4—6 § 1; see n. (684) on 18 § 1. We might try to get over the contradiction by assuming that at this present stage of the discussion, 4 § 5, the arguments pro and con had not all been weighed dislectically and the final correction, to which c. 18 \$ 1 refers us back.

may have fallen out either at the end of c. 4 * or in the lacuna at c. 13 § 6 (see Introd. p. 43 ff. n. 599). But at c. 6† § 1 the statement here made is expressly set down as a part of the final result, while 13 § 6 is too near to 18 § 1 to be meant by the words έν τοῦς πρώτοις λόγοις. Should we then rather believe that Aristotle's genuine discussion is wholly or for the most part lost and that cc. 4, 5, which replace it, are wholly or in part a spurions interpolation? Sober inquiry will not easily be reconciled to such a desperate and violent step, although there is certainly much besides that points in this direction: see § 6 n. (473), § 8 (478), \$ 16 (491), \$ 17 (496); 5 \$ 1 (501). But then the only possible alternative is to assume that when Aristotle wrote this he was not yet clear about his model state, and that when making the reference in 18 § 1 he had in view not the part at present executed but a revised version which he intended to make subsequently but never actually completed. For 18 § 1 is in agreement with his re-peated declaration subsequently Iv(VII). 9 § 3, 13 §§ 9, 10, 14 § 8: VI(IV). 7. 2 (nn. 684, 808 and Introd. p. 51), that in fact the best polity is that in which the virtue of the citizen coincides with the virtue of the man, and the citizens are not merely virtuous when judged by the san ancrey virtuous when judged by the standard of their polity, but absolutely virtuous and excellent men: and this alone is reasoned out logically (see n. 468). This of course does not at all affect the proposition that in the best state, as elsewhere, the citizens are not

* Not directly after 4 § 5, as Thurot thinks, for the rest of chapter 4 from § 7 to the end would not agree with that supposition. Then it is presupposed that hitherto the two sorts of ex-cellence have been declared to be not absolutely the same even in the ideal state.

† As suggested by Susemihl in Compos. der grief. Pol. p. 24 f. s. (24).

αδύνατον έξ απάντων σπουδαίων όντων εΙναί πόλιν, δε ε' δια-(II)
39 στον τὸ καθ' διατόν ξηνο «δ πικό, τιώτο δὶ ἀπ' ἀρετής, ἀπεινό δὴ ἀδύνατον όμοίους είναι απάντας τοὺς πολίτας, ἐδε δ' ἐκα39 στον τὸ καθ' ἐαιτόν ἔργω εὐ ποιεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπ' ἀρετής» οἰκ ἀν
ντα εἴη ἀρετη μία πολίταν καὶ ἀκδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
στουδαίου πολίτου δεῖ πάσιν ὕτάρχειν (ἀὕτω γὰρ ἀρίστην
διουσιάς πέντι...)

σπουδαίου πολίτου δει πάσιν ύπαρχου (οίτων γάρ αμόστην σπουδαίου πόλιτου δει πάσιν ύπαρχου (οίτων γάρ αμόστην ἀνογκαΐου είναι τὴν πόλιν), τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀγα-(α-(α) 4 θοῦ ἀδύνατον, εἰ μοὶ πάντας ἀνογκαΐου ἀγαθοὺς εἰται τοὺς 8 εἰν τῆ σπουδαία πόλει πολίτας. [εἰτ ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνοροίου ἡ πό- 4 λις, ὅσπερ ζῶου εἰθὺς ἐκ ψυχής καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχή ἐκ λόγου καὶ ὁρέξεως καὶ οἰκιὰ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός καὶ κτῆσις ἐκ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου, τὸν ἀντὸν τρόπου καὶ πό-

9 λις έξ άπάντων τε τούτων καὶ πρός τούτως έξ ἄλλων ἀνομοίων 38 δινατόν Bernays | δεί δ'.....39 άρετξε transposed to follow 40 πολίται Thurot | 40 έπειδη δεί P, έπει δε Πείτ. Αττ., έπει δ' ΒΚ. Bernays, έπει Spengel | διομότ P⁴⁶0 P⁷ | 30 απότο ΠΕΚ. απότο Γ. απότο fi.

1273 a 1 μ a special Pft. Bk. | wolves are provideded Schmidt | 3 rolardar Pf (1st hand), perhaps right: γ_{θ} - γ_{θ} core. In the margin of P^1 | γ_{θ} < $\delta \sigma_{\theta} \rho_{\theta} r >$ $\sigma_{\theta} r >$

all equally virtuous men, but it does affect the much more illogical inference that the inferior citizens of the best state have only civic virtue. On the contrary here the degree of civic excellence also must be regulated by that of individual excellence, and the special nature of the one by the special nature of the other; and one consequence of this is that which Aristotle in complete accordance with the facts lays down as a criterion of the best state, viz, that in its administration each is employed according to his special faculties and capacities and assigned to his right place. It may thence be inferred that Aristotle had no intention of permitting all the members of the governing civic body in the pattern state to fill all the various public offices in rotation, but that he assumed that this most virtuous civic body would always elect to particular state offices the fittest and most virtuous of its members. Cp. 11 § 8 n. (569). Consequently it must be allowed that the officers of state in the perfect city do not represent the union of the virtue of the citizen and of the man, as is here stated, but rather that they represent the highest and most perfect degree of this union: and so far from

being erroneous it is quite correct to say that Aristotle includes in this polity those who are not yet elected but are still eligible to such a position. Only they do not actually attain a complete confirmation of this highest individual virtue (which is at the same time the highest civic virtue) until they are elected to office: cp. further n. (521) on III. 5. 10. Nor should we forget that at IV(VII). 14. 8 n. (902) Aristotle makes only the virtue of the ruler (πολιτικοῦ και άρχον-705) equivalent to the virtue of the man: in the best state the rulers are primarily the popular assembly composed of the elder citizens, but in a still higher degree the men selected out of it who are elected to offices of state. Susem. (471)
40 όμοίους] See n. on 11. 2. 3, 1261 a 24.

40 δμοίους] See n. on 11. 2. 3, 1261 a 24. § 6 1277 a 6 εθθύς:=for instance, like αθτίκα. The first instance that comes to

7 options] Appetite, or impulse; here put for the irrational part of the soul in general (Eaton). See n. (40) on 1. 5. 6. Susem. (472)

9 & ἀπάντων τε...είδων] But these constituents are not all citizens in the sense of the definition given c. 1 § 2, and yet this alone is material here (Thurot).

10 συνέστηκεν είδων ανάγκη μή μίαν είναι τήν των πολιτών (ΙΙ) πάντων αρετήν, ώσπερ οιδέ των χορευτών κορυφαίου καὶ ε τ παραστάτου.] διότι μεν τοίνυν άπλως ού γ ή αὐτή, φανερον κ έκ τούτων άλλ' άρα έσται τινός ή αὐτή άρετη πολίτου τε σπουδαίου καὶ ἀνδρὸς σπουδαίου; φαμέν δη τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν 15 σπουδαΐον είναι * * άγαθὸν καὶ φρύνιμον, τὸν δὲ πολιτικόν

ξ 8 άναγκαῖου είναι Φρόνιμου, καὶ τὴν παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς έτέραν είναι λέγουσί τινες ἄρχουτος, ὥσπερ καὶ φαίνονται οἱ τῶν βασιλέων υίεις ίππικήν και πολεμικήν παιδευέμενοι, και Εύριπίδης φησί μή μοι τὰ κομψά.....

άλλ' ών πόλει δεί,

§9 ώς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχουτος παιδείαν. εἰ δὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀμετὴ ἄρ- 6 21 χουτός τε άγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πολίτης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ό ἀρχόμενος, οὐχ ή αὐτη ἄν εἴη άπλως πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός, τινός μέντοι πολίτου οὐ γάρ ή αὐτή ἄρχοντος καὶ πολίτου, 12 λαυροστάτου? Schmidt | åπλώς omitted by Π1 | 15 άγαθὸν είναι Π2 fr. Bk.

| <ἄνδρα> ἀγαθὸν Bücheler, which I accept | τόν τε Susem. | πολιτικόν] πολίτην ούκ Congreve, followed by Bernays | 17 τοῦ added before ἄρχοντος by Π3 Bk. | 18 πολεμικήν] πολετικήν Göttling | 19 κομινά..... Spengel, κόμιν Π2 fr. Bk. | 20 ôê Ht Ar. Bk., et de aury fr. | doern omitted in H1 | 22 and we are ein Π² fr. Bk. | 23 τοῦ δυναμένου άρχειν μόνου inserted after μέντοι by Γ M⁰ and P¹ (1st hand, but uboov is added by corr. 1, and the whole erased by p1 in the margin). γρ. τοῦ διναμένου άρχειν μόνον P4 in the margin. Evidently a gloss

In fact this whole argument is so absurd είναι δέ τοιούτους ήγούμεθα τοὺς οίχονο-

that I cannot bring myself to attribute it to Aristotle. In the case treated in n.
(501) on III. 5. 1, there is an essential difference. The interpolation may be due to a gross misapprehension of II. 2. 3: comp. n. (133). Susem. (473) § 7 13 άλλ' άρα ἔσται τινός κτλ]

"Shall we say then that there is a particular case in which there is the same excellence in a good citizen and a good

15 αγαθόν και φρόνιμον] As distinguished from φρώνιμος, άγαθός refers to moral virtue (cp. n. 40). Just in the same way at 11 § 2 we have doerijs kal dogrifees in combination; where doern is 'virtue' simply, i. e. moral virtue. Cp. n. (565) and n. (703) on IV(VII). 1. 10. On the relation of polynous (Prudence, Insight) as the virtue of the practical intellect to the moral virtues see nn. (45, 112, 115). Further comp. 111. 4 § 18 with nn. (493, 497, 498). Susem. (474) 16 φρόνιμον] Cp. Nic. Eth. VI. 5. 5,

διὰ τοῦτο Περικλέα καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους φρο-νίμους οἰομεθα είναι, ότι τὰ αὐτοῖς αγαβὰ και τὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δινανται θεωρείν.

μικούς και τούς πολιτικούς: ib. VI. c. 8. which treats fully of cooperate or Practical Wisdom: Plato Politic. 292 D, 294 A ἀνδρα τὸν μετὰ φρονήσεως βασιλικόν (Eaton). SUSEM. (475)

§ 8 17 héyourí tives] Whether these were authors, is doubtful. SUSEM. (476) Mr Wyse finds the reference in Ps.-Plato First Alc. 121 D ff.; the special education of the Persian and Spartan kings.
18 Eipun(8ng) In the Aeolus, Frag.

16 Nauck. Further comp. IV(VII). 14. 1, n. (801). SUSEM. (477)

10 τα κομψά sc. ποικίλοι νενοίατο] let them not become versatile in accomplishments.

§ 9 20 el δή ή αὐτή κτλ] Far more just is Aristotle's admission VIII(v), q. I that the moral virtue of the ruler also varies with the different constitutions, so that except in the best state he does not possess the single absolute moral virtue of the man, but only a virtue conditioned in such and such a way, ἐν ἐκάστη πολιτεία. την πρός την πολετείαν (Thurot). Cp.
n. (1630). Susem. (478)
23 τινός μέντοι πολίτου] 'but in a

24 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη πεινῆν ὅτε μὴ τυραυνοῖ, ώς (II) § 10 οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῦταί γε τὸ τ

specific citizen.' The gloss fairly gives the sense.

24. "Ideow! The famous tyrant of Pherae in Thesslay, who attempted to carry out a policy in Greece similar to that afterwards followed by Philip of Macedon. He came to the throne before n.c. 378 and was assassianted in 370. See Curtius Platt. I Jason of Control in Pauly Scaledon 11, 1500 of Control in Paul Scaledon 11, 1500 of Control in P

k̄ρη] Not φησf, as it would be, if the quotation came from a tragedy. πανήν...Βκάτης ἀναμ' τhe must starve if he were not on the throne, implying that he had never learnt the trade of being a subject." Eaton compares the saying of Astyages to Harpogos, and of Demaratos to Leotychides Herod. 1.

that ne nad never learnt me trause being a subject. Exten compares the saying of Astyages to thampeges, and of Demarks to the Astyages, and the Compares of the State of the State of the State of Theras Astyages and Asschill, Prom. 905: but in all these cases the point is essentially different. SUSEM. (480) Even Grote is caught happing here, for he represents Jason as saying that he felt hunger until he became despot (111: p. 36 n.).

§ 10 25 άλλά μήν...27 καλώς] Eaton compares Pl. Lawe 1. 64,3 Ε: τήν πρός άρετην έκ ταίδων παιδείαν, κοιόσαν έπθυμητήν τε καὶ έραστήν τοῦ πολίτην γενέσθαι τέλεον, άρχειν τε καὶ άρχεσθαι έπιστάμενον μετά δίκης. Susem. (481)

interdigone park lifem, SURILE, (631) 27 d oby n. 29 ofte & ref fighter brauerick spotley. "If then we lay down that the excellence of a good man is that that of both," ruling and being ruled, they cannot both be equally praiseworthy." It is the virtue of the good man which alone is one and perfect, β a man which alone is one and perfect, δ that π'p π rotation. Of civic virtue this is true endy in an form at it denotes the excellence of the chizan, but not in so excellence of the chizan, but not in so between the continuous continuo

§ 11 Welldon, reading 29 trel ouv more Souch diphoripe Rad ⟨ποτε⟩ od παντά δῶν κτλ, translates "Since then it seems that there are some cases where ruler and subject ought to learn both (rule and subjection) and other cases where they ought [each] to learn only one." But this strains of παίπ π mot both the same. στασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, * * καντεύθεν ᾶν κατίδοι τίκ.(Π) ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχή δεσποτική ταύτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα 8 34 λέγομεν, ᾶ ποιεῖν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, (5-6)

§ 11 ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μάλλον θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἀνδραποδώδες. λέγω δὲ θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετείν τὰς διακονικὰς πράξεις. δούλου δὲ είδη πλείο λέγομεν αὶ γὰρ ἐργασία πλείονς. ὁν ἐν μέρος κατέχουσεν οὶ χεροῆτες σίτοι δὲ εἰσίν, ιὅσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τοὕνομα αὐτοίς, οἱ ζώντες ἀπό την τών χειρῶν, ἐν οἰς ὁ βάνσυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ τοῦν τὰν χειρῶν, ἐν οἰς ὁ βάνσυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ

ενίοις οὐ μετείχου οἱ δημιουρηοὶ τὸ παλαιὰν ἀρχών, πρὶν ξια δημοι γενέσθαι τον ἔσχατον. τὰ μέν οὐν ἔργα τών ἀρχα οι μένων οὐτως οὐ δεῖ [τὸν ἀγαθὸν] οἰδὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν οἰδὲ ς τὰν πολίτην [τὸν ἀγαθὸν] μανθάνειν, εἰ μή ποτε χρείος χάρν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτών οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συμβαίνει γίνισθαι τοτὲ μὲν

31 narbées M', relevrééss 17 fr. Ar. Bl. Bernays—evidently a mistaken conjecture for extravitée obligationing the claser traces left of a laurus; extravitée Norana Rassow 11 33 ffers...... 1272 b 8 Antificaci Congres 1 34 Alyane & Lambin, Aryduner D HAR. 1 38 yeapring P and P Georector) 1 39 adreis P3 (1st hand, entended by a later hand), artino or airé Montecatino 1272 b 4 Antificaci Rassow, Pick system S Sussem A, (Fraedire edit Prof. 1888 to 1887 to 1888 to 1888

o're ralırızılı dire ralırıyı rib dyalbı Şeengel, [old ris ralırıyı rib dyalbı] Thurot [5 [ris dyalbı] Welldon Susem.* [6 γαβ ετ] γάρ τα Kises [πστ ... γτστ Kises, ετίω...π'στ H. Ar. Bk. Susem.*, cp. the variatı κίγινη, 1, εξ. 1332 b 37, τόν....π'στ Lindau, wengly ... γτα κίνει εγών το κίνει εγών το κίνει εγών το κατέγου τη Οιοία ερματι είπ το κατέγου τη Ευρών δύναται κρόπ τόν

32 Kdrvetev reh. Quite apart from the distinct possibility of a longer omission, we may cke out the sense as follows: "but the citizen's knowledge and experience of both < is now the question before us, > and may be understood from what follows." Susem. (483) 33 Kern. yda deyn, Bernerus [] Not 'despotic' nule, which would mean in

stood from what follows: "SUSBM_6889, 33 ferr, yet deyly fewround!" Not despotic rule, which would mean in the property of the substitution of the subplement of the substitution of the subsay is concerned with the drudgery which the ruler need not necessarily know how to perform, but rather to employ: the former would even be degrading. I mean by the former the ability actually (eal=gven) to serve in domestic func-

τὰ ἀναγκαῖα] More clearly expressed 11. 6 § 5, τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα: cp. 1. 7

35 dλλd χρῆσθαι μάλλον] Cp. I. 7 §§ 3, 4, 8 § 2 nn. (63, 68): also Xen. Occon. C. 12. SUSEM. (484)

Οετοπ. C. 12. SUSEM. (484)
Plato Politic. 259 C ώς βασιλεύς ἄπας
γεροί και ξύμπαντι τῷ σώματι σμίκο ἄττα

els τό κατέχειν την άρχην δύναται πρός την της ψυχής σύνευν και βώκην. Θατερον & και άνδ.] The other (the former) would inspire the servile spirit

former) would inspire the servile spirit mentioned in n. (43) on 1. 5. 8. See III. 5 §§ 2, 3. SUSEM. (485) § 12 38 ων θν μέρος κατέχουσιν οί χερνῆτες] Cp. 1. 13 §§ 12, 13 with nn.

(103, 122) and III. 5 § 4 with n. (507). SUSEM. (486) 1277 b 2 το παλαιόν] An adverbial acous of time. as το dovation I. 2 § 7.

1277 b 2 το παλαιόν] An adverbial accus, of time, as το dοχαΐον I. 2 § 7. This was the state of things at Athens under Solon's constitution.

3 δήμου τὸν ἔσχατον] The most advanced democracy which by gradual development was usually the final outcome of the more moderate democracy: see II. 12. 3 π. (406) and the passages

cited in nn. (400, 406). SUSEM. (487) § 13 5 d µi more xpelas krA) "except in certain cases for his private use." Comp. Iv(VII). 14. 7 with nn. (900, 901) and V(VIII). 2. 6 with n. (983). SUSEM.

6 οὐ γἀρ ἔτι] for (if he learns them

δεσπότην τοτὲ δὲ δοῦλου. αλλ' ἔστι τις ἀρχὴ καθ' ἡν ἄρχει(II) § 14 τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρου. ταὐτην γὰρ λὲγομεν εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν, ἡν δεῖ τὸν ἄρχουτα ἀρ10 χόμενον μαθεῖν, οἰον ἐππαρχεῖν ἐππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρχήσαντα καὶ λοχαγήσαντα.
διὸ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο καλῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὂ ἄρξαι μὴ
§ 16 ἀρχθέντα. τοῦτον δὲ ἀρετὴ μὲν ἐτέρα, δεῖ δὲ τὸν πολίτην νο
§ 16 ἀρχθέντα.

\$16 αρχθεντα. τούτουν δέ άρετή μέν έτέρα, δεί δε τον πολέτην το δυ αγαθού επίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχε 15 σθαι, καὶ αΰτη άρετή πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρου άρ-§16 χὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω.

7 <* $\kappa al > \tau ts$? Susem. | 10 κal before $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \epsilon \bar{\nu}$ Susem. ¹⁻², misled by the versions of William and Ar. | 12 & $\dot{\sigma} c\dot{\sigma} < \kappa al > P^4 Q^b T^b$ Bk.

for his private use) the objection that he is at one moment master and at another slave no longer applies.

8 όμοδων τῷ γένα=his peers, his equals by birth. This healthy conception of πολιτική ἀρχή is in accord with the soundest traditions of Greek political life and the presupposition of the free state or republic in the widest sense.

and the presupposition of the free state or republic in the widest sense.
§ 14 10 [mmap(w kr]] In Athens (and here too Aristotle has before him especially the circumstances of the Athenian state) the infantry of the city militia consisted of ten τάξεις, one from each φυλή (see n. 451), and perhaps themselves called φυλαί. They corresponded to our battalions or regiments, and were each under the command of a ragiapros. Each such τάξις was divided into λόχοι or companies, as we should call them, and their commanders were called λοχαγοί. The command of the cavalry was given to two εππαρχοι, and under them were ten φύλαρχοι, one for each tribe. The generals, στρατηγοί, were ten in number elected annually. Originally they com-manded the ten τάξας: but between 460 and 455 B.C. they took a wholly different position and became from that time the highest executive politico-military officers. Evidently it was at the same time that the radiapyor were created, to assume what had been earlier the functions of the στρατηγοί: of whom after this period only a few took the field, one having the supreme command, if it was not divided amongst them: or one might carry on war in one district, another in another. Subsequently as a rule only one took the field each year. See Schömann Antiquities p. 420 f., 422, 424 f.,

J. G. Droysen Observations on the Athenian στρατηγοί in Hermes 1X. 1874. pp. t—21, v. Wilamowitz Aus Kydathen pp. 57—67, and VII(VI). 8. τ5 n. (1473). STEEM (489)

1—21, V. WIRDLEY AND A THE REPORT OF THE PERSON (1473)
SUSEM (459)
12 Myerau Kra] Comp. IV(VII). 14.
6 f. n. (808) ff. This saying is attributed to Solon by Apollodorus in Diog. Laert. 1.
60, Stob. Flor. XLVI. 22 (Eaton), but

to solot by Approximation Diog. Laert. 1.

60, Stob. Flor. XLVI. 22 (Eaton), but hardly on good evidence. Susem. (490)

§ 16 16 καὶ ἀνδρὸς δη κτλ] Both belong to a good man, because individual excellence is one with the political excellence of the ruler: but this cannot be attained without the previous acquisition of excellence in obeying as a subject. But, Thurot objects, in that case the excellence of the man coincides with the complete excellence of the citizen. And it is meant to be so, and the best constitution tends to this end: only here, according to Aristotle's view, the virtue of the citizen who is governed is as such in all cases a civic virtue and yet does not amount to true individual virtue. It was shown in n. (471) that this latter is an untenable position, given up by Aristotle himself in the course of his exposition: but the censure which may be properly pro-nounced upon him here is also confined to this. This mistake is closely connected with the fact that Aristotle, going in truth beyond his own real opinion (see n. 120) represents the specific difference between the lower virtue of the woman and the higher virtue of the man, 1. 13 \$ 7, 9, 10, nn. (114 b, 117, 119) so as to imply that the former is shown exclusively in obeying and serving, and the latter in ruling and commanding. Comp. 4. (470). SUSEM. (491)

καὶ εἰ ἔτερον εἶδος σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαισσύητε ἀρχικῆς (II) καὶ [γὰρ] ἀρχοιμένου μὲν ἐλευθέρον δέ, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ μία ἀν εἰη τοῦ ἡθονς ἀρετή, οἰον δικαισσύνη, ἀλλ' εἰδη το δχουσα καθ' ὰ ἀρξετ καὶ ἀρξεται, ἀσπερ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυνδιτικικός τέτρα σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρέα (δέξαι γόρ ὰν εἰναι δελλός ἀνήρ, εἰ οὕτος ἀνδρεῖος εἰη ὥσπερ γινηὶ ἀκδρεία, καὶ γυνηὶ ἀκδαιστος, εἰ οὕτο κοσμία εἰη ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνηρ ὁ ἀγαιθός, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἰκουομία ἐτέρα ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός τοῦ το κινονομία ἐτη ἐν γὰρ κτὰσθαι τῆς δὲ φιλάττειν ἔργου ἐστίν)· ἡ δὲ φρό-τι νησις ἀρχοντος ἱδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη, τὸς γὰρ ἄλλας δεικεν

18 Jráj Göttling, τῆς Sissem, τὰρ «Ερχωντοι καὶ» Bernays. The latter following all previous editors, accept Göttling, panctatuse with a comma fair of Δημοα and a colon after 17 Δημοκή» | 10 γιοῦ βόναν Sissem, γιοῦ ἀγαθού | 10 telore δηλω ἀνη. Η Απ. Βίλ., καὶ δημοντοι Rassow | 10 ών γιὰ | 11, δλλων δεντερ | 10 in the margin: | 12 ἀδαλοντο Sissem, Tirbeir indeependently, apparently also Ar. πόπουται: see Bonitz Δελετάν. Γ. Θηναπειάνα. ΧΧΝΙ. 1872. 853.—855. Sissem, and Bonitz ib. ΧΧΝΙΙ. 1873. 1953.—955. Sissem, and Bonitz ib. ΧΧΝΙΙ. 1873. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957. 1957.

17 σωφροσύνης] See n. (206 b) on

11. 6. 9. Susem. (492)
19 τοῦ ήθους ἀρετή] Moral virtue as distinguished from the practical wisdom

of § 17. See on I. 5 § 6 n. (40), § 9 (45), 13 § 6 (112), § 18 (115): III. 4 § 7 (474 ff.). SUSEM. (408)

elbn kyoura krx] "Clearly there will not be simply one form of a moral virtue like justice but it will have branches, one to regulate ruling and the other to regulate being ruled." A distinction quite correct in itself (Schlosser). SUSEM. (494)

The adoption of Berrary's suggestions would slightly modify the translation of § 16: "And both, viz. or lie and to be facilet, belong to the honest man, although related, belong to the honest man, although is shown in ruling s-and in being ruled-Poritis-clear that writes, c_F pixel; established to the same in the ruler and the fream who is subject to rule (as $\frac{1}{2}\sqrt{2} + \frac{C_F}{2}$ which regulate rule and obelience, just as temperance and courage are distinct when shown in man and in woman." Artistication of the first of the f

§ 17 21 σωφροσύνη here=parsimony, like σωφρόνως II. 6 §§ 8, 9. So also 23 κοσμία 'orderly'=parsimonious, frugal, and ἀκόλαστος (the opposite quality)=prodigal, extravagant.

23. even keeruled, "only just as frugal." It follows that the difference of degree between the virtue of the man and of the woman (see on 1. 13, 7 n. 114, b. 111, 4. 3 n. 470) is not of such a kind that all particular moral virtues are less developed, or need to be less developed, in the woman but such that in some cases the woman must possess a

larger share than the man, SUSEM. (496)
24 obscopials 4rfpa] It is only with
difficulty that this assertion can be harmonized with B. I. cc. 8—10: see Exc.
III. to B. I. p. 210. "See also Xenoph.
Mem. II. 7. 12—14, Occon. 7" (Eaton).
SUSEM. (495)

3. § 18 βρόνορνα] By this must of course be understood simply skill in governing: that is, practical wisdom only so far as it has to do with life in the so far as it has to do with life in the clusion of the private life of the individual. There can be no moral virtue in social life without this kind of intellectual vitted (Schlossor). See 1. §, q. n. (4c).
1. 1. 2 § 6 (112), § 6 (112), 11. 4, γ μαι with the clusion of the private life, of the individual. There can be no moral virtue in social life without this kind of intellectual vitted (Schlossor). See 1. 5, q. n. (4c).
1. 2 § 6 (112), § 6 (112), 11. 4, γ μαι γ μα

άναγκαΐου είναι κοινάς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν (II) § 18 ἀρχόντων, ἀρχομένου δέ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετή φρόνησις, (p. 66) άλλα δόξα άληθής. ώσπερ γαρ ανλοποιός ο άρχομε-30 νος, ὁ δ' ἄρχων αὐλητής ὁ γρώμειος. πότερον μὲν οὖν ή αὐτή ἀρετή ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ή έτέρα, καὶ πώς ή αὐτή καὶ πώς έτέρα, φανερὸν ἐκ τού-5 των περί δὲ τὸν πολίτην ἔτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ΗΙ ώς άληθώς γάρ πότερον πολίτης έστιν ώ κοινωνείν έξ-35 εστιν άρχης, η και τους βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εί μεν οίν καὶ τούτους θετέον οίς μη μέτεστιν αργών, ούν οίον τε παντός είναι πολίτου την τοιαύτην αρετήν (οδτος γάρ πολίτης). εί δὲ μηδείς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτης, ἐν τίνι μέρει θε-

29 αιλοποιός γάρ P²⁻³ Q^b T^b Ald. Bk. and P⁴ (1st hand) || 37 ούτος γάρ πολίτης untranslated by Ar., suspected by Schneider; οὖτος γὰρ πολίτης <ἀγαθὸς ὁ δυνάμενος άρχειν> or something equivalent Thurot

§ 18 20 δόξα άληθής] 'Right opinion' here denotes more precisely the capacity of rightly apprehending the order given in order to execute it aright, for which the person who executes it is often obliged to discover the ways and means either wholly or in part for him-self. 'Right opinion' of this sort does not by any means correspond, as Eaton thinks, with that to which Plato applies the term, simply because the opernous to which Plato often opposes it (as in Laws 1. 632 C) coincides with philosophic knowledge. Hence Plato would not concede to right opinion, as Aristotle does Nic. Eth. VI. 10. 3, that ofveous consists in the right application of opinion so as to judge upon the report of another a matter coming within the sphere of prudence, έν τῷ χρησθαι τη δόξη έπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τούτων περί ών ή φρόνησίς έστιν, άλλου λέγοντος. Comp. the last note. See further 1. 13. 8 n. (115). SUSEM. (498)

αὐλοποιόs] This comparison is taken from Plato Rep. x. 601 D. Cp. 11 § 14 n. (574). SUSEM. (499)

c. 5 § 1 33 περί δὲ τον πολίτην κτλ] "It is an erroneous assumption to think, as Thurot and others do, that this is an altogether different question from the one discussed in the last chapter. These opening words at once prove that Aristotle looks upon the discussion of c. 5 as most closely connected with the chapter preceding. There it was decided that the virtue of the citizen in republican states consists in his being qualified both

to rule and to be ruled: but in fact a restriction was needed in those cases where full participation in civic rights is granted to the lowest classes of the people, who live by manual labour, the mechanics and day-labourers. Aristotle's theory is that owing partly to their want of leisure, partly to their degrading occupation, they cannot raise themselves to a higher life of virtue: and that therefore they are just as unqualified to rule as they are unable to claim, in the full sense of the words the title of άγαθοί ἄνδρες, virtuous and capable men. To append this restriction is the main object of c. 5, and goes more diffusely into details, §§ 4-7, respecting the position of this class" (Rassow Bener-

kungen p. 10 f.). SUSEM. (500)

34 ωs άληθως γάρ] 'whether he only is really a citizen who has the right to share in office or whether the working men also ought to rank as citizens': as was indeed the case at Athens

πότερον πολίτης] It is true that Aristotle ought not to have raised the question in this form after deducing the definition of the citizen given in 1 § 2 ff.: comp. 4 § 6 n. (473). But in the following discussion he has taken care that no material disadvantage results from this formal defect. Susem. (501)

36 οδόν τε sc. έστί. 37 την τοιαύτην αρετήν] την πολιτικήν, including την άρχικήν, to command as well as to obey.

ούτος = δ βάναυσος: here would be an instance of a citizen not qualified to govern.

\$ 2 τέος ἔκαστος; οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος οὐδὲ ξένος. ἡ διά γε τοῦτον (III) 12782 του λόγου οὐδευ φήσομευ συμβαίνειν άτοπου; οὐδε γάρ οἰ δούλοι τών εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ' οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο 2 γρο άληθές, ώς οὐ πάντας θετέον πολίτας ών άνευ οὐκ αν είη

πόλις, έπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ παίδες ώσαύτως πολίται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, άλλ' 5 οι μεν άπλως οι δ' εξ ύποθέσεως πολίται μεν γάρ είσιν, ξ 3 άλλ' άτελείς. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' ἐνίοις ην δούλον το βάναυσον η ξενικέν, διόπερ οι πολλοί τοιούτοι καὶ νῦν ή δὲ βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην. εί δὲ καὶ οὖτος πολίτης, άλλὰ πολίτου άρετην ην εἴπομεν 10 λεκτέον οὐ παντός, οὐδ' έλευθέρου μόνον, άλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἔρε 4 γων είσλυ άφειμένοι των άναγκαίων, των δ [άναγκαίων] οί μέν ε

39 οῦτε.....οῦτε Spengel

1278 a 5 έκ προθέσεως Bas.3 in the margin, έκ προσθέσεως Casaubon | Q πολίτην * * Oncken, wrongly | 11 δ' [αναγκαίων] Susem. 8, δε μη αφειμένων? Congreve, δ' αὐτουργών Schmidt, δὲ <μη ἀφειμένων τών> ἀναγκαίων or simply δè < μη > ? Susem., δ' άλλων Bernays (perhaps rightly). The text may be defended (τῶν ἀναγκαίων neuter, Postgate)

39 EKROTTOS] each native artizan-"What are we to call him if we exclude him from the franchise? Even then he need not be classed as a resident-alien or a foreigner," in so far as he may still retain the right to speak and vote in the assembly, and to sit in the dicasteries, as under Solon's constitution: see II. 12 § 2, § 5; III. 11 § 8. SUSEM. (502)

§ 2 This question may however be said to involve no difficulty; for neither salutes nor freedmen come under the above mentioned classes (of aliens and foreigners). The indispensable elements of a state (ων ανευ ούκ αν είη πόλιη) need

not be all citizens

1278 a I offe ydp k7k] This reason is not altogether satisfactory. The slaves cannot come into the question; while the freedmen were regarded (and with good reason) as a special class of the resident aliens: see Schömann p. 351 of Eng. tr. And so Aristotle himself considers them, if the reading is correct, c. 2 § 3. "But in the strict sense of the term, in accordance with its etymology μέτοικος denotes only a permanent resident in a town of which he is not a citizen, though he is a citizen somewhere else [cp. Eur. Hel, 802]; and this condition is not fulfilled in the case of the freed-

men" (Dittenberger). SUSEM. (503)
2 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές, κτλ] "For this is quite true that not all who are indis-

pensable to the city ought to be classed as citizens." A very important point for our view of Aristotle's ideal state: see IV(VII). 8 § 1 ff. n. (795). SUSEM. (504)

on 11. 8. 21 opolous Kai 5 οι μέν ἀπλώς] the one, viz. adults are citizens in an unrestricted sense; the others, viz. children, only in a qualified

sense; i.e. on the supposition that they

grow up.

6 d\lambda\lambda' \(\delta\rake\rake\rake\rake\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketa\raketar places were slaves or foreigners. But see Herod. II. 167, where contempt for handicrafts is said to be common to Egyp-

tians, Persians, Lydians, and Thracians, and to have been 'learnt' from them by the Greeks.

8 ή δὲ βελτίστη κτλ] Comp. IV(VII).
9 § 3, § 7, π. (809). Susem. (506)
9 et δὲ καὶ οῦτος πολίτης] "But if the artizan too is a citizen, then the virtue

of the citizen, as defined by us, must not be affirmed to belong to every citizen, nor even to the free man as such, but to those only who are released from menial functions" [including free artizans]. § 4 11 των δ' [ἀναγκαίων] οἱ μὲν κτλ] Postgate (p. 26) treats ἀναγκαίων as

neuter (in support of this use sec II. o § 2 την των ἀναγκαίων σχολήν, and 1. 7. 3, 11. 6. 5): 'in respect of compulsory work

ένὶ λειτουργούντες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοῦλοι, οἱ δὲ κοινῆ βάναυσοι (ΙΙΙ) καὶ θήτες. φανερον δ' έντευθεν μικρον έπισκεψαμένοις πώς 14 έχει περί αὐτών αὐτὸ γὸρ φανέν τὸ λεχθέν ποιεί δή-§ 5 λου. έπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολιτείαι, καὶ εἴδη πολίτου ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλείω, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἀρχομένου πολίτου, ώστ' ἐν μέν τινι πολιτεία τὸν βάναυσον ἀναγκαῖον είναι καὶ τὸν θῆτα πολίτας, ἐν τισὶ δ' ἀδύνατον, οἶον εἴ τίς έστιν ην καλούσιν αριστοκρατικήν και έν ή κατ' αρετήν 20 αι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν οὐ γὰρ οἰόν τ' ἐπιτηδεῦ- (ν. 67) § 6 σαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζώντα βίου βάναυσον ἡ θητικόν. ἐν δὲ ι ταις όλυγαρχίαις θήτα μέν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται είναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρών αἱ μεθέξεις τών ἀρχών), βάναυ-

24 σου δὲ ἐνδέχεται πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ [οί] πολλοὶ τῶν 12 κοινοί Π2 Bk. | 14 φανέν untranslated by Ar., suspected by the author of the erroneous conjecture < 6 danger > danger in the margin of Bas. 3, and by Schneider. Bernays, "at the first glance": but can it mean this? ἐπάνω? Susem., <ώ>> φαμέν would be less alteration, but hardly right: <τè> φανέν οι τὸ νὰο φανέν Schmidt | 24 [ol] Schneider

those who perform such services for an individual are slaves, but those who serve the public are mechanics and labourers:" οί τὰ κοινὰ έργαζόμενοι of II. 7 § 23.

12 οἱ δὲ κοινῆ] Comp. 1. 13 § 13: ὁ μὲν δοῦλος κοινωνός [ωῆς, ὁ δὲ πορρώ-τερον' ὁ γὰρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἀφωρισ-μένην τινὰ έχει δουλείαν, with π. (122); I. 11 § 6 n. (103), III. 4 § 12 n. (486). SUSEM. (507)

3 θητε:=/λεύθεροι διά πενίαν ἐπ' ἀρ-γυρίμο δουλεύοντει Pollux III. 82. φανερόν ἐ ἐντεῦθο] · In what position the artizans stand becomes clear upon slight reflexion from the following con-sideration"; viz. that a variety of 'citi-

sideration"; viz. that a variety of 'citizens' is implied by c. 1 § 8.

14 αντό το λοχθοή Apparently this is the nom. Those who defend φανν take it as=δω φωνή; "if seen" [i.e. understood) "even our former statement makes (the matter) clear." δηλον ποιείν absolute, as in c. 8 § 6, 1799 λ 35; so φωνρόν ποτώ c. 13 § 6, 186 b 2 λ; 'Vet in both passages a clease with στ follows

both passages a clause with στ follows equivalent to a substantive "(T. L. Heath). § 5 15 καl «ίδη πολίτου) "There must also be several species of clizzns." Sec c. 1 §§ 8—11. SUSEM. (508)
18 olow d τ's δστυμ ψ κτλ] Here Aristotle purposely avoids saying that this is the constitution of the best state,

in order not to anticipate (see n. 440 on

c. 1 § 10), although he has adopted the same rule for it too in § 3, with which compare 4 § 5. See below c. 7 § 3 n. (536), § 4 n. (538): .. 13 § 8 n. (593). Susem. (609)

20 où yap olóv +] See again n. (103).

SUSEM. (510) If we grant Aristotle's premises, no fault can be found with his exclusion of the labouring classes from political rights. It is simply true that, as a body, they could not have possessed the qualities he demands in the citizen, even if they had found the leisure for military, political, and judicial duties. Nor again is the idea that such culture depends upon lower labour false. The existence of those excellences in which Aristotle finds the end of life and the virtues of the citizen, rests upon a mass of mere work as its necessary condition (A. C. Bradley).
Congreve well remarks that "if by the arrangement of society the reason ceases to hold good" Aristotle would cease to require the exclusion of the industrial

population from the citizenship. § 6 23 τιμημάτων μακρών = high pro-perty qualifications. Comp. v1(IV). 4 § 5

§ 7 At Thebes there was a law that no one might take part in the govern-ment until he had retired ten years from

the market-place.

§ 1 τεχνιτών. ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἢν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπε-(III) 26 σχημένον τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς. ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πολιτείως προσεφθλικεται καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ νόμος ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἐν τισι δημοκοασίαις πολίτης ἐστίν, τὸν αὐτὰν ὁ

25 $\tau^3 v^2 \mid \tau^2 v^2 \mid P^3$ and P^2 (1st hand, emended by corr.!) $\parallel 26$ derth $\Gamma M^1 \parallel 27$ $\tau porth Anta all <math>\tau porth Anta all \tau porth Anta all <math>\tau p = 0$.

25 èv Θήβαις δè] Judging from an oligarchical standpoint. Aristotle commends this regulation VII(v1). 7 § 4, n. (1496), and justly too, as Schlosser long ago remarked. After this period of waiting the law really opened the door to merchants and tradesmen who had grown wealthy: on the other hand the long delay gave some security that the existing body of citizens would not be 'flooded' with alien or upstart elements. Further compare VIII(v). 3 § 5 n. (1512). But in Aristotle's own ideal state there is no means by which one who had formerly been engaged in trade could ever attain civic rights: nor indeed on his principles is it intended that there should be. "In another work he is disposed to pay respect to the merit which owes all to itself and little or nothing to the favour of fortune, Rhet. 1. 7. 32, 1365 a 19: but his Politics nowhere exhibits any appreciation of social phenomena of this sort. Indeed he refuses every claim made on behalf of the man who is working his way up, if not supported by ancestry, by the formula that industrial occupations invariably incapacitate men for becoming truly virtuous or politically intelligent citizens. He ignores the important change in the social status of the same man, as soon as he ceases to perform the 'rough labour' of industry himself and is in a position to have it performed by others. In this respect he is but in the same case with all Greece and the Greek language which is devoid of any special word to denote the large manufacturer, the employer of labour or contractor (entrepreployer of ianour or contractor tensepter-neurl," Such people do not lack the indispensable "leisure" which he de-mands; but in Greece they are still termed base mechanics (pårauro) "at whom the polite world looks askance"

On the other hand Bradley, Hellen. p. 216, very justly remarks that "no honest observer will deny that there is a moral βασαυτία which besets some of the occupations included under that term. Aris-

totle himself has laid down with the greatest clearness that even the most menial services need not be ignoble, and that the slavishness of a pursuit lies not in the things that are done, but in the spirit in which they are done, and in their object. And for this reason he would have some of such services performed by the youthful citizens" of the best state IV(VII). 14 § 7; cp. V(VIII). 2 § 6 nn. (982 n-3). "And yet he seems hardly to ask himself whether work which is rewarded in money may not be done for its own sake: and, with ideas of art hardly less exalted than Plato's, he utters no word of protest against the identification of the artist with the Bdvavous. Nor, again, can it be said that these old prejudices are wanting in vitality at the present day. What 'society' thinks of 'persons in trade,' not to speak of the 'lower orders,' no one can help knowing. But there is a difference be-tween this sentiment and Aristotle's. If he shares our prejudice, he does not share our ideal. The leisure which he thought indispensable for a citizen was not leisure to be stupid, idle, or busy only in amusement. The strenuous exercise of the highest powers of body and mind in defending and governing the State, and in striving to quicken the divine reason in the soul,-this is the kind of 'high life' with which βαναυσία is contrasted, and the citizenship of which it is declared incapable." Susem. (611)

26 τῆς ἀγορᾶς] Hence ἀγοραῖος βίσς ΙV(VII). 9 § 3, δημος VI(IV). 3 § 2, ἀγοραῖον πλήθος 4 §§ 10, 21 (Eaton).

27 more described and drags in some aliens as well to citizenship. Themistocles, Cimon, Thucydides, Antisthenes, Iphicrates, Timotheus were sons of Thracian mothers; the mother of Demosthenes, though the daughter of a citizen, had Scythian blood in her veins.

δ γὰρ ἐκ πολίτιδος] Whoever is born of a citizen mother, whether his father be a freeman or a slave: see § 8 n. Susem. (512)

§ 8 δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ (III) 30 μην άλλ' έπεὶ δι' ένδειαν των γνησίων πολιτών ποιούνται πολίτας τούς τοιούτους (διά γάρ όλιγανθρωπίαν ούτω χρώνται τοις νόμοις), ευπορούντες δη όχλου κατά μικρον παραιρούν-

ται τούς εκ δούλου πρώτον ή δούλης, είτα τούς από γυναικών, § 9 τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν ο 35 οὖν εἴδη πλείω πολίτου, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ "Ομηρος ἐποίησεν

ώς εί τιν ατίμητον μετανάστην

ώσπερ μέτοικος γάρ έστιν ο τών τιμών μη μετέχων. άλλ' ὅπου τὸ τοιούτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστίν, ἀπάτης χάριν τῶν συνοι-40 κούντων ἐστίν.

31 τοιούτους [διά] πυρ' Bernays (without parentheses) | 32 ἀπορούντες Γ Μ* | δη Susem.3, δ' II (including fr.) Bk., untranslated by William Ar., [δ'] Sylburg Susem. 1.2, γ'? Susem. | 34 ἀστῶν fr. Perizonius (on Ael. V. H. VI. 10), αὐτῶν Γ and all other mss. | 36-40 The right order given only by corr. of P1; 36 ώσπερ.....38 μετέχων after 40 έστίν fr. Pl (1st hand) and Pl (corrector), 37 ώς εί..... 38 μετέχων after 40 έστίν P2-3-6 Qb Tb Ar. Ald. and P4 (1st hand), 38 ώσπερ.....μετέχων after 40 έστίν Γ Ma | 38 έστιν όπου Bernays, omitting έστιν before 39 απάτης and after συνοικούντων : not rightly

20 τους νόθους Under this name were included not only those children whose mother was not a citizen, but also the children of a citizen mother if she were not lawfully married to the father. The latter were always accounted citizens at Athens at least, but perhaps Aristotle is only thinking of the former. See Schömann pp. 356-8 Eng. tr. Susem. (513) § 8 "But as the admission of such persons to the franchise is due to a dearth

of citizens of legitimate birth, as population increases they gradually pare off from the roll of citizens, first, the children of slave fathers or slave mothers."

33 τους έκ δούλου.....δούλης] See preceding notes. Susem. (514) είτα τούς άπό γυναικών] This remark has been rightly adduced to show that at Athens even in those times in which the bastard children of citizen fathers became citizens in their turn (n. 516) the children of a citizen mother by a father who was not a citizen were not reckoned citizens. The child followed the status of the father in both cases, although the former case was restricted to the periods in question. See Philippi Contributions to a history of Athenian citizenship p. 64, Schömann p. 358 Eng. tr. (where the reference in n. 6, incorrectly given, is to the present passage). Compare too o

§ 13 n. (558) and VII(VI). 4 § 16 n. (1425). SUSEM. (515)

34 τέλος δὲ κτλ] This was done at Athens by a law of Pericles about 460 B.C., and by a law of Aristophon in 403: Schömann p. 357 f. Eng. tr. Susem. (616) § 9 36 "Outpos] Iliad 1x. 648, xvi. 59. Susem. (617)

37 "Like some unprivil god outlander," i.e. settler from abroad. But in Homer the meaning of dripgrov is probably "without any run" or blood price attached to his life, i.e. one who may be killed with impunity, rather than "without τιμαί" in the sense of civic privileges (Jackson).

38 ώσπερ μέτοικος κτλ] 'For he who does not share in the privileges (of citizenship) is no better than an alien settled in the place. But where such a principle is disguised, it is for the purpose of deceiving the joint settlers,

οπου... ἐπικεκρυμμένον] i.e. where the poorer citizens and the lower classes of people are nominally eligible (i.e. have not been formally deprived of the right of being elected) to the special offices of state; but precautions are taken by various means to secure that such persons are not easily elected to any of them: cp. VI(IV). 13 §§ 1-4. SUSEM. (518)
30 τῶν συνοικούντων] Ridgeway pro-

poses to take this in a narrower sense as

810 11986 πότερου μὲν οὖν ἐτέραν ἡ τὴν αὐτὴν <αρετὴν> θετέον, καθ ἡν (III) ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδαίος, δῆλου ἐκ τών

εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' ἔτερος, κὰκείνης δ' οὐ πᾶς ἀλλὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἡ δυνά-5 μεους εἶναι κύριος, ἡ καθ' αὐτὸν ἡ μετ' ἄλλων, τῆς τῶν ὁ κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας' ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ Ιν ταῦτα σκεπτέυν, πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ἡ πλείους,

ταίτα σκεπτέου, πότερου μίαν θετέου πολιτείαυ ή πλείους, καλ εὶ πλείους, τίνες καλ πόσαι, καλ διαφοραλ τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. ἔστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τών τε ἄλλων

'joint settlers of alien blood at the establishment of an drouda': and he quotes in support of this view viii(v). 3 % 11, 12, διδ δου ήδη συοδικού δδέξαντο η δευόκου, οἱ πλείστο διαστασίασαι οδου... 19 θουβου Συθαρίται τοῦ συνοκεύριστυ. It may however he sacrastically used, as Wyse suggests: the σύνοκοι are really μέτσικοι.

§ 10 1278 b 3 671 TWOS play mcReus 6 across 1 that is, primarily in the states which in some sort share in the best constitution: secondarily in those which approximate to it in some degree, and the more completely the more they approximate to it. See on c. 4 § 5 m. (471). SUSEM. (639).

least, or not at all, in the worst of the depraced forms of government; viz. (1) he advanced democracy which elevates all mechanics and day-labourers to the citizenship, (2) the most extreme ofigarchy which is an even closer approximation to tryramny (beard, and (2) tryramny (beard, and (2) tryramy (beard, and (2) tr

4 κάκείνης δ' οὐ πᾶς] "And in the former state, not in every case, but only in the statesman who is supreme over, or qualified to be, either by himself or along with others, supreme over the public administration."

5 η καθ' αύτου η μετ' άλλων] This is said in order to allow for the exceptional case where the best constitution does not present itself as an aristocracy but as an "absolute monarchy" under the pre-eminently best citizen: see cc. 13, 17-SUSEM. (621)

c. 6. Is there one constitution or more than one? And in what do they differ? Compare A. C. Bradley Hellenica, pp. 222—230.

\$1 % mohrtfa=nn order of the city in respect of the magisterial offices in general, and especially the scorerigin power. Comp. c. 1 \$1 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 100 * 1

"Zeller has remarked for 460) that constitution's in not a term wide enough to express seharda, which is inseparable from the nature of the people who live under it, and is in fact the "form" of the conganism, constituting, as we saw (c. 3 £, fm.) list identity. "An imperfect constitution is the natural outcome of a given social condition. Given a population of civilization, and there is a form or order naturally fitted for it; no better order would fit it. And yet for all this one

το ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κυρίας πάντων. κύριον μὲν γὰρ (IV) πανταχού τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως, πολίτευμα δέ ἐστιν

§ 2 ή πολιτεία. λέγω δὲ οἰον ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ᾽ ολίγοι τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς όλιγαρ- (p. 68) χίαις φαμέν δη καὶ πολιτείαν έτέραν είναι τούτων. τον

15 αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ύποθετέου δη πρώτου τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε πόλις, καὶ 2 της άρχης είδη πόσα της περί ἄνθρωπον κατά την κοινω-

νίαν της ζωής. εξρηται δὲ κατά τοὺς πρώτους λόγους, ἐν οἶς περὶ 20 ολκονομίας διωρίσθη καλ δεσποτείας, καλ ότι φύσει μέν έστιν ό ἄνθρωπος ζώον πολιτικόν, διὸ καὶ μηδέν δεόμενοι τῆς παρ' αλλήλων βοηθείας [οὐκ ἔλαττον] ορένονται τοῦ συζήν οὐ 3 μην άλλα και το κοινή συμφέρου συνάνει, καθ όσον επιβάλλει

ε 4 μέρος έκάστω τοῦ ζῶν καλώς, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ

12 δημοκρατιαίς P4, δημοκρατίαις Sylburg, most likely right | 14 δή Spengel, δè Γ Π (including fr.) Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text | 15 δèl δè? Casaubon wrongly | 16 δè Qb (1st hand, corrected by the same hand) Bk. | 17 κατά Bernays, καὶ ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem.1-3 in the text | 10 8h Pt-3 Ob Tb fr. Ald, Bk. | sal added after δè by P1 Bk. P4 (corr.) and, if this may be inferred from Bekker's silence, Qb Tb | 20 και before ότι omitted by ΓBk. and all editors except Göttling and Susem. 21 δ omitted by H2 fr. Bk. | 22 παρ'] περί Ma H2 fr. and P2 (1st hand) | πολιrelas Γ M* fr. | οὐκ ελαττον omitted by H1 fr., in P1 added by corr.1 on the margin

constitution may be superior to another"

(Bradley).

The depoint of offices' as the parallel assignment of offices' as the parallel passages just cited sufficiently prove.

11 το πολίτευμα] 'the ruling class' or 'government' of the city. "This Greek word cannot always be uniformly trans-lated, as here and in c. 7 § 2 n. (534); but it denotes that individual man or that body of men, in whose name the state is governed, and hence the sovereign (xúptos). So far as we know Aristotle was the first to introduce the notion or, to be more precise, this correct notion of sovereignty.

See also n. (466) on c. 3 § 9 and c. 13 § 5 n. (592)." Susem. (523) πολίτευμα δέ έστιν ή πολιτεία] 'the constitution is the ruling class': an emphatic way of stating, in Greek as in English, that the character of the constitution is determined by the holders of sovereign power, who make the form of government what it is. The 'constitution' varies with

the 'government' or governing class.
§ 2 14 φαμέν δή κτλ] 'Accordingly
we say that in these cases' (a democracy and an oligarchy) 'the constitution is different. And we shall apply this same principle to all other cases. 16 ὑποθετέον δὴ] We must therefore

determine, as our fundamental principle in this investigation, the end for which the city is formed and the various ways of governing man in common life,
"See n. (530) on § 7." SUSEM. (524)
§ 3 19 κατά τοὺς πρώτους λόγους]

In Book I. c. 2 § 9 ff. SUSEM. (525) For the prepos. = 'in' cp. c. 18 § 1, èv

ros πρώτοις λόγοις (Postgate).
23 καθ' όσον ἐπιβάλλις μέρος ἐκάστω]
'to the extent to which each man is concerned in noble life.' pepos nom. to ἐπιβάλλει, which is not used impersonally but as in 11. 6 § 22, όταν ἐπιβάλλη ή σκέψες, and 1. 13 § 13 (where however see note).

24 τοῦ ζήν καλώς] See n. (21) on I. 6 § 8. SUSEM. (526)

25 κοινή πάσι καὶ γωρίς συνέργονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζην ένεκεν αὐτοῦ (ΙV) καὶ συνένουσι την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν. ἴσως γαο ἔνεστί τι τοῦ καλού μόριον καὶ κατά τὸ ζην αὐτὸ μόνον, αν μη τοῖς χαλεποῖς

§ 5 κατά του βίου ύπερβάλλη λίαν. δήλου δ' ώς καρτερούσι πολλην κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιγόμενοι τοῦ ζην, 30 ώς ένούσης τινός εθημερίας έν αθτώ καλ γλυκύτητος φυσικής.

άλλα μήν και της άρχης τους λεγομένους τρόπους ράδιον διελείν και γάρ έν τοις έξωτερικοίς λόγοις διο-§ 6 ριζόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ όντος κατ' αλήθειαν τώ τε φύσει δούλω καὶ τώ 35 φύσει δεσπότη ταὐτοῦ συμφέροντος, όμως άρχει προς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον οὐδὲν ήττον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατά συμβεβηκός (οὐ γάρ ἐνδέχεται φθειρομένου κη του δούλου σώζεσθαι την δεσποτείαν) ή δὲ τέκνων ἀργή καὶ κ γυναικός [καὶ τῆς οἰκίας πάσης], ῆν δὴ καλούμεν οἰκονομικήν,

25 χωρίς <έκάστω> Spengel || 26 και συνέχουσι.....κοινωνίαν follow 27 μόριον in Π2 Ar. Bk. Bernays and P1 (corrector) the order of the text in Π1 fr. | 28 υπερβάλλει P1-4, ὑπερβάλη P2-3 Ob Tb fr. | δ' | γώρ or γ' or (with only a comma before δήλων) θ'? Susem. | 31 γε is added after αρχής by P²⁻³ fr., perhaps rightly | λεγομένους] ένδεχομένους? Susem. | 32 διωμζομέθα Qb and perhaps Ar. | 30 [καλ...πάσης] Susem., who also suspects in ... okonomen's : see Comm. n. (520)

§ 4 25 χωρίs] to each separate individual. 26 συνέχουσι τήν π. κοινωνίαν] Comp. Plato Politicus 301 E f.

των γάρ ένεστί τι κτλ] Comp. Νίε. Είλ. 1Χ. 9. 9, 1170 a 25, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡδύ; Χ. 4. 10 f. 1175 a 16, ἡ δ΄ ήδονή τελειοί τὰς ένεργείας καὶ τὸ ζήν δή, οὖ όρεγονται...πότερου δὲ διὰ τὴν ήδονὴν τὸ ζήν αἰρούμεθα ἢ διὰ τὸ ζήν τὴν ἡδονὴν, φαίσθω. συνεξεύχθαι μέν γὰρ ταῦτα φαίσται (Eaton). Susem. (527) 27 κατά το ζῆν] in life, a vague use

of the preposition, as above 19, and again 28 κατά τον βίον.

αν μη τοις χαλεποις κτλ] The im-perfect forms of civil society, missing the true end, and replacing it by such subordinate ends as freedom or wealth which fall short of man's true development, lead a feeble hazardous life and inflict great hardships on their members. Yet even in them mere living, provided it he not too painful a struggle, has something noble in it.

§ 5 31 τούς λεγομένους τρόπους] Bonitz: the usual modes, Ind. Ar. 424 bas: i.e. the modes (usually) stated fcp. κατ οδδένα τρόπον τῶν εξωθύτων λέγεσθαι Meta. 1. 9 § 11]. But what we require is 'all the possible modes,' and so Bernays 'the modes in question.' This is supported by τὸ λεγόμενον Ι. Ι § 3, τὰ λεγόμενα δργανα 4 § 4. The modes of governpara opytara 4.8 4. Inc modes of govern-ment in question=the modes of govern-ing men. But even so we should rather expect rip. heyopathry depth 70 phrows: see Critical Notes and Yahrb. f. Philol. CXXIX. 1884, p. 271 n. [23]. SUSEM. 32 &bekey distinguish. Comp. II. 2

ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς]. See Excursus I. to B. IV(VII). Susem. (627 b) διοριζόμεθα] not necessarily of accu-

rate distinction.

rate distinction.

§ 6 33 η μλν γάρ δεσποτεία] See

I. 2. 3 n. (7), I. 6 ⊗ 9, 10 n. (57) and on
the other side 1. 4. 5. Sussm. (528)

35 δμος άρχα) Nevertheless the
slave-owner's rule is primarily to the interest of the owner, though incidentally (or relatively, or in a derivative manner) 'to the interest of the slave.'

36 ούδὰν ήττον = μᾶλλον, predominantly.

37 φθειρομένου = while the slave is becoming useless, spoilt.

§ 7 30 και της οίκίας πάσης! This

40 ήτοι τών ἀρχομένων χάριν ἐστὶν ἡ <εἰ> κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῦν, (IV) καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν τών ἀρχομένων, ὡς ὁρώμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας

1279 - Τέχνας, οδου Ιατρικήν καὶ γυμναστικήν, κατὰ συμβεβηκός δὲ κάν αὐτῶν εἶεν. οὐδὲν γὰρ κολύει τὸν παιδοτρίβην ἕνα τῶν γυμναζομένων ἐνίστ' εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ὅσπερ ὁ κυβερ-

των ηψημαζομένων ενιστ ειναι και αιτου, ωσπέρ ο κυρερ-§ 8 νήτης είς έστιν αεὶ τῶν πλωτήρων ὁ μὲν οὐν παιδοτρίβης (x-6) 5 ἡ κυβερινήτης σκοπεῖ τὸ τῶν ὀρχομένων ἀγαθόν, ὅταν δὲ τούτων είς γένηται καὶ αιτός, κατὰ συμβεβηκός μετέγει

της οφελείας. δ μέν γάρ πλοτήρ, δ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομέ-§9 νων εἰς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης οῦν. διὸ καὶ τὸς πολιτικός ο ἀργάς, ὅταν ἢ κατ ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν συνεστηκυῖα καὶ

40 stre for ýros Lindau \parallel <d>> Susem., fr. omits \S <d>> \parallel 4 serep Π^0 fr. Ek. 1779 a † darsavēj ģerniejs Lindau \parallel 1 [563] Susem. 13 mistaking William's version, deu III omitting 3 sõus \parallel 6 sars' or "pulēphyok Pr (Ω^0 Pr \parallel 7 sõpekul a árpākeles Q' T's Ald. and P' (tst hand) \parallel 8 šd...... to sõusiryre probably quite sound: s " 8 do Corning, dern...-uweverpsina Ar. Ramus, rý workrajé pagyby Spengel, Schlosser thought röbu halb ben dropped, §nosiryra < \S wohrefa > Schneider, but if the word has been lost it would be more likely to droo und after wöhrie

addition appears contradictory and un-Aristotelian: for it would include once more the rule of a master over his slaves to which the rule in question is held to be opposed. Nor are the words in bi καλούμεν οίκονομικήν free from suspicion, for the rule of the householder again includes a rule over slaves. We must therefore understand olxovoustly in a narrower and more special sense 'emphatically' (as Congreve says) to mean the rule of the householder over the free members of his family as contrasted with his rule over slaves I. 13 §§ 1, 2. But even then it is very doubtful whether οίκονομική and δεσποτική can be so opposed in Greek; nor is this proved by 1. 1. 2. Susem. (529)
 40 ήτοι των αρχομένων χάριν] Comp.

40 γρος πω θεργομούν χαρος Compγο διανομείων διατιών Μ.Ε. ν. 6. g and Jackson's n. But in the state this good of the sulpers trackets, consists in Mater and the state mentioned, or rather cond of the state mentioned, or rather recalled to our memory, in § 3 −5 νiz. the highest possible life, of ξ0. This is the reason why the recapitulation of the facts in § 3 −5, of πρότου λόγως, had to be prefixed to this passage. Sussess. (830)

 μεν πόλιν, alt άπιγαθος άπταθεξαν δεί τολε βασλικού δρορτατα. τολε γανοθός κυβερνήτην καὶ τολ είτρων πολλός άντόξου δειτρός (ΕΔτοη): από carlier still, Socrates Xen. Μέπονταλ. 111. 9. 11 (Henkel). See further below c. 15 § 4. π. (658), c. 16 § 6-6: 1V(v1). 2 § 13 π. (τγδ), 13 § 2 π. (8γο); and above 11. δ. 18 π. (1γο). Susan. (631) 12γ9 α 2 ανότωβ j.c. αίτων των

(γ26), γ3 § a n. (870); and above it. Si n. (870). Struka. (833) arive rick appliers, cp. n. co. 1. 6. airvois. With his summary justification of beovereia (88 6, 7) compare Plato's in Rep. 12. Experiment of the property of the summary published the summary strukents of the summary of the

έφεστώτος. § 8 7 δ μέν, sc. ό κυβερνήτης, πλωτήρ (γίνεται).

§ 9 8 διδ κτλ] "Hence too with civic offices, when the city is framed upon the equality and similarity of the citizens, their claim is to hold office in turn."

9 ὅταν ἢ κατ' Ισότητα... καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα=ὅταν ἢ ἐξ ἱσων καὶ ὁμοίων sc. ἡ πόλιs, supplied from πολιτικάs.

"Although this is the case not only in

10 καθ' δμοιότητα, κατά μέρος αξιούσιν άρχειν, πρότερον μέν, (ΙV) ή πέφυκεν, άξιούντες έν μέρει λειτουργείν, καὶ σκοπείν τινα πάλιν τὸ αύτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἄργων ἐσκόε 10 πει τὸ ἐκείτου συμφέρου νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἀφελείας τὰς από των κοινών και τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχώς

15 άρχειν, οίον εί συνέβαινεν ύγιαίνειν άεὶ τοῖς άρχουσι νοσακεροίς οὖσιν, καὶ γὰρ ἀν οὕτως ἴσως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἀρχάς.

φανερον τοίνυν ώς όσαι μεν πολιτείαι το κοινή συμφέρον τ σκοπούσιν, αύται μέν ερθαί τυγχάνουσιν ούσαι κατά τό άπλως δίκαιου, όσαι δὲ τὸ σφέτερου μόνου των άργουτων, 20 ήμαρτημέναι καὶ πάσαι παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν

12 το Το P4 Ob Tb | αύτο P1 Ald., αύτο Γ M2 P2-3-4 | 13 κεινου fr., έκεινω Schneider (not necessary), κωνή Sylburg, κοινών Bojesen (rongly), [συμφέριν] Bernays | 18 αὖται P1 apparently, αὐταί Γ M* | 20 πᾶσαι καί Π3 Bk.

Democracies, but also in Aristocracy and in most Polities, yet Aristotle has principally in view the contrast between democratic Attens of the old and the new period." Susem. (632) 10 πρότερον μὲν κτλ] "in early times,

as is natural, they required men to serve the state in rotation, and that some one else should, in return, look after your interest as you formerly when in office looked after his: but in our day the advantages derived from the public treasury and from office make them desire to hold it uninterruptedly; one might sup-pose that though of sickly constitutions, they were always well in office, for then too they would no doubt hunt as eagerly after places."

11 Autoupyelv] of the onerous task of the magistrate e.g. in old Athens: munus publicum dum gerit, commodo civium inservit cum damno etiam rei familiaris.

τινα and 12 αύτοῦ] It is an error to understand these to refer to the same person. They are really A and B, two holders of office, A in succession to B. Comp. II. 2 §§ 6, 7 (where διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν Ισους είναι πάντας reechoes the ή πέφυκε of the text here) and I. I § 2 where this rotation or exchange of functions is the external mark of makirissos, even if his essential identity with Busilusds be as-

§ 10 15 olov el...16 doxes] Comp. Isocr. VII. (Panegyricus) 24, 25: africo d' ήν του μή περιμαχήτους είναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅτι μεμαθηκότες ήσαν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι, και μή... έκ τῶν δημοσίων τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διοικεῖν, άλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστοις ὑπαρχόντων, εί ποτε δεήσειε, τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπαρκεῖν. οὕτω δ' ἀπείχοντο σφόδρα των τῆς πόλεως, ώστε χαλεπώτεραν ῆν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῦς χρόνοις εύρειν τούς βουλομένους άρχειν ή νθν τούς μηδέν δεομένους, οι γάρ έμπορίαν άλλά λειτουργίαν ένδμεζον είναι την τῶν κοινῶν έπιμέλειαν. Susem. (532 b)

§ 11 obviously goes with c. 7.
17 τὸ κοινῆ συμφέρον] This is τὸ δίκαιον and the 'good' or 'end' of civil society: c. 12 § 1.

18 optal] normal, as opposed to the perverted forms. Note that in the Politicus Plato regards only the best state as 'normal.' Before he divides the others into three better and three worse (much as Aristotle does here) he asks 302 Β τίν οὖν ὁἢ τῶν οὐκ ὁρθῶν πολιτειῶν τούτων ήκωτα χαλεπή συζήν, πασών χαλεπών ουσών, και τις βαριτάτη; Comp. την δρθήν (i.e. the ideal state) χωρίς αποκρίναντες τούτων έβδόμην, iδ. 302 C. What Aristotle calls δρθαί, are the κόσμιαι καὶ ἔννομοι of the

Politicus, just as his mapers foes are the παράνομοι and ἀκόλαστοι of Plato. κατά τὸ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον] As opposed to τὶ καὶ τισὶ δίκαιον.

19 το σφέτερον explained by τῶν ἀρ-χύντων=τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν: a usage common

in Thucydides, e.g. IV. 114, VIII. 46.
20 παροκβάσειs] 'perversions'; departures from, or corruptions of, the partness from, or containers of, the normal constitutions. The verb παρκβαίνευ is both intrans. and trans. = to violate, e.g. VIII(V). 10. 5. The noun=
error in Metaph. XIV(N). 2 § 13, 1089 b 4. This is nearer to the sense in other writers; a digression, Isaeus p. 62. 13, and so Nic. Eth. 1. 5. 1.

δεσποτικαὶ γείρ, ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τῶν ἐλκυθέρων ἐστίν. (IV)
7 διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενον ἐστί τὰς πολιτείας ἐπι- V
σκέψασθα, πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐστί τὰς πολιτείας ἐπι- V
γείνα τὰς ἐρθὰς αὐτῶν καὶ γεὰρ αὶ παρεκβάσεις ἔσυνται
8 φαφερὰ τούτων ἐιορισθεισῶν. ἐπιλ ἐδ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ τὸ
πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ κύριον
τῶν πόλεων, ἀνέγκη δὲ εἰνα κύριον ἡ ἔνα ἡ δλήγοις ἡ τοὺς
πολλιούς ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἰξ η ὁι ἐλλήγοι ἡ ο πολλοί πρὸς τὸ κοινῶν συμφέρον ἀρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ἀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἰναι
στὰς πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴελον ἡ τοῦ κόλιγων ἡ τοῦ πλήθους παρεκβάσεις. ἡ γεὰρ οὐ πολίτας φατέων
εἰναι τοὸς μετέχευτας, ἡ δεῖ κοινωνεῖω τοῦ συμφέρουτος.
8 καλεῖν δὲ εἰνδαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχών τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐ
αποβλέπουτων συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐξ τῶν δλίγων μὲν
επλείτων δὲ ἐνὸ ἀριτοκρατίαν (ἡ ἐλὲ τὸ τοῦ ἐρίστους ἄρ-

25 dè] ở $\dot{\eta}$ Welldon \parallel 75 Π^{i} fr. (omitted by Π^{2} Bk.) \parallel 27 old you Γ M i \parallel 32 $<\mu\dot{\eta}>$ μ exercisoras Bernays \parallel 34 $\tau\dot{\omega}$ omitted by M i P i , [$\tau\dot{\omega}$ η] Susem. i,2 \parallel dléyau] or $\tau\omega$ fr.

21 Sewworked] like the sway of a master over slaves.

cc. 7, 8 (with c. 6 § 11) Threefold classification of normal and degenerate constitutions according as (a) one man, (β) a few, or (γ) the man, are supreme.

§ 1 a₃ πόσια τὸν ἀριθμόν καὶ τίνος stort Jose Excursus I. to B. III. p. 447 ff.

SUSEM. (633) § 2 25 erel 82 km] Sec c. 6§ 1 m. (523); also n. (460) on c. 3 § 9. SUSEM. (634); 26 crimalize restrict. For constitution

we may substitute 'railing body,' "molvrquae 'S elvt ' vi eigene via' molvrquae ' vi elvt ' vi elvt ' vi elvt ' vi elvt entain chaim to political rights. The relative strength of these elements determines the question where the supreme what the constitution of the city shall be. In England to-day the walvrqua included body arrough the commons. Molvrqua included body arrough the commons. San cardy as § 4 fit is seen that this merely

as early as § 4 ff. it is seen that this merely numerical standpoint is only preliminary and by no means exhaustive: see nn. (538, 540, 543). SUSEM. (638)

540, 543). Sustan. (660)

Eaton compares Cic. De Rep. I. § 42,
Tac. Ann. IV. 33, and for the dependence
of the constitution upon the magistrates
Cic. De Legg. III § 12.

28 ὅταν...πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι] But how, a Platonist might ask, can they so govern, unless they have absolute knowledge, and not merely right

opinion, regarding the common weal?
32 τοὺς μετέχοντας] sc. τῆς πόλεως.
They may still be indispensable elements,
c. 5 § 2 τω των οὐκ τω είν πόλες.

η δες κτλ] If they are to be called citizens, the inhabitants must share in the weal which is the end of the city: N. E. VIII. 9 § 4 η πολιτική κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντες χάραν δοιεί και ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνεβοῦν καὶ διαμένεν.

§8 33 porspyciol A neutral word, convenient as including the two species founded and repearls, Plato Folitic, 30 D. F. In no single case of all the six is the use of the corresponding designation applied to modern states (monarchy, aristocracy, &c.) other than misleading, even when the qualifications are supplied. The most democratic of Greek democratic of Greek democratics we should call an oligarchy.

35 4 84 rd volve above rost fayou, 8 for the property Undoubtedly Antotele himself has both reasons in view in adopting this term is but preeminently the former. It has been already explained, m. (385) on II. 11. 5, that be regards ment as the principle of Aristocrasy; and he uses the principle of Aristocrasy; and he uses the vord videly in this some above: 11. 6 \$16 m. (218), 9 \$50 (230), 11 \$5 ff. (380), 11 \$5 ff. (380), 11 \$5 ff. (380), 12 \$5 (300), 12 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 \$5 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (300), 15 (

γειν, ή διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῆ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦ-(ρ.70) σιν αὐτῆς), ὅταν δὲ τὸ πληθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύη-38 ται συμφέρου, καλείται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολι-§ 4 τειών, πολιτεία. <καὶ μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι <τὰ ὅπλα.> συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως. ἔνα μὲν γὰρ δια-8

40 φέρειν κατ' άρετην η όλύγους ενδέχεται, πλείους δ' ήδη χαλε-1279 δ που ήκριβώσθαι προς πάσαν άρετήν, άλλα μάλιστα την πολεμικήν αύτη γάρ εν πλήθει γίνεται διόπερ κατά ταύτην την πολιτείαν κυριώτατον το προπολεμούν, και μετέχουσιν

37 <πολεμικόν> πλήθος Zeller (Griech. Phil. II. ii. 714 n. 1) | The transposition of b 3 και μετέχουσιν...... όπλα to follow a 39 πολιτεία by Schmidt (see Introd. 82) | 30 < our = e0\days ? Spengel who first saw that the text was unsound: * * συμβαίνει Thurot, afterwards accepted by Spengel ||- μέν omitted by fr.

(655), 17 § 6 (680), VI(IV), 2 § 1 (1133), 2 § 5 (1142), 7 § 2 (1233 ff.), 8 §§ 4-10 (1245), 15 § 10 (1356); VII(VI). 2 § 7 (1402). Other references in n. (471) on III. 4. 5. SUSEM. (536) In Rhet. I, c. 8 he adopts the former derivation.

30 πολιτεία] a constitutional government, a polity: a republic of the middle classes (so far as any Greek city can be so called). In this work without any other distinctive name, like the English Commonwealth: but in N. E. vIII. 10

called τιμοκρατία: see Exc. 1. § 4 1279 b 4 οί κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα] "Here it is the possessors of arms that share in the government": more precisely, the heavy-armed; i.e. those who are in a position to equip themselves at their own cost with heavy armour and (as Zeller remarks II ii 748 n. 7) to undergo the gymnastic training requisite for this species of military service, to which time and leisure and also a certain material prosperity were essential. Accordingly this involves a moderate property qualification. Comp. Exc. I. to B. III.; II. 6. 16 with n. (216), VI(IV). 13 § 4 (1259), § 7 (1268); VII(VI). 7 § 1 n. (1452). From this point of view the Four Hundred at Athens restricted the franchise to 5000 citizens, Thuc. viii. 97. r (Eaton). Susem. (637) From 411 to about 409 (or 408) Athens was a Polity in this sense, and again

from 321 to 317 B.C.

1279 a 39 εὐλόγως)(παραλόγως, almost=εἰκότως, with good reason. See p. 82.

40 πλείους δ' ήδη...πολεμικήν] But when we come to the case of a larger number, it is hard for them to be per-fectly trained in all excellence: (4)

but on the contrary) at the most they can be trained in military excellence alone. 1279 b 2 διόπερ...3 το προπολεμούν]

The military character of Polity is also emphasized by the author of the interpolated passage, c. 17 § 4. Yet in the na-ture of this form of government itself, as Aristotle elsewhere describes it, scarcely any cogent reason can be found for making this such an inseparable and essential feature. He may have dimly perceived that the description of Polity as a mere blending of democracy and oligarchy without the addition of aristocratical elements, -as distinguished from those spurious aristocracies which, like Carthage, combine in themselves these three elements, VI(IV). 7 §§ 2-4, 8 § 9 (cp. II. 11. 5 n. 386)—by no means agrees with the recognition of Polity as one of the three normal constitutions, as defined by him; but that on the contrary (as was remarked Introd. p. 62) if this recognition is to remain valid, some account must be taken of merit also even in a Polity, and it must be presumed that a certain amount of excellence is spread generally amongst the citizens. And in accordance with the view here expressed about military excellence this may have induced him to transfer the warlike spirit of the Spartan system not so much to the other mixed aristocracies as to the re-maining constitutions, which are most akin to it, viz. the Polities, in order in some measure to bridge over the chasm; for indeed he cites Sparta vI(IV). 9 § 6 f. n. (1262), as an example of a successful blending of democracy and oligarchy in Polity, though this involves him in inconsistency. At the same time by this § a strip of κατημότα τὰ δπλα. παρεκβάσεις δὲ τῶν εἰρης ο εἰρης ο

8 δεί δέ μικρῷ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τίς ἐκάστη τούτον τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστίν καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τιπὰς ἀπορίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ ἐκάστην μέθοδον φιλοσοφοῦντι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀποριδερ ποριὰ προξεί το το μὴ παρορῶν μηδέ 15 τι καταλείπειν, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦν τὴν περὶ ἔκαστον ἀλήθειαν. ἔν ἔστι δὲ τυραινίς μὲν μοναρχία, καθάπερ εἰρηται, ὁεσπο-ῦ τιπὴ τῆς πολιτικής κοινωνίας, ἀλιμαρχία δ' ὅταν ἄσι κὸτική της πολιτικής κοινωνίας, ἀλιμαρχία δ' ὅταν ἄσι κὸτ.

1279 b δ cor possibly Γ, igitar William || 13 δεαστον (or δεώστου) μεθόδω? Koraes || μή] μηθέν? Schneider, perhaps rightly if 15 τι, which is not in II Ar., should be omitted || 16 δδ] δή οι γάρ? Spengel, perhaps rightly || δεσποστική? Sylburg

immediate emphasis on the fact that Polity is an inferior constitution, as compared with monarchy and aristocracy, the germ of dissolution has already unobserved found its way into this whole theory of three normal constitutions and their corresponding perversions. For then in fact only monarchy and aristocracy proper are really good forms of government; while mixed constitutions—and indeed not merely polities but even spurious aristocracies-are forms intermediate to them and the perversions proper, combining good and evil elements just as the corresponding τιμοκρατία in Plato's Republic (Excursus I.), and this assertion is made point blank by Aristotle himself later on, VI(IV). 8 8 1, 2, n. (1230). Comp. Zeller II ii 713 f., 748. But even at this point, by thus restricting the excellence of Polity and adding to the definition its military character, Aristotle begins to transcend the merely numerical point of view to which he has hitherto adhered c. 7 §\$ 2, 3. Cp. n. (535). Susem. (538) § 5 6 ή μεν γάρ τυραννίς] Earlier still Thucydides, 1.17, accuses the Greek

still Thucydides, 1.17, accuses the Greek tyrants of such complete selfishness: This view, which in later times was universal amongst the Greeks, can hardly be quite correct. SUSEM. (539)

7 ή δ' όλιγ.... 9 ἀπόρων] Here then

the numerical standard completely disappears, see nn. (535, 538): as is quite clear from the further explanation in c. 8. See n. (544). SUSEM. (560)

See n. (544). SUSEM. (540)

c. 8 § 1 rr 56 50...rr forty] Not
to be understood as meaning that this is
intended to be done merely in the intmediate context, where the description is by
no means complete; the whole remaining

part of the *Politics*, except Bk, VIII(V)., has no other object. SUSEM. (541)

12 τψ δὶ περὶ ἐκάστην μεθοδον φιλοσφοῦντι] Comp.c.13\$14n. (501), VI[V).

15 § 4 n. (1350): also *Introd*. p. 70 f.

Susem. (542)
Further see vi(iv). 10. 1, v(viii). 3.
12. Here μέθοδος = branch of inquiry, study, department of science: almost as

in II. I § a (a nearer parallel is Nic. Eth. I I § 7, 159, 1, 109, b II).

I I § 7, 3 § 7, 109, b II].

It dwoftletown mode to mpatraw] But in Nic. Ethics this is the supreme end of theory: of $\gamma v^{2}av^{2}$ the supreme end of theory: of $\gamma v^{2}av^{2}$ the $\delta h \lambda h \pi \rho h^{2}_{\delta} t$, of $\gamma h \mu \nu$ is election to be the γh depth acket $\delta h \lambda h$ if $\gamma h^{2}av^{2}$ is a supreme $\delta h \lambda h \lambda \nu$ if $\gamma h^{2}av^{2}$ is a supposed.

μή παροράν μηδέ τι καταλείπειν] "not to overlook or omit anything." Cf. De Part. Animal. 1. 5 § 4, 645 a 5, μηδέν παραλιπένται εἰς δίναμιν μήτε άτιμότερον μήτε τιμιστερον.

§ 2 16 δεσποτική κτλ] ruling civil society like a slaveholder.

ριοι της πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες, δημοκρατία δὲ (V) 19 τουναντίον όταν οι μή κεκτημένοι πλήθος ουσίας άλλ' άποροι. § 3 πρώτη δ' άπορία πρὸς τὸν διορισμὸν ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ εἶεν οἰ πλείους όντες εύποροι κύριοι της πόλεως, δημοκρατία δέ έστιν όταν ή κύριον το πλήθος, όμοίως δὲ πάλιν κάν εἴ που συμ-Βαίνει τους απόρους ελάττους μεν είναι των ευπόρων, κρείττους δ' όντας κυρίους είναι της πολιτείας, όπου δ' όλίνον κύ-25 ριου πλήθος, όλιγαρχίαν είναι φασίν οὐκ αν καλώς δόξειεν § 4 διωρίσθαι περί τών πολιτειών. άλλά μην κάν <εί> τις συν-ε θείς τῆ μὲν εὐπορία τὴν όλυγότητα τῆ δ' ἀπορία τὸ πλήθος (p. 71) ούτω προσαγορεύοι τὰς πολιτείας, όλυγαρχίαν μὲν ἐν ἡ τὰς άργας έγουσιν οι εύποροι ολίνοι το πλήθος όντες, δημο-30 κρατίαν δὲ ἐν ἢ οἱ ἄποροι πολλοὶ τὸ πλήθος ὅντες ἄλλην § β απορίαν έγει, τίνας γὰρ ἐρούμεν τὰς ἄρτι λεγθείσας πολιτείας, την εν ή πλείους εύποροι και εν ή ελάττους οί άποροι, κύριοι δ' έκάτεροι των πολιτειών, είπερ μηδεμία § 6 άλλη πολιτεία παρά τὰς εἰρημένας ἔστιν; ἔοικε τοίνυν ότ 35 λόγιος ποιείν δήλον ότι τὸ μὲν ὁλίγους ἡ πολλούς είναι κυρίους συμβεβηκός έστιν, το μέν ταις όλυγαρχίαις το δέ ταις δημοκρατίαις, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ολίγους, πολλούς δ' είναι τοὺς ἀπόρους πανταγοῦ (διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει <διὰ> τὰς

18 οὐσίαs] property (in plural). § 3 20 πρώτη δ' ἀπορία] "The first difficulty affects the definition," i.e. affects the question how we are to define. Another series of ἀπορίαι affects τὸ δίκαιον (Wyse).

§8.4, 5 Are both features essential? Is democracy the government of the needy majority, oligarchy that of the wealthy few? [This view reappears in the double characteristics of VI(V), § 8 of ollowing the could be considered as a chyertergon delyes force, I how are we then to classify the exceptional cases where these features are not combined?

§ 6 34 δοικε τοίνυν κτλ] "Our argument seems then to show that the fewness or multitude of the sovereign body is an

38 διό και ού συμβαίνα <διά> τὰς βηθέστος αίτας γίνεσθαι διαφοράς! Α διαφορά οτ 'specific difference' is an essential quality, by the presence or absence of which two species of a genus, heretwo constitutions, differ (ψ διαφέρουσ) and can therefore be classified. The question in this sentence is, whether

§ τ βηθείσας αἰτίας γίνεσθαι διαφοράς), δ δὲ διαφέρουσιν ή τε (V) 40 δημοκρατία καὶ ή όλιγαρχία άλλήλων, πενία καὶ πλούτος 1980 1 έστίν, καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μέν, ὅπου ἀν ἄρχωσι διὰ πλοῦτον ἄν τ' ελάττους αν τε πλείους, είναι ταύτην ολυγαρχίαν, όπου

§8 δ' οἱ ἄποροι, δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει, καθάπερ εἶπομεν, τούς μέν ολίγους είναι τούς δέ πολλούς. εὐποροῦσι 5 μεν γάρ ολίγοι, της δε ελευθερίας μετέγουσι πάντες δι ας αίτίας αμφισβητούσιν αμφότεροι της πολιτείας.

9 ληπτέον δὲ πρώτον τίνας όρους λένουσι της όλιγαργίας ε καὶ δημοκρατίας, καὶ τί τὸ δίκαιον τό τε όλυγαρχικὸν καὶ

30 διαφοράs Γ, accepted by Koraes Bk. Bernays etc. Then alrias is predicate and πολιτείαs must be understood with βηθείσαs or else inserted; thus βηθείσας <πολιrelas> Bernays: ἡηθείσας <άπορίας> Koraes wrongly, see Quaest. crit. coll. p. 301 f. 1280 a 6 molurelas * * Conring, perhaps rightly; a transitional clause is needed

free born.

alrias goes with τας βηθείσας, or whether it is a predicate. In the former case, we expect < & a > ras pnoels as alrias, as § 8, δι' ås alrias. "And for this reason too it follows that differences between constitutions do not arise on account of the reasons mentioned"—the mere numbers of the governing class. Otherwise Bernays (without inserting &d, but making airles &daopas the predicate): "it follows that the constitutions men tioned, this pybelous sc. wolitelus, are not causes of specific difference."

Although from distinct points of view various causes seem to be assigned for the existence of different forms of govern-ment, yet the new principle of wealth and poverty is maintained through the rest of the treatise (with certain exceptions), But ultimately these different forms are traced back to differences in social conditions, and each represents a certain state of equilibrium or relative preponderance amongst the competing social elements. See Introd. pp. 60 f., 63; c. 7 § 1 n., c. 15 § 10—13, VI(IV). 9 §
10, 11 §§ 9—11, §§ 16—18, 13 §§ 10,
11, VIII(V). 9 §§ 8, 9. Also Bradley
Hellenie 7 280 a 1 av 7 èlatrous av 11

mhelous] Here is a plain statement that any government whatever by the rich majority would be an oligarchy, any whatever by the needy minority a democracy. Yet the writer of the interpolated passage vi(iv). cc. 3, 4 has failed to understand this: see n. (1164) and vi(IV). 4 §§ 5, 6. SUSEM. (543) § 8 5 & & as alr(as] 'on which

grounds both parties claim to be citizens,' viz. in an oligarchy because they are wealthy, in a democracy because they are

c. 9 Right, or justice, in an oligarchy and in a democracy: their conflicting claims judged by the standard of perfect

Oncken I. pp. 30—33 has treated this chapter as a typical example of Aristotle's analytical method.

§ 1 7 Properly δρους = definitions, like δρισμούs. Better, standards or determining principles; that which gives its special character to Oligarchy or Democracy; id quo alicuius rei natura constituitur et definitur (Ind. Ar.), ols δοκεί ώρισθαι [ή desimilar (1812. 1873), ως συνά ωμουσαί ην όλιγαρχία καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία] VII(V). 9 § 14. The word was so used by Plsto Rep. VIII 551 C (comp. 562 Β δ προύθετο ἀγαθόν, καὶ δι' οῦ ἡ όλιγαρχία καθίστατο — ὑπέρπλουτος, ...ο δημοκρατία όριζεται άγαθόν=έλειθε-ρία). We have had it before 11. 6 § 9, 9 §32 and it occurs about sixteen times in the sequel. Grant's argument Ethics L. p. 61 f., that Aristotle adopted the term in the interval between writing the Ethics and the Politics, is disproved by its occurrence

in the Republic. All the various elements of the city contribute something in virtue of which they claim a share of political privilege. The predominant element (7 § 2) or class fixes its own contribution as the qualification for citizenship, or standard, This again may be viewed as the end which

the citizens pursue.
8 τί το δίκαιον το τε όλιγαρχικόν κτλ] The state is a realisation of distributive

δημοκρατικόν. πάντες γὰρ ἄπτονται δικαίου τινός, ἀλλὰ (V) το μέγρι τινός προέργονται, καὶ λέγουσιν οὐ πάν τὸ κυρίως

δίκαιου, οιον δοκεί ίσου τὸ δίκαιου είναι, καὶ έστιν, άλλ' § 2 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἴσοις· καὶ <γὰρ> τὸ ἄνισον δοκεῖ δίκαιον είναι, καὶ [γὰρ] ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνίσοις

οί δὲ τοῦτ' ἀφαιροῦσι, τὸ οἶς, καὶ κρίνουσι κακώς. τὸ δ' 15 αίτιον ότι περὶ αύτων ή κρίσις σχεδόν δ' οἱ πλείστοι κριταὶ § 3 φαῦλοι περὶ τῶν οἰκείων. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ τὸ δίκαιον τισίν, καὶ 9 διήρηται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπί τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οίς.

καθάπερ εξρηται πρότερον εν τοῖς ήθικοῖς, τὴν μεν τοῦ πράγματος ἰσότητα όμολογοῦσι, τὴν δὲ οἶς ἀμφισβητοῦσι, (ρ. 12) 11 το ίσον δίκαιον? Vettori | 12 καὶ <γάρ> Bas.² | 12 καὶ...13 ἀνίσοις omitted

by Γ M. | 13 καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν P1 Π2 Bk., γὰρ transposed to come before 12 τὸ ἄνισον Bojesen, [γθρ] Schneider | 15 κριταί after 16 φαίλα H2 fr. Bk.

justice, in so far as public offices, rights and privileges, are assigned to the citizens in proportion to their worth, κατ' άξίαν: so that the contributions of all to the state meet with a proportionate return, and all are justly treated by the constitution. But an oligarchy or democracy, while fairly applying this law of proportion, may set up a false or one-sided standard of worth, as wealth or free birth in place of capacity and merit. In such a case the justice of the state is a departure from perfect or natural justice and may be called an oligarchic or democratic justice, as the case may be (A. C. ο πάντες] Here again αμφότεροι

might be expected. Comp. II. 11 § 5 n. (387) and Rhet. II. 9 § 3 απασιν όμολος δεί ὑπάρχεω=all who are envious or righteously indignant, 'both classes'

απτονται δικαίου τινός] The partial truth in these one-sided conceptions is fully recognized. The agia which oligarchy or democracy take as the quali-fication for political privileges, although not the true one, still has a subordinate importance for the state. It is justice in some measure. See § 3, § 15; VIII(v).

10 και λέγουσιν ού πάν κτλ] They do not state absolute justice in its full

11 οίον δοκά κτλ] . 'Thus justice, or right, is thought (by the upholders of democracy) to be equality.' They grasp the fact that all citizens are on a level in respect of freedom, and taking this partial

equality for absolute equality they give everybody equal rights; i.e. they give

everyhody equal rights; i.e. they give equals to unequals. § 2 14 ol. 81 voir* déquapoirs... § 2 14 ol. 81 voir* déquapoirs... seasois] But they omit the qualification for sobons equality or inequality is right, 1; expédir 6 of hidrers exist). Comp. c. 18 5, in. (46)... SUSSIM. (691) ingly in company to the processing the construction of the right means 'right for given persons,' and there is the same difference between them there is the same difference between them as between the things they are entitled

18 dv rois ribucois] N. E. B. v. c. 2 (Bekker's c. 6) esp. §§ 4—6, § 10 διήρην-ται γὰρ όμοίως οἶς τε καὶ α. Comp. n. (584), also VIII(v). 1. 2 n. (1493). SUSEM. (545)

This reference was suspected, or rather condemned, as an interpolation by Grant Ethics 1. p. 53, but see Jackson's commentary on B. v. p. 77—81.

την μέν τοῦ πράγματος κτλ] They

agree as to what constitutes equality in the thing, but not as to that of the per-

sons to whom it is assigned. "This is in fact true of both oligarchs

and democrats: for equality of political rights amongst themselves is also the demand of the oligarchs, but only for the rich, while the democrats admit it as far as possible for all citizens. The one demands equality for all who are equal or alike in wealth: the others demand it for all who are equal or alike in freedom. Cp. VIII(v). 1, 2 f. n. (1493)." SUSEM, (546)

20 μάλιστα μὲν διά τὸ λεχθὲν ἄρτι, διότι κρίνουσι τὰ περί (V) αὐτούς κακῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ λέγειν μέχρι τινὸς ἐκατέξε ρους δίκαιὁν τι νομίζουσι δίκαιον λέγειν ἀπλῶς. οῖ μὲν γὰρ

§ 4 ρους δίκαιδυ τι υριίζουσι δίκαιου λόγεω άπλῶς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄν κατὰ τὶ ἀνισοι ἀστιν, οἰον χρήμαστις, δλος οἰονται ἀνιασοι εἰθιαι, οἱ δ΄ ἀν κατὰ τὶ ἱσιο, οἱον ἐκεθθερία, δλος οἱς και ἐνεθερίας ἀνεξειαι τὸ ἐνεθερίας ἀνεξειαι ἐνεθερίας τος κτης πόκεως ὅσου περ καὶ της κτήσεως, ὅσοθ ὁ τὸν ὀλιφαρχικών λόγες δόξειεν ὰν ἰσγόειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰναι δίκαιον ἱσου μετέχειν τὸν ἐκατὸν παλάντων τὸν εἰστυγκόντα μίαν μυᾶν τὸς 30 δύντι τὸ λοιπόν πῶν, οὐτε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐτε τῶν ἐπιγρούς ἐνεθεριαν): εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν ἔνεκεν μόνου ἀλλά μᾶλλου τοῦ εὐ ζῆν (καὶ γὰρ ἀν δύολων καὶ τὰν ἀλλου ζόμον ἢν πόλις νύνο δ΄ οἰκ ἔστι διά τὸ μη) μετέχευν εὐδαμονίας μηδὰ τοῦ ζῆν κατὰ προαίρεσιν), μήτε συμμαχίας ἔνεκεν, ὅπος ἀντὸν ἀδικώντας μότε διλο τὸς ἐνδικ ἐκαὶ τὸν τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας μότε τὸν τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας μότε τὸν τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας καὶ τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας καὶ τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας καὶ τὸν ἐνθεν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας καὶ τὸν ἐνθεν ἀδικώντας καὶ τὸν ἐνθεν ἐνθεν

21 spaftover <rb> Strasse Spangel, perhaps rightly | 24 Δεκθαρίς Vettori, Δεκθαρίς Vettori, Δεκθαρίς Vettori, Δεκθαρίς (ν. 19 Γ. Α., Δεκθαρίς Μ., Δεκθαρίς Π. Τέτ, (the first ista above the line). Δεκθαρίς 1² | 1 27 Δεκραρίο Γ² (¹ 27 Γ. 1 20 τολόστων Γ μούν Π (including fr.) Απ. Βία. (in Pa.) συν στα errassur) | 1 steavy-parent Pfr. Bit. | 12 0 δ στω Με 1² Γ. | 1 31 μόνον δνοκον Π' fr., omitted by F¹ (sst hand, added by corn. 1 in the margin) | 1 as δνοκον Μ' 22 δ. δνοκον Μ' 22 δ. δνοκον Μ' 22 δνοκον Μ' 22 δνοκον Μ' 23 δνοκον Μ' 24 δνο

34 Breka M. P.

21 μέχρι τινός] See on § 1 above.

Because each side contends for a partial justice, but thinks it is contending for an absolute justice.'

[4 22 οδ μέν γὰρ κτλ] Comp. C. 12

§ 2, and VIII(V). I § 2 f. nn. (584 b, 1493). SUSEM. (546 b)

25 κυριώτατον] what is most important; viz. the grand aim and object of

portant; viz. the grand aim and object of a city. § 8 26 τοσούτου μετέχουσι κτλ] 'they have a stake in the city propor-

tionate to their share of the property.

29 ταλάντων] A talent=4715 German marks=£231 25.6d., a mina=782
German marks=£2175. approximately:

man marks=£231 25.6d., a mina=78½ German marks=£3 175. approximately: Hultsch Greek and Roman Metrology p. 172 f. SUSEM. (647) 30 οῦτε τῶν ἰξ ἀρχῆς...ἐπιγινομένων]

30 ofter röw it daynin... tersproughoup!
woght not to have an equal share of the
principal nor of the profits accruing."
Congreve however suggests that the participles may be masculine, and so Bernays,
with a different sense: "either of those
who originally contributed or of a subsequent generation of shareholders." This
can hardly be right. SUSEM.
8 6 33 ww 8 ow krh] Comp. I.

§ 6 33 VUV 6 60K KYAJ COMP. I

8 and the further passages cited in n. (21). Also Nic. Eth. x. 6. 8, 1177 a. 8 eccanomical δ of obelet debamble μerable bears, et μη rai βlou, and x. 7. 6, 1177 b. 4, where happiness is made to consist in lessure, et μη ξοργολή. But that slaves have no leisure, et μη consist in lessure, to grow the consist in lessure, to the consist in lessure, to the consist in lessure, to stated Pol. 19(11), 15. 2 (Fatra). (C. 10 our. loca. col.) et beta.

Eatinj. Cp. too om. (1975, 1976) at that passage, Sizen, 6489 at right 200-200, 1980 at the passage, Sizen, 6489 at right 200-200, 1980 at the passage of t

χρήσιν την πρός άλλήλους - καὶ γάρ ἄν Τυρρηνοί καὶ Καρ- (V) χηδόνιοι, καὶ πάντες οις έστι σύμβολα πρὸς άλλήλους, ώς 87 μιᾶς ἄν πολίται πόλεως ήσαν. εἰσὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς συνθήκαι 11 περί των εἰσανωνίμων καὶ σύμβολα περί του μη άδικείν 40 καὶ γραφαὶ περὶ συμμαχίας. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀρχαὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ 1280 ο τούτοις κοιναὶ καθεστάσιν, άλλ' έτεραι παρ' έκατέροις, οὐτε τοῦ ποίους τινὰς είναι δεῖ Φροντίζουσιν ἄτεροι τοὺς έτέρους, ούδ' όπως μηδείς άδικος έσται των ύπο τάς συνθήκας μηδέ μοχθηρίαν έξει μηδεμίαν, αλλά μόνον όπως μηδέν άδική-5 σουσιν άλλήλους. περί δὲ άρετης καὶ κακίας [πολιτικής] δια-

§ 8 σκοπούσιν όσοι φροντίζουσιν εὐνομίας. ή καλ φανερὸν ότι

26 άλλήλους- Thurst and Bonitz, to mark the anacoluthon. As far as the sense goes, the apodosis is at 1281 a 4 ff. διόπερ κτλ. | τυρηννοί P4 fr., τύραννοι P23 Tb and Ob (1st hand) | 38 σινθήκαι] σωθήναι P2-6 Tb and Ob (1st hand), apparently P4 (1st hand), as συνθήκαι is written over an erasure | 30 καl omitted by P6 Tb Ald, and the 1st hand in P4 Ob (added by a later hand in Ob) | 40 êπ1 πασι Schneider transposing 1280 b 1 έκατέροις] έτέροις Ar. Koraes, perhaps rightly | 2 τοῦ omitted by Π¹ fr., hence [700] Susem.14 | Erepor Ma Pl and perhaps I | 4 Efew Pl-3 Th Ald. and Ob (1st hand) | deuthouses Morel, deuthouses P II (including fr.) Ar. | 5 [88] Koraes, as if the apodosis began here | πολιτικής omitted by Π1 (added after dorries by p1 in the margin) | διακοποίσω P1 (1st hand, emended by p1), διακονούσω Γ M* fr. | 6 einoulas <πόλεως μlas> Bernays

the real measure of political rights is a deduction made in § 15. Were the di-gressions dismissed, and the anacoluthic period rewritten, it would perhaps run as follows: εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν μόνον ἔνεκεν (κοινωνούσι) άλλα μάλλον τού εὐ ζήν, μήτε συμμαχίας ένεκεν όπως ύπὸ μηδενός άδι-κώνται, μήτε διὰ τὰς άλλαγὰς καὶ τὴν κωντα, μητε διά τὰς αλλαγίς καὶ τὰς χρήσιν τὴν πρός αλλήλως, άλλά ζωής ένεκα τολείας καὶ αυτάρκους καὶ των καλών πράξων χάριν θετέον τὴν πολιτι-κὴν κοινωνίαν, δοτοι συμβάλλονται πλέιστον είς την τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν, τούτους προσήκει πλείστον μετέχειν πόλεως. Βοnitz Studien III. pp. 130-141 (105-107). 36 Τυρρηνοί και Καρχ.] This mari-

time alliance between Carthage and the Etruscans, which was formed soon after the beginning of the sixth century, B. C., to drive out the Greeks and keep them away from the western half of the Mediterranean, is noticed by Herodotus 1. 166, Mommsen 1. p. 153 Eng. tr. Susem. (549)

37 οίς έστι σίμβολα] Comp. c. 1 § 4,

13 οις στο ημοσιά το της το 1 3 4, 10, (435). Susem. (650) ως as it were, like ώσπερ. § 7 38 συνθήκαι...σύμβολα...γραφαί] Usually συνθήκαι=a general term for

a treaty or convention, usually of a public nature between two states, but also all private covenants; σύμβολα=a special kind of contract, viz. international commercial treaties (so § 6): see Meier

u. Schömann Attisch. Process p. 494 n. 49. Here συνθήκαι περί των είσαγωγίμων are commercial treaties in general : σύμβ. περί του μη άδικεθν = special articles which made provision against the infliction of damage, or established a system of compensation for mutual injury (Cope).

40 άρχαι πάσιν έπι τούτοις κοιναί] magistrates common to them all appointed to secure these ends.

1280 b 2 τοῦ ποίους τινάς κτλ] nor does the one state care what the character of the citizens of the other state should be. 3 των ύπο τας συνθήκας] those who come under the treaty.

4 άλλα μόνον όπως κτλ] The modest aim to which the modern state is re-

stricted.
§8 6 evopulas] "good government,"
the goal and end of all political science; Nic. Eth. III. 3. 11, 1112 b 14 (Eaton); ούτε πολιτικός (βουλεύεται) εί εἰνομίας ποιήσει, οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς περί τοι τέλους. Susem. (551)

δεί περὶ ἀρετής ἐπιμελὲς είναι τῆ γ' ώς ἀληθώς ἐνομαζο- (V) μένη πόλει, μη λόγου χάριν. γίνεται γὰρ ή κοινωνία συμμαχία τῶν ἄλλων τόπω διαφέρουσα μόνον τῶν ἄπωθεν το συμμαχιών, καὶ ὁ νόμος συνθήκη καί, καθάπερ έφη Λυ-

κόφρων ο σοφιστής, έγγυητής άλλήλοις των δικαίων, άλλ' (9.73) § 9 ούχ οίος ποιείν ἀγαθούς καὶ δικαίους τούς πολίτας. ὅτι δὲ 12 τούτου έχει τὸν τρόπου, φανερόν. εἰ γάρ τις καὶ συναγάγοι τοὺς τόπους εἰς ἔν, ώστε ἄπτεσθαι τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν καὶ 15 Κορινθίων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅμως οὐ μία πόλις. οὐδ' εἰ πρὸς άλλήλους επιγαμίας ποιήσαιντο καίτοι τοῦτο τῶν ίδίων ταῖς

7 ἐπιμελὲς] ἐπιμέλειαν P^1 , ἐπιμε M^* \parallel 9 απωθε fr., ἄποθεν M^* $P^{1.8-4}$ Q^b T^b Ald. Bk.1 and P2 (1st hand, emended by corr.1) | 10 συμμαχιών Conring, συμμάχων ΓΠ (including fr.) Ar. Bk. | 13 ourdyor II3 Bk.

7 ἐπιμελὸς εἶναι κτλ] "the city which truly and not in mere pretence deserves the name must give its attention to virtue. See A. C. Bradley Hellenica pp. 193 f.,

210 f. 8 γίνεται κτλ] For else the society is transformed into an alliance differing from all other leagues, whose members dwell apart, in locality alone: the law too is transformed into a compact and 'a guarantee of mutual rights' in the words of Lycophron, not calculated to make

the citizens virtuous and just.

10 Λυκόφρων ὁ σοφιστής] See Exc.

II. to B. II. p. 333 and Introd. p. 35.

To all appearance Lycophron belonged to the school of Gorgias (n. 448): perhaps, as v. Wilamowitz conjectures Hermes XIV. p. 173, he was the same as the erotic poet Lycophronides (Bergk Poet. lyr. III. p. 633 f.). He is specially known to us elsewhere only as the composer of an eulogy on the lyre, and as maintaining that one thing cannot at the same time be many and that therefore every combination of a predicate with the subject by means of the copula is inadmissible: also that nobility is only an imaginary good. Comp. Vahlen The Sophist Lykophron in Rhein. Mus. xx1. 1865, p. 143 ff., Zeller Pre-Socratics vol. II. pp. 425, 477 Eng-tr. A sophist was originally any man of intellectual importance, who also made it his profession to acquire education and knowledge and impart them to others : hence the seven sages are also called the seven sophists. At a later time, after the age of Pericles, the name was given in a narrower sense to paid professional teachers of rhetoric and other

departments of an encyclopaedic education. They delivered single lectures and discourses of an instructive or amusing discourses or an instructive of amosing kind (#moelfers), charging a fee for ad-mission, or perhaps published them in writing; in some cases they appeared as experts in argument. In this sense the word occurs here. At the same time it received the odious connotation in which we exclusively use it at the present day, in consequence of the many subtleties, the pettifogging quibbles, and paradoxes in which this class of people was often involved; although the movement to-wards freethinking* and critical scep-ticism, which they originated, and their bold innovations had much to justify them, and were in part of epoch-making importance. Cp. n. (31) on 1. 3 § 4.

Susem. (552) See Cope in the Fournal of Sacred and Classical Philology vol. II. pp. 140-143:

also his note on Rhet. III. 3. I. § 9 It will be remembered that Corinth and Argos were for a short time, 393-387 E.C., united ostensibly as one state, to the intense indignation of the philo-Laconian party. See Xen. Hellen. IV. 4§ 6 αlσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένην την πόλιν διά τὸ καὶ δρους άνασπᾶσθαι καὶ "Αργος άντι Κορίνθου την πατρίδα αὐτοῖς

brouiterθα: v. I § 34, § 36.

16 tryquias Usually a lawful marriage could only be contracted between two citizens of the same Greek state: but the privilege was occasionally granted to individual strangers or to an alien community as a whole; and special treaties

* [A negative 'enlightenment' or 'illumina-tion,' Aufklärung.]

\$ 10 πόλεσι κοινωνημάτων έστίν. όμοίως δὲ οὐδ' εἴ τινες οἰκοῖεν (V) χωρίς μέν, μη μέντοι τοσούτον άπωθεν ώστε μη κοινωνείν, άλλ' εξησαν αὐτοῖς νόμοι τοῦ μὴ σφάς αὐτοὺς άδικεῖν περί 20 τὰς μεταδόσεις, οἶον εἰ ο μὲν εἴη τέκτων ο δὲ γεωργός δ δὲ σκυτοτόμος δ δ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὸ πλήθος εἶεν μύριοι, μη μέντοι κοινωνοίεν άλλου μηδενός ή των τοιούτων, § 11 οίον άλλαγής καὶ συμμαχίας, οὐδ' οὕτω πω πόλις. διὰ 18 τίνα δή ποτ' αίτίαν; οὐ γάρ δη διά τὸ μη σύνεγγυς της 25 κοινωνίας. εί γάρ και συνέλθοιεν ούτω κοινωνούντες, έκαστος μέντοι χρώτο τη ίδία οἰκία ώσπερ πόλει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ώς επιμαχίας ούσης βοηθούντες επί τους αδικούντας μόνον,

ούδ' ούτως αν είναι δόξειε πόλις τοις ακριβώς θεωρούσιν, εί-§ 12 περ όμοίως όμιλοῖεν συνελθόντες καὶ χωρίς. φανερον τοίνυν 30 ότι ουκ έστιν ή πόλις κοινωνία τόπου καὶ τοῦ μὴ άδικεῖν σφάς αὐτούς καὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως χάριν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαίου ύπάονειν, είπεο έσται πόλις, ου μην ουδ' ύπαρχόντων

18 απωθεν fr. Bk.2, αποθεν H Bk.1 | 10 είνσαν P1 Ar., εί ήσαν Γ M* H2 | 20 εί omitted by Π3 || 22 μυρίοι Ald. Bk.1 || 23 πω Ar. (apparently) and Bk., πως possibly Γ (quidem William), που Π (including fr.) Susem.1 | 30 ή πόλις ούκ έστι Π2 fr. Bk.

secured the right of intermarriage between different cities: Schömann pp. 101, 306, 356 Eng. tr. How far it was prohibited between members of the ruling and subordinate families when such a distinction was made within the limits of the same community, is not known. The Bac-chiadae of Corinth (II. 12. 8 st. 420) chiadae of Corinth (II. 12. 8 m. 420) married almost exclusively amongst themselves, Herod v. 92; and the prohibition of intermarriage with the former ruling families of Samos, after the popular insurrection in 413, forms an especially odious measure, 'Thue, vIII. 21 (Eaton). The two royal families at Sparta seem never to have intermarried. Sussex. (888) τῶν ἰδίων ταῖς π. κοινωνημάτων] 'one of the means of combination peculiar to

§ 10 17 ούδ' el τωνες οἰκοῖεν χωρίς] Aristotle does not mean that civil society is not in itself quite possible between several contiguous villages and hamlets, without the inhabitants being concentrated into one city: c. 3 §§ 3, 4 nn. (459, 460). In fact Sparta itself consisted of five such neighbouring villages, so close together, however, that as distinct from the district around them they were designated the 'city.' This was, it is true, an isolated and abnormal phenomenon: see Schömann p. 123, p. 207 Eng. tr. SUSEM. (554) "Is not Aristotle taking an imaginary case: the elements of society (such as γεωργόs) which are necessary πρός τὸ ξην μόνον i. living apart but exchanging products (μεταδόσεις) ii. living together and connected by a defensive league,

§ 11?" (Wyse).

20 olov el κτλ] That is, supposing they belonged to these different crafts they belonged to these different craise without which the state could not exist at all: see IV(VII). c. 8. SUSEM. (656)
21 καὶ τὸ πληθος εἰεν μόριος] i.e. not at all too many even for a 'city' according to Greek ideas, as distinguished from a race or tribe: cp. IV(VII). c. 4, also n. (11); race of tribe: cp. IV(VII). c. 4, also n. (II); and II. 6 § 4—6, 9 § 15—17, nn. 198— 201, 306, 307, 309, 311. SUSEM. (556) § 11 24 διά το μή σύνεγγος της κοινωνίας] because they did not live near

enough to each other. 25 έκαστος μέντοι κτλ] Each making his own house his 'castle.'

20 συνελθόντες και χωρίς] after their

20 στυνκουντες και χωρις αιτα τιπα union and when they lived apart.

§ 12 φανερόν τούννν κτλ] Comp. c.

1§ 3π. (434 b). Susem. (857)

32 ου μην ούδ. ὑπαρχόντων κτλ]

"yet not even if all these conditions are present is it then actually (ήδη) a city, but (a city is) the union of families and clans τούτων ἀπάντων ήδη πόλις, ἀλλ' ή τοῦ εὐ ξήν κοινωνία καὶ (V) 34 ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῦς γένεσε, ζωής τελέας χάριν καὶ αὐτάρ-§15 κους. οὐκ ἔσται μέντοι τοῦτο μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔνα κατοικούν-14

§13 κους. οὐκ ἔσται μέστοι τοῦτο μὴ τὰν αἰτὰν καὶ ἕτα κατοικοῦν-11 του τόπου καὶ χροιμένου ἐτιγαμίαις. δἰὐ κρἔεἰα τ' ἐγένουτο κατὰ τὰν πόλεις καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ δια γραγαὶ τοῦ συξῆν. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτοι φιλίας ἔργων ἡ γὰρ τοῦ 30 συξῆν προαίρευς φιλία. τέλος μὲν οῦν πόλειος τὸ ἐῦ ξῆν, ἔτα πότα δὲ τοῦ τέλους χάρων. πόλις δὴ ἡ γρειῶν καὶ κωμών κεὶ κουμών ἐσῶτ κολέκας καὶ αὐτάρκους «χάρω». τοῦτο δὲ ἐστίν,

5 την κοινωνίαν, τούτοις τής πόλεως μέτεστι πλείου ή τοίς κατά μεν έλευθερίαν καὶ γένος ἔσοις ή μείζοτι κατά δὲ τὴν πολιτικήν ἀρετὴν ἀνίσοις, ή τοίς κατά πλοῦτον ὑπερέχουσι κατ ἀρετὴν δ΄ ὑπερέχομενος.

10 ὅτι μὰν οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀμφισβητοῦν-34 τολιίας Π³ Εκ. || 35 καὶ] η Γι. || 38 τῷ συξῆν Κοταες || 40 δὴ ἡ οι δὴ Susem, δὲ ἡ Γ Π (including fr.) Αι. Εκ.

1281 a 1 $<\chi d\rho \nu$ > Scaliger, brever Koraes, see next note $\|\ 3\ \chi d\rho \nu$ omitted by Π^1 (added in P^1 by corr.1), $[\chi d\rho \nu]$ Scaliger. This justifies the insertion of $\chi d\rho \nu$ in line 1, rather than brever $\|\ 5\ robross$ omitted by $Q^b T^b$ and P^1 (1st hand)

in noble living, to the end that they may attain a perfect and independent life. This however will not be secured unless they dwell in the same place and have the right of intermarriage."

mey dwen in the same pance and nave the right of intermarriage."
§ 13 36 repôdus = ties of affinity.
37 φρατράσι] See II. 3 § 5.5 § 17,
VII(VI). 4 § 19 mr. {141, 169, 1427 b}.
Amongst the Greeks these "brother-hoods" were [or appeared to be] the next subdivision of the old tribal stocks [dwhal] having a number of clars (γ⁄ενη) included under them. SUSEM. (680)

θυσίαs] Clubs which met to sacrifice.
διαγωγα] Cp. IV(VII). 15. 2. n. (921).
SUSEM. (558 b) 'The recreations of a life in common which depend on φλλα would include much, e.g. the commerce of disciple and friend as well as the plea-

of disciple dult includes when as went as the peasures of social reunions (Wyse).

38 70 80 rotorrow RTA] Comp. Nrc.
Eth. vill. 35 1150 b, 4050 y 40 00000

68 4, 1158a 23, IX. 9 8 to 1170 b to, 10

§ 4, 1171a 2, 12 8 1 1179 b 20 (Eaton).

Susem. (600)

40 rairal all these minor associations,

κηδείαι, φρατρίαι, &c., are necessary means

to the end, and that is why they came into existence (36 δεδ). "This certainly looks as if to Aristotle the φρατρία were something posterior to the origin of a πόλε by

thing posterior to the origin of a $\pi\delta Ms$ py envoluent of $\kappa\delta dsu^{2n}$ (Wysye). § 16 $\pi\delta Ms$ Sq. $\kappa\tau A$] "Therefore a city is the union of clans and villages (to attain) a perfect and independent life." Ridgeway defends the double genitive: "the fellowship of clans and villages in a

perfect and independent life."

1281 α 1 τθλιάς καλ αὐτάρκους | Cp.
1281 α 1 τθλιάς καλ αὐτάρκους | Cp.
1288 π. (20 b, 21): further m. (459,
460) on HI. 3 § 3: also HI. 1 § 12 n.
(447): IV(VII). 4 § 11 n. (570), 5 § 1 n.
(764), 8 § 8 n. (804) and π. (130). SUSEM.

(560)
2 τῶν καλῶν...πράξεων] With regard to this conclusion, see n. (708) on IV(VII). I § 11. SUSEM. (560 b)
§ 15 The citizens have a stake in the

§ 10 The citizens have a stake in the city in proportion to their contributions towards civic fellowship, in the sense just given to the term. Superior contributions to other objects (wealth, birth) are of no avail to confer a greater share of civic rights.

c. to Where ought sovereignty to reside?

το τες μέρος τι τοῦ δικαίου λέγουσι, φανερὸν ἐκ των εἰρημέ-(V) νων έχει δ' ἀπορίαν, τι δεῖ τὸ κύριον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. VI ή γάρ τοι τὸ πλήθος, ή τοὺς πλουσίους, ή τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ή του βέλτιστου ένα πάντων, η τύραυνου, άλλα ταύτα πάντα έχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τί γόρ; αν οι πένητες δια τὸ τε πλείους είναι διανέμωνται τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄδικον 82 ἐστίν, ἔδοξε γὰρ [ἀν] νη Δία τῷ κυρίφ δικαίως την οὖν ἀδικίαν τί δει λέγειν την έσχάτην; πάλιν τε πάντων ληφθέντων, οί πλείους τὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἄν διανέμωνται, φανερον ὅτι φθείρουσι την πόλιν. άλλα μην ούχ ή γ' άρετη φθείρει το 20 έχου αὐτήν, οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον πόλεως φθαρτικόν ώστε δήλον ε 3 ότι καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον οὐν οἰόν τ' εἶναι δίκαιον. ἔτι καὶ 2 τὰς πράξεις ὅσας ὁ τύραννος ἔπραξεν, ἀναγκαῖον είναι πάσας δικαίας βιάζεται γάρ ών κρείττων, ώσπερ καὶ τὸ πλήθος τους πλουσίους, άλλ' άρα τους ελάττους άρχειν δίκαιον 25 καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους; αν οὖν κάκεῖνοι ταὐτά ποιῶσι καὶ διαρπάζωσι καὶ τὰ κτήματα άφαιρώνται τοῦ πλήθους, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ § 4 δίκαιον; καὶ θάτερον ἄρα. ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν ὅτι φαῦλα πάντα καὶ οὐ δίκαια, φανερόν άλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄρχειν δεῖ s

13 [η τύραννον] or change to η τὸν νόμον Spengel (not bad) | 16 αν omitted by P¹ Π² fr. Ar. Bk. | 17 δεί] χρη Π² fr. Bk. | πάλω.....ληφθέντων corrupt according to Oncken: see Comm. n. (561) | 19 φθερεί Γ | 24 άρα Π2 and Ma (1st hand) || δίκαιον άρχειν H2 fr. Bk. | 25 ταθτά Vettori and Lambin in their translations, ταθτα ΓΠ Ar. | 27 πάντα φαύλα Π* fr. Bk. | 28 δίκαια] σπουδαία Π1

In particular, (c. 11) Should it rest

with the Many or the Few? The modern doctrine of sovereignty is best expounded by Austin Jurisprudence

Lect. vi. pp. 226-255, ed. 3. § 1 12 η γάρ τοι κτλ] It must either be (1) the masses, or (2) the wealthy, or (3) the virtuous, or (4) the one preemi-

nently good man, or (5) a despot.

16 ίδοξε γὰρ κτλ] Ironical. "It is not unjust, for, by heaven, it was justly passed by the supreme body. Then what (but this) deserves to be called the utmost

injustice?" § 2 17 πάλιν τε κτλ] And further, after all has been taken away, if the majority begin afresh to distribute amongst

majority legis misersite distribute amongs, them the property of the minority, manifestly they destroy the city. SUSEM. (661) The principle is self-destructive. 19 oby 1/2 depth | Cp. II. 2 § 7 n. (135 b). On the contrary, the proper excellence of any object is that which

qualifies it for the fulfilment of its end or the performance of its special function: Nic. Eth. 11. 6. 1, 1106 a 15 (Congreve): whereas, its vice is that which corrupts whereas, its vice is that which compus its true principle, έστι γάρ ή κακία φθαρ-τική άρχης Ν. Ε. VI. 5. 6, 1140 b 19 (Eaton). Susem. (561 b) Cp. Pl. Rep. x. 608 ε: if moral evil, which is the evil of the soul, does not destroy it, then it is indestructible

20 ούδὲ τὸδίκαιον...φθαρτικόν] Comp. 1. 2. 16 n. (28 c), 11. 2. 4 n. (133), 111. 12 § 1 n. (583), § 9, 13 § 3 n. (590). SUSEM. (562

§ 3 24 αλλ' άρα κτλ] Passing to (2), the claims of the wealthy few.

27 Kal Carepov apa] (If so,) then so also is the conduct of the majority justified. § 4 The claim of the virtuous (¿mu-

κείε) is very feebly opposed as involving the disfranchisement of all who are not virtuous. This is implied in the very name of aristocracy & n to took dolorous doyer.

καὶ κυρίους είναι πάντων; οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄλλους (VI) 30 απίμους είναι πάντας, μη τιμωμένους ταις πολιτικαις αρχαίς τιμάς γάρ λέγομεν είναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀρχόντων δ' § 5 αίεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον είναι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους. ἀλλ'

ένα τὸν σπουδαιότατον ἄρχειν βέλτιον; ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦτο όλι-(p. 15) γαρχικώτερου οί γάρ ἄτιμοι πλείους, άλλ' ἴσως φαίη τις ἃν

35 τὸ κύριον ὅλως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἔχοντά γε τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάθη περί την ψυχην άλλα μη νόμον φαύλον. αν ούν ή νόμος μέν όλιγαργικός δέ ή δημοκρατικός, τί διοίσει περί τών ηπορημένων; συμβήσεται γαρ όμοίως τα λεχθέντα πρότερον.

11 περί μέν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἔστω τις ἔτερος λόγος ὅτι κ 40 δε δεί κύριον είναι μάλλον το πλήθος ή τους αρίστους μέν ολίγους δέ, δόξειεν αν λύεσθαι καί τιν' έχειν απορίαν, § 2 τάγα δὲ κῶν ἀλήθειαν, τοὺς γὰρ πολλούς, ὧν ἕκαστός ἐστιν 2281 5 ου σπουδαίος ανήρ, όμως ενδέχεται συνελθόντας είναι βελτίους ἐκείνων, οὐχ ώς ἔκαστον ἀλλ' ώς σύμπαντας, οίον τὰ συμφορητά δείπνα των έκ μιας δαπάνης γορηγηθέντων πολλών γάρ όντων έκαστον μόριον έχειν άρετης καὶ φρο-

35 έχοντα.....36 ψυχήν after 36 φαίλον P1 Π2 fr. Bk. 1 37 διοίση P4 Ob Tb 1 41 λύεσθαι......42 ἀλήθειαν. That the text is unsound was seen by Camerarius. λύεσθαι <δείν>? Schneider, [λύεσθαι] Göttling, [λύεσθαι καί] Susem.1 (λύεσθαι κ variant on αλήθειαν), τιν' έχειν απορίαν, τάχα δέ και λύεσθαι κατ' άλήθειαν Thurot, <ούχ lκανως> λύεσθαι Shute $\parallel τω'$] τωνος Γ M^a \parallel έχει M^a (1st hand) \parallel εὐποplay Koraes, accepted by Bernays and by Susem.2 as less violent than the other proposals, cp. De caelo II. 12 § 1, 201 b 27, el tis dià tò dilotodias dal fin kal mirode είπορίας άναπα περί ών τὰς μενίστας έγομεν άπορίας.

1281 b , of H1 P4 Ar., 6 P2-3 Qb Tb

31 ἀρχόντων δ' αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κτλ]
This is the reason why the same feature in Plato's government is called dangerous (&maphahts), though unavoidable, II. 5 § 25 n. (181).

§ 5 Similarly the claim of the one pre-

eminent citizen (the alternative form of

eminent citizen (the alternative form of Artistolle's 'best state') is reduced to a case similar to the last, which leaves a still larger number disfranchised. 34 &W fews erA] Cp. c. 15 § 4, c. 16 § 5, fin. (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 36 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 37 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 38 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 39 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 30 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 30 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (662 b) 30 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (642 b) 31 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 32 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 34 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 34 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 35 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 36 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 36 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 36 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 37 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 b) 38 \$quillent (641). SUSSM. (643 supreme instead of the law, is a mistake."

av ow kth] The law itself may have
a bias in favour of oligarchy or democracy; and if so, the fault remains uncorrected.

c. 11 § 1 39 έστω τις έττρος λόγος]

cc. 12-17 and B. VI(IV)., B. VII(VI). :

comp. Introd. p. 43. SUSEM. (563)
40 μαλλον το πλήθος ή κτλ] This is a defence of the claims of (r) as against (3). In c. 15 the claims of πλήθος and

(3). In c. 15 the chains of xappes and facilities are compared.
§ 2 42 tools yap molkoof kth.]
Comp. c. 15 § 7 n. (646); also c. 11 § 9 below. Thuc. VI. 18. 6 dual of legulator) to to the dual of legulator) to the dual of legulator) to the dual of legulator dual o Ισχύειν, with Herod. III. 80 s. fin. έν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα (Eaton), SUSEM. (564) This is the one distinctively original

thought of Aristotle, foreshadowed in his thought of Atistotic, topeshadowed in his definition of citizen, c. 1 § 8. 1281 b 2 ούχ ώς δκαστον άλλ' ώς σύμπαντας] See II. 3 § 2 and notes. 3 συμφορητάδεπνα] 'public dinners'

to which many contribute.

4 πολλών γαρ δυτων κτλ] Cp. c. 4

5 νήσεως, καὶ γίνεσθαι συνελθύντων ἄσπερ ἔνα ἄνθρωπον (VI)
τὸ πλήθος πολύποδα καὶ πολύχειρα καὶ πολλὰς ἔχοντ'

83 alσθήσεις, ούτω καὶ περί τὰ τῆθη καὶ τῆν διάνοιαν. Εχωνι καὶ κρίνουσιν ἄμεινον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς ἔργα 9 καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητών ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλο τι μόριον, πάντα δὲ

5 καl <ωτ> οτ καl <ώστερ>? Susem., following Thurot hesitatingly || συνδ. θόντας P4 (Φ Τ' Ατ. Ald. Bk. and corr.) of P2-3 || [δέντερ] δια Thurot || 7 τίμη περλ τήν M' Susem.¹⁻² and perhaps Γ || 8 κράμη ΓΜ' (εt krize metius William)

is similarly an artificial body.

5 kal ylverba ovvedbornev....7 &udvotav] Trendelenburg in his "Law of
Nature" (Naturrecht p. 463) rightly objects that 'in works of art man is essentially a free, unprejudiced spectator: in politics he is a partizan fellow-actor. There is a fallacy in an argument from analogy which draws an inference from the universal common to all the cases compared, when in fact it is the difference between them which is decisive.' But he proceeds to argue, that the comparison leaves out of account the desires and passions which in the case of the multitude dull the intelligence and pervert the will; that the truth brought together by their collective wisdom is materially preju-diced and hampered by the falsehood collected along with it; that the supplementing of the truth from various sides is hindered or frustrated by the resistance of errors and self-seeking. In reply ance of errors and sen-seeking. In reply to this we must inquire, whether when the public at large judges and enjoys works of art, only healthy popular inclinations and instincts are brought together: whether they are not blended with others which are unhealthy and misleading. Aristotle at least is of this latter opinion v(vIII). 6 § 16 n. (1080), 7 § 7 n. (1097), and certainly he is right. Fur-ther is there no fallacy in the criticism which overlooks the true analogy in the difference?

On the other side it is not to be forgotten, that where our own interest is concerned, although passion no doubt is inflamed and the critic is converted into a judge in bits own cause (C. 9 §8 1, 2, 16 §8 8, 9). Starpened: thus in accordance with the analogies applied in § 14, (whose correctness even Trendelenburg has not questioned,) in practical questions, where his own we had and woe are at stake, the

uneducated man approximates to an expert still more closely than in art criticism. If it were not so, art critics might be appointed by the popular vote, but not even the most indirect choice of its representatives should be left to the people, although our procedure is now universally the reverse and we believe it to be justified. Trendelenburg's objections (p. 147) to too numerous executive or decreeing assemblies are quite in point. But he forgets that in §8 8, 9 Aristotle, if we take him literally, only allows the popular assembly to elect the officials: and that in any case (see Exc. IV. to B. II. n. 388) he restricts the decision of the people to a few definite questions. Had he been acquainted with the representative system, he would have judged more correctly: he would then most likely have referred to the council all matters which call for a full deliberation and responsible decision rather than a vote. That not merely capacity but prejudice also and ignorance are col-lected in the popular assembly is moreover expressly laid down by Aristotle in SS 6, 7 (though Trendelenburg has altogether overlooked this); but he holds that the danger arising from the passions of individual sovereigns is the greater of the two (15 § 8 n. 647), whereas in a capable nation he maintains that the force of truth will finally triumph over falsehood. This is the thought upon which, as we know, bis conception of rhetoric is based a see Zeller II. ii. 755. It may be that this is not capable of strict demonstration, but to a large extent remains merely a matter of belief. Yet this much is certain, that whoever does not cherish this belief has lost faith in humanity generally. See also n. (577) on 11 § 19. Susem.

(565 b)
§ 3 8 κρίνουσιν ἄμανον οἱ πολλοὶ]
Both music and poetry are well able to
illustrate this maxim. The present century is rich in good work which has wou
its way in soite of the critics.

§ 4 πάντες. αλλα τούτω διαφέρουσιν οί σπουδαίοι των ανδρών ί εκαστοι τών πολλών, ώσπερ καὶ τών μή καλών τοὺς καλούς φασι καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τέχνης τῶν ἀληθινῶν, τῷ συνῆχθαι τὰ διεσπαρμένα χωρίς εἰς ἔν, ἐπεὶ κεχωρισμένων γε τι κάλλιον έχειν τοῦ γεγραμμένου τουδί μέν τον οφθαλμόν έτέ-

§ 5 ρου δέ τινος έτερον μόριον, εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα δῆμον καὶ περὶ πᾶν πλήθος ἐνδέχεται ταύτην είναι την διαφοράν των πολλών πρός τους όλίγους σπουδαίους, άδηλον, ίσως δὲ νη Δία δήλον ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων ἀδύνατον (ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς καν έπι των θηρίων αρμόσειε λόγος καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν 20 ένιοι των θηρίων ως έπος είπειν;) άλλά περί τὶ πλήθος § 6 οὐδὲν είναι κωλύει τὸ λεχθὲν ἀληθές. διὸ καὶ τὴν πρότε- 6 ρου είρημένην απορίαν λύσειεν άν τις διά τούτων καὶ την

έχομένην αυτής, τίνων δεί κυρίους είναι τους έλευθέρους (p. 76) 24 καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολιτῶν. τοιοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶν ὅσοι μήτε § 7 πλούσιοι μήτε αξίωμα έγουσιν άρετης μηδέν. το μέν γάρ μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν μεγίστων οὐκ ἀσφαλές (διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἀν<άγκη> τὰ δ'

τι έκαστοι Thurot, έκάστου Γ II Ar. Bk. 🖟 ώσπερ] ψπερ Vettori in the margin of his Munich copy | [καὶ τῶν μη12 φασί] Oncken || 13 κεχωρισμένον Γ Susem.1.2, και χωρισμένον M* | γε<οίδεν κωλύει>? Spengel | 14 έχει P4 and perhaps Ar. < ξστιν έχειν > ? Susem., but no change is needed | 18 περί] ἐπί Sylburg, perhaps rightly | 6000 Spengel, which would also do, 6000 Schneider (bad) 1 24 μήτε πλούσιοι omitted by Γ M* 1 25 μηδέ εν? Susem., μηδέ εν P¹, μή δέ εν M*, μηδέεν P2-3, μηδ' & P4, μηδεέν Ald. | 27 άνάγκη Rassow, αν Γ II Bk. Schneider first saw the text to be unsound and violently changed dourer into dourier and

§ 4 12 τὰ γεγραμμένα κτλ] Comp. what Socrates says, Xen. Memor. III. 10. 2 και μήν τά γε καλά είδη άφομοιούντες, έπειδή ού βάδιον ένι άνθρώπω περιτυχείν άμεμπτα πάντα έχοντι, έκ πολλών συνάγοντες, τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστου κάλλιστα, οῦτως δλα τα σώματα καλά ποιείτε φαίνεσθαι. Zeuxis adopted this procedure, when he painted his Helen. To make it a masterpiece of female beauty, he took as models the five most beautiful maidens in the city in order that he might unite in the picture the special excellences of each: see Brunn History of the Greek artists II. pp. 80, 88 (Vahlen). Comp. n. (64) in Susemihl's edition of the Poetics, c. 6 § 11.

άμαρτάνειν αὐτούς into άμαρτάνοιεν

13 κεχωρισμένων γε] With the brief gen. abs. comp. N. Ε. VIII. 13 § 2 άμιλλω-μένων, 15 § 4 ὑπερβάλλοντος. § 5 16 την διαφοράν τῶν π. πρός

SUSEM. (566)

τούς όλ.] the difference between the many and the few. So διάστασις. Nic. Eth. IX. 3. 4. 18 ο γάρ αύτος...άρμοσειε λόγος] For

the same argument would apply to the animals.

19 τί διαφέρουστε Comp. 1. 5 § 8 π.
(43), and π. [54] on 1. 6 § 8. Susem. (567)
20 περί τὶ πλήθος] in a certain (given) population. § 6 21 την πρότερον είρημ. απ.]

Namely: who is to possess the sovereign power? Comp. also § 19 n. (578). Susem.

23 Thus bet kuplous KTA] This next problem (§§ 6-14) is: how far does the problem (\$50 0-14) is: now hat does the sovereignty of the freemen, the mass of the citizens, extend? This was provisionally decided c. 1 § 8.
§ 7 27. dought dudystal There should

be an independent causal sentence here.

άμαρτάνειν αὐτούς)· τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδεδόναι μηθεμιών ἀρχών (VI)
20 φοβερύν (όταν γάρ ἄτιμοι πολλοί καὶ πένητες ὑπάρχωσι,
88 πολεμίων ἀναγκαῖον είναι πλήρη τὴν πόλιν ταίτην). λείπεται δὴ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν μετέχειν αὐτούς.
δίστερ καὶ Σόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲν νομοθετῶν τάττου· τ
στι ἐπί τε τὰς αρχωρεσίας καὶ τὰς εὐθύναν τῶν ἀρχών89 των, ἄρχειν δὲ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἐῶσιν. πάντες μὲν γὰρ
35 ἔχωνει συνελθόντες ἰκανὴν αἰσθησιν, καὶ μυγνύμευοι τοῖς
βελτίσει τὰς πόλεις φόκλοῦτες καθάπερ ἡ μὴ μαθαρά τροφή

μετὰ τῆς καθαρᾶς τὴν πᾶσαυ ποιεξ χρησιμωτέραν τῆς ὁλί-§ 10 γης: χωρὶς δ' ἔκαστος περὶ τὸ κρίνειν ἀτελης ἐστίν. ἔχει
28 μηθεμιών ἀρχών Βοϊκει, μηθέ μετέχευ Γ Π Εκ. || 38 ἀτελης περὶ τὸ κρίνευ

something standing to το μεν μετέχευν....ούκ ἀσφαλέτ as the clause όταν γάρ....ντάρχουτ, πολημίων....ταίτην below stands to το δε μη μεταδιδύσε...,φοβερόν. With Rassow's conjecture, ἐσώτρη (ἐστλ), there is such a verb; without it there is no verb on which the infinitives έδικείν δε and ἀμαρτίνευ can depend.

as and augarases can depend.

29 δταν γάρ κτλ] Cp. VII(VI). §

4 m. (1434). SUSEM. (668 b)

This is presumably the sequel of the objections raised in c. 10 §§ 4, 5. The further development would be in the form of Plato's well-known simile of

form of Plato's well-known simile of the drones in his criticism of oligarchy Rep. VIII. 551 D, 552 A—E, 555 D. § 8 It remains for them to take part

in deliberation and in trials. 32 διόπερ καλ Σόλων ... 34 ἐῶσιν] Comp. II. 12 § 3 (Exc. v. p. 350 f.), § 5 nn. (412, 413): VI(IV) II § 19 n. (1303), VII (VI). 4 § 4 n. (1415). Such a constitutional restriction is not admissible, certainly, for the citizens of the ideal state who have the best nature and education and are in the possession of a fixed amount of land. There suitable elections of officials must be assumed without such a restriction: there all the citizens have equal rights (cp. nn. 440, 885). But nevertheless, as was inferred in the Introd. p. 54 from II. II § 6 (cp. n. 388), there can be hardly any doubt that even in the ideal state Aristotle intends to restrict the activity of the whole body of full citizens to the election of the officials, together with the final decision upon legislation as well as upon questions of war and peace and treaties with foreign states. Comp. III. 4 § 5, 6 § 1 n. (471). Susem. (569)

33 'set them over,' i.e. 'assign to them' the election of the magistrates and the scrutiny of their conduct (when they retire from office).

êπl after τάττούσω. Other constructions are els, κατά and êπi with dat.

§ 9 35 Leavily alothory] 'sufficiently clear sight' or 'enough discrimination. The terms alobrous and alobáveobas in Aristotle often go beyond the notion of mere sensation and sense perception to which Plato in the Theaetetus restricts them. Thus αlσθώνεσθαι=to understand another's command in I 5 § q (cp. n. 45 b). Like Plato himself at an earlier time, Phasdr. 271 E, even where the terms express that notion, Aristotle always has in view the discrimination of the sensible individual by sense, the judgment of perception, so that he calls it a discriminating and judging faculty (δύναμις κριτική, cp. n. 497): Anal. Post. II. 15 § 5, 99 b 35, De Anima III. 9. 1, 432 a 15. Thence by a very natural transition he applies these terms to denote the discrimination of the individual and particular generally, and the decision as to what is right and wrong in relation thereto in practical life:--an instinctive process, so to speak, or at all events one which rests merely upon observation and experience, Nic. Eth. 11. q. 8, 1100 b 20,

1V. 5, 13, 1126 b 3 ff. SUSEM. (670)
36 καθάτερ η μη κ.] "as innutritious food when mixed with the nutritious makes the whole a better diet than the scanty supply" (of nourishment alone), 8 2 n. (664). SUSEM. (671)

makes the whole a better det dant die scanty supply" (of nourishment alone), § 2 n. (564). SUSEM. (671) 38 xeoks] alone, by himself. arekys] Properly 'immature' or 'undeveloped' or 'incomplete': thence 'un-

δ' ή τάξις αθτη τής πολιτείας ἀπορίαν πρώτην μέν ὅτι (٧Ι) 40 δόξειεν αν του αυτού είναι το κρίναι τίς δρθώς ιάτρευκεν, ούπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεύσαι καὶ ποιήσαι ύγια τὸν κάμνοντα τής νίσου της παρούσης ούτος δ' έστιν ο ιατρός, ομοίως δέ 1282 α τούτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνας. ὥσπερ οὖν ιατρον δει διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ιατροῖς, οὕτω καὶ τους ἄλ-\$ 11 λους ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις. ἐατρὸς δὲ ὅ τε δημιουργός καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτεκτονικός και τρίτος ο πεπαιδευμένος περί την τέχνην είσι εγάρ τινες καὶ τοιούτοι περὶ πάσας ώς εἰπεῖν τὰς τέγνας, ἀποδίδομεν δὲ τὸ κρίνειν οὐδὲν ήττον τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ή τοῖς § 12 είδόσιν. ἔπειτά καὶ περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ἃν δό-9 ξειεν έχειν τρόπον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐλέσθαι ὀρθώς τών εἰδότων έργον έστίν, οἶον γεωμέτρην τε τῶν γεωμετρικῶν καὶ το κυβερνήτην των κυβερνητικών. εί γαρ καὶ περί ένίων έργων καὶ τεχνών μετέχουσι καὶ τών ίδιωτών τινές, άλλ' οὐ τι τών

42 è omitted by Π² Bk. | καὶ added after ἐμοίως δὲ by Γ M²

1282 a 5 τοιούτοι καὶ Π2Bk., καὶ untranslated by William, Ar. | 7 καὶ omitted by II1, hence [καί] Susem.1.2 | ο τε omitted by P1.4 | 10 [περί] or [περί ένίων] Spengel (the former perhaps right) | 11 καl before τῶν Ιδιωτῶν omitted by P4 Qb Tb ∥ ου τοι Koraes Bk.2

§ 13 είδότων γε μάλλον. ώστε κατά μέν τούτον τον λόγον οὐκ

qualified to judge.' The word was used in I. 13 § 7, § 11, to characterize the boy's powers of reflection and 'virtue' (Congreve). Cp. also n. (875) on IV(VII).

13. 5. Susem. (572) § 10 A difficulty: only the physician can properly judge a course of treatment and pronounce with authority that it has

been successful 39 ἀπορίαν πρώτην] 'Certainly this mode of ordering the constitution involves a difficulty—in the first place that &c.': followed § 15 by άλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη

ταύτης: cp. Analysis p. 111. Susem. (573) 1282 a I ἄσπερ οὖν κτλ] Compare Plato's illustration of the physician tried by boys at the accusation of the cook,

Gorg. 521 E.

§ 11 3 lατρός δὲ κτλ] 'Physician' may mean (1) the practitioner in ordinary cases, (2) the scientific student who has mastered the whole field of medicine, (3) the educated layman who has acquired his knowledge of medicine only out of scientific interests generally. 5 τινες και τοιούτοι κτλ] "For there

are even some such" viz. amateurs "in nearly all the arts, and we assign the

right to judge to the educated layman as much as to the profession." With the order of II2. 70100701 Kal. Bernays and others must translate "in almost all other arts as well," which is a misplaced emphasis, Camerarius compares the first words of the treatise De partibus animal, περί πάσαν θεωρίαν τε και μέθοδον...δύο φαίνονται τρόποι τής έξεως είναι, ών τήν μέν νονται τροποι της εξεως ειναί, ων την μεν Επιστήμην του πράγματος καλώς έχει προσαγορεύευ, την δ' οδον παιδείαν τυκά πεπαιδευμένου γάρ έστι κατά τρόπου τό δύνασθαι κρίναι εύστόχως τί καλώς ή μή δύσασθει κρικει εύστοχεις τι καλώς ή μη καλώς άποδίδωσεν ὁ λέγων. SUSEM. (578 b) § 12 γ έπανα = further. not answer-ing πρώτην; but rather completing so much of the problem as is expressed in

magistrates, § 13 ἀρχαιρεσιών. 8 τῶν εἰδότων] experts in statecraft, answering to the geometers and pilots,

Plato Politicus 301 A, B, ο ἐπιστήμων. 11 If περὶ is retained, μετέχουσι = μετέχουσι τῆς alpέσεως virtually; 'have a voice in the election.' \$ 13 12 Kata toûtov tov hovov! Cf.

II. 3 § 1 n.

αν είη τὸ πλήθος ποιητέον κύριον οὖτε τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν οὖτε (p. 17) 8 14 των εὐθυνων. άλλ' ἴσως οὐ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται καλως 10 15 διά τε τὸν πάλαι λόγον, ἄν ή τὸ πλήθος μη λίαν ἀνδρα-

ποδώδες (ἔσται γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χείρων κριτής τῶν εἰδότων, άπαντες δὲ συνελθόντες ή βελτίους ή οὐ χείρους), καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων οὕτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας οὕτ' ἄριστ' ἃν κρίνειεν, όσων τάργα γινώσκουσι καὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἶον 20 ολκίαν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ γνώναι τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον ό χρώμενος αὐτή κρινεί (χρήται δ' ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ

πηδάλιου κυβερνήτης τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμών άλλ' ταύτην μέν οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν τάγα δόξειέν § 15 οὐγ ὁ μάγειρος. τις αν ούτω λύειν ίκανως άλλη δ' έστιν έγομένη ταύτης.

25 δοκεί γαρ άτοπον είναι τὸ μειζόνων είναι κυρίους τούς φαύ-11 λους των έπιεικών, αί δ' εύθυναι καὶ αί των άργων αίρέσεις είσὶ μέγιστα: ας εν ενίαις πολιτείαις, ώσπερ είρηται, τοῖς δήμοις ἀποδιδόασιν ή γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων § 16 των τοιούτων έστίν. καίτοι της μέν έκκλησίας μετέχουσι καί 30 βουλεύουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρών τιμημάτων καὶ τῆς τυγούσης ήλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δὲ καὶ στρατηγούσι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας άργας άργουσιν από μειζόνων, όμοιως δή τις αν 18

17 π before βελτίους omitted by Π1, [π] Susem,14 | 18 μbvos Susem.1.2 (solus William, Ar.) | 21 auril airoù Pas Ald. | Kolves II1 Ar. | 26 eldivas M. Ald. | 27 μέγιστα Γ, μέγισται Pl-4, μέγιστοι M*, μέγιστον P^{2,3} Qb Tb Ar. Ald. Bk. || δν omitted by Ma P1 1 30 διδάσκουσι P4 (1st hand), γρ. δικάζουσι in the margin of P4 1 32 άρχωσυ Ma, έχουσω Π2 | μεγάλων Π2 Ar. Bk. | δε Spengel, δη Γ Π Bk.

13 κύριον ούτε...ούτε] The two minima without which it is reduced to virtual dependence on its rulers (δούλος αν είη

καὶ πολέμισι II. 12. 5). § 14 The reply to the objection of § 10: (a) the collective judgment of a free people may be even superior to that of the experts: (b) the users of the laws may be better practical judges of them than their makers: the expert's know-

ledge is not always an advantage.

15 διὰ τὸν πάλαι λόγον] for the reason stated above, §§ 2-4. πάλαι as in

son stated above, §§ 2—4. wakas as m \$20 \times 01.4 \times 10.0 \

understood, even by such as are unacquainted with the art.

§ 15 Second objection (see § 10). The least capable citizens have the most authority: sovereignty resides with them.

27 worse eloprail § 8. 'Solon and some other legislators.' Susem. (575) § 16 31 rapareovor...32 µa(forus)

"But for the treasurership and the mini-

"But for the treasurership and the mini-stry of war and the highest offices men of higher property qualification are re-surted to the property of the property aures of the Goddess" as they were called, and the treasurers of the other temples, though appointed by lot, were always taken from the highest class only; Schömann p. 4; 8 Eng. tr. Sustm. (676) The reply. Strictly speaking no single ecclesiats of dieast is a magistrate: he ecclesiated or dieast is a magistrate:

is only a fraction or element of the com-

posite magistrate or public official, the assembly and the law court.

λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτ' (VI) § 11 ὀρθώς. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δικαστής οὐδ' ὁ βουλευτής οὐδ' ὁ ἐκκλη-

35 σιαστής ἄρχων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος· τῶν δὲ ἡηθέντων ἔκαστος μόριὸν ἐστι τούτων (λέγω δὲ μόριον τὸν βουλευτήν καὶ τὸν ἔκκλησιαστήν καὶ τὸν δικα-

\$18 στήν). ώστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων τὸ πλήθος ἐκ γὰρ πολλών ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ βουλή καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον. καὶ τὸ τίνημα

40 δὲ πλεῖον τὸ τούτων πάντων ἡ τὸ τῶν καθ' ἔνα καὶ κατ' ξι θλίγονς μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχύντων. ταῦτα μὲν οὐν διωρίσθω ις 1880 τοῦτον τὸν Τρόπον: ἡ δὲ πρώτη λεγθεῖσα ἀπορία ποιεί φανε-

5 10000 οι νομοι λεγειν ακριμους οια το μη ρομοιον ειναι κανο-\$20 λου διορίσαι περί πάντων. όποίους μέντοι τινὸς δεί είναι τοὺς ὀρθώς κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δήλον, άλλ έτι μένει τὸ πάλαι διαπορηθέν. ἀλλά γὰο κῶν ὁμοίους ταῖς πολιπίαις

40 το before τούτων omitted by Π^1 , hence [τδ] Susem.^{1.2} \parallel πάντων τούτων Π^2 Bk. \parallel 41 έχόντων Π^2

1282 b 1 του τρόπου τοῦτου M*P1 || 6 δεορίσαι] δηλώσαι Π²Βk. || εἶναι δεῖ Γ² Βk. || 8 άλλα γὰρ.....10 άδίκους transposed to follow 11 νόμους by Congreve; to follow

33 και ταθτα] ή τάξις αθτη τής πολιτείας, § 10. § 18 39 και το τίμημα δέκτιλ] Moreover the amount of property at which all

8 18 39 Kal To Tunjua OK KTA J MOTEover the amount of property at which all these are rated is far greater collectively than the property of individuals in high offices and of the members of small boards.

balls 4t exira plu ofw eA] Tredelenhurg thinks that we do not quite clearly see whether Aristotle is only setting up his analogies dialectally or defending them as his own opinion. There can be no doubt, however, especially after such an explicit explanation as is been given, that the latter is the case: nor can any reason be discovered, even on other grounds, for a doubt of this kind.

Sussei. (στη)
1/88 b 1 ή δι πρώτη λαχθείσα ἀπορία)
This is the question treated in c. 10, and
then partly decided in c. 11 §8 1 - 5, viz.
who is to possess supreme authority?
(Comp. § 6 n. 668.) The answer was
"the whole of the burgess body in even
state which has any degree of excellence":
and on the basis of this decision, the
point which came up at c. 10 § 5 is now

settled by the addition of the qualifying clause "but in accordance with he laws." and in such a way that the greater or less degree of excellence and correctness of the laws is determined by that of the constitution to which they correspond. This raises the question of the relative we proceed to answer in co. 12, 34; see however Introd. p. 41 f. SUSSIM. (978) 3 requirements of phospholy of the procession of the 3 requirements of the procession of the procession of the 3 requirements.

havis.

*** \$\fomega_{\text{power}}\$ \$\fomega_{\text{power}}\$ \$\fomega_{\text{power}}\$\$

*** \$\fomega_{\text{power}}

§ 20 8 malas] At c. 10 § 5: comp. n. (578). Susem. (580)

9 άνόρηση και τούεν νόμους φαίλους ε σπουδαίους είναι και δε- (VI) 811 καίους ε διδίουσε, πλήψ τοῦτό γε φαιερόν ὅτι δεῖ πρός τήψ πολιτείαν κείσθαι τούς νόμους. «Αλλά ήρα κόυ όμοίους ταῖς 9 «πολιτείαις ἀνάγηση καὶ τούς νόμους φαιύλους ἡ σπουδαίους εἶναι «καὶ δικαίους ἡ ἀδίκους» ἀλλά μήψ εἰ τοῦτο, δῆλου ὅτι 1 τοὺς κὰν κατά τὰς ὁσιδας πολιτείας ἀνανκαῖου εἶναι δίκαίας οδιδάς πολιτείας ἀνανκαῖου εἶναι δίκαίους οδιδάς τοῦτείας ἀνανκαῖου εἶναι δίκαίους οδιδάς τοῦτείας ἀνανκαῖου εἶναι δίκαίους οδιδάς οδιδάς

τούς δὲ κατά τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας οὐ δικαίους.

12 ἐπεὶ δ΄ ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταις ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις VII ις ἀγαθὸν τὸ τέλος, μέγιστου δή καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῆ κυριωτάτη πασῶν, αὕτη δ΄ ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτική δύναμις. ἔστι δὲ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθὸν τὸ δίκαιου, τοῦντο δ΄ ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῆ στυι-

άλλὰ γὰρ κὰν ὁμοίως] 'for relatively to the constitutions the laws, too, must necessarily be bad or good, just or unjust.' Comp. v1(tv). 1 § 9 π. (1128), Isocr. v11.

14. SUSRM. (581)
In cc. 12, 13 true constitutional principles take a more definite shape. In a note to his Translation, p. 172, Bernays remarks that these two chapters "contain a separate sketch for the discussion of the same questions which are partly treated in cc. 9-11, partly in cc. 16, 17. As the sketch presents some peculiarities, e.g. the mention of ostracism, c. 13 § 15ff., those who arranged Aristotle's papers thought it ought to be preserved; and the place they assigned to it seemed recommended by the close connexion of its contents with the neighbouring chapters. Where the tautologies thus arising appeared too obvious, the attempt was made to lessen them by formulae like etρηται καὶ πρότερον 13 § 1, § 2. According to Aristotle's intention, the beginning of c. 14 should join on directly to the close of c. 11": the reason assigned being that the words ¢autr γàρ τῶν δοθών πολιτειών μίαν είναι ταύτην, 14 § 1, find no connexion at the close of c. 12. but refer back to the words Kard 7as δρθάς πολιτείας of 11 § 22. This view has been already examined, Introd. pp. 42,

§ 1 n. (1), Nic. Eth. 1. 2 § 4, 1094 a 26. SUSEM. (582)

The structure of this sentence is disputed. Scaliger, Bonitz (Arist. Stud. III., p. 94), Spengel treat it as all one period from 14 period to 2 hardefear. But this requires & in line 15, whereas & is the reading of III. 16 & yamma Joined with at 42paq, III. 8 g 18; so Edd. 1. 2, 8, 4 for & 3p phys-

16 δέναμως J Oined with al τέχναι, Π.
8 § 18; so Rhet. I. 2 § 1, έστω δὴ ἡντοριτὴ δίναμως περὶ έκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ
ἐτδραξόμενον πιθενών. τοῦτο γὰρ οἰδεμιᾶς
ἐτέρας ἐστὶ τέχνης ἔργον.
ἔστι δὲ...1? δίκαιου] 'The good for

δυτι St...17 δίκαιου] 'The good for the state, i.e. the interest of the commonwealth, can only be justice.' πολετικό σχαθού is the subject and τοθτο refers to this: while τὸ δίκαιου, defined in the next sentence, is predicate. See c. 10 § 2 and the references given in π. (502). Susem.

inde to lessen them by formulae like opposed to the control of the

φέρον. δοκεί δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον τι τὸ δίκαιον είναι, καὶ μέχρι (VII) γέ τινος δμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ἐν οἶς 20 διώρισται περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν (τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ § 2 δείν τοις ίσοις ίσον είναι φασίν)· ποίων δ' ἰσότης έστὶ καὶ ποίων ἀνισότης, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν. ἴσως γάρ αν φαίη τις κατά 2 παντός ύπεροχήν άγαθοῦ δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμήσθαι τὰς άρ-25 χάς, εἰ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ μηδέν διαφέροιεν ἀλλ' ὅμοιοι τυγγάνοιεν όντες τοις γαρ διαφέρουσιν έτερον είναι τὸ δί-§ 3 καιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατὰ χρώμα καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ καθ' ότιοῦν τών 29 αγαθών πλεονεξία τις τών πολιτικών δικαίων τοῦς ὑπερέξ 4 χουσιν. ή τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ ψεῦδος; φανερὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν άλλων επιστημών και δυνάμεων των γάρ δμοίων αυλητών

19 [ἐν οἶs.....ήθικῶν] Stahr | 21 δ'] omitted by P4 Cc, [δ'] or else τ' Spengel, δή Bonitz | 23 torus......1283 b 32 Sikquov noticed by Pseudo-Plutarch de nobil. c. 8, p. 937 A ff. | 27 [καί] Schneider, [τδ] Ramus | 30 δ'] γάρ Spengel

αὐτούς νόμος δ' έν οἰς άδικία ή γὰρ δίκη κρίσις τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ἀδίκου...τοῦτο δ έστι το πλέον αὐτῷ νέμειν τῶν ἀπλῶς ἀγαθῶν, Ελαττον δὲ τῶν ἀπλῶς κακῶν. See further Jackson's admirable comments,

pp. 101—103 of his edition.
18 ໃσον τι] 'All hold that justice is a species of equality.' So also in Nic. Eth.,

see n. on q § 1.

19 Tols Kard & Aoroo (ar Noyous) Strict-ly scientific or philosophical discussions as contrasted with such as are merely dialectical, Topic. 1. 14 § 6, 105 b 30, and with the exoteric discussions carried on from the standpoint of the ordinary or 'envisaging' consciousness, Eud. Eth. I. 8 § 4, 1217 b 22, ἐπέσκενται δὲ...καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν. Comp. c. 6 § 2; IV(VII). 1 \$\$ 2, 3 and Excursus to B. IV(VII). Twy ηθικών] Nic. Eth. v. c. 3 which is similarly cited c. 9 § 3; see n. (545). Cp. VIII(V). 1 § 2 n. (1493). SUSEM. (584)
20 Thydp kal Turl] 'For justice is

held to be something assigned to certain persons, and must be equal for equals. One's rights, one's just share, is the nearest English for the concrete bleause. Or, as Mr A. C. Bradley puts it, here is the nearest approach to our modern notion of a 'right.'

§ 2 21 ποίων δ' ἰσότης] Comp. c. 9 § 4, κατά τὶ οἶον χρήμασιν, οἶον έλευ-

θερία, n. (546 b): VIII(V). 1 § 2 n. (1403).

SUSEM. (584 b) 22 έχει...23 φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν]
'Here lies a difficulty, and a stimulus to research in political science.' SUSEM. 23 κατά παντός ύπεροχήν άγαθοῦ

on the ground of superiority in any ad-Vantage. This is one of the phrases used in I. 6 § 3. Here certainly external goods: see line 28.

26 τοῦς γάρ διαφέρουστυ] 'For (he would say) people who differ have different rights and their relative merits are different.' The correction of Ramus, και κατ' ἀξίαν, changes the sense, 'and their

different rights go according to merit. See n. (1493). SUSEM. § 3 On this view superiority in colour (white and dark races?) or size (cp. 19 [VII]. 14 § 3) or in any other external good would confer a larger share of poli-

tical rights. The falsity of this is seen from the other arts. Eaton compares Nic. Damasc. (s. voc.)

'Αλιτέμνιοι Λίβυες τοὺς ταχυτάτους αὐτών αξραίνται βασιλείς § 4 31 αὐλητών] A partitive genitive

with εθγενεστέροιs. The comparison between αίλητική and πολιτική doerh is best known from the discourse of Protagoras in Plato's dialogue 327 A (cp. 323 B). It is doubtless Socratic. Cp. c. 4 8 18.

την τέχνην ού δατέον πλεονεξίαν τών αὐλῶν τοῦς εἰγενεστέ. (VII) ροις: οἰδὰν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιση, δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργου ὑπερέχοντι ἐιδὰναι καὶ τῶν ἐργάνων την ὑπεροχήν, (κ τιὶ 35 εἰ δὲ μήπω δῆλων τὸ λεγόμενου, ἔτι μάλλου αὐτὸ προαγα- ε ει γοῦσιν ἔτσια φαιερόν. εἰ γιὰρ εἴη τις ὑπερέχου μὲν κατὰ. τὴν αὐλητικήν, πολλ δ ἐλλείπων κατ ἐιγένειαν ἡ κάλλος, εἰ καὶ μείζου ἔκαστον ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστι τῆς αὐλητικής τοῦτρον τοῦτρος κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίκαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέου τῆς αὐλητικής ἀναλογίκαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέου τῆς αὐλητικής ἡ ἐκείνος κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν ὑμως τούτρο δοτένο τοὺς διαφέρουτας κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν ὑμως τούτρο ἐστένο τοὺς διαφέρουτας καιὰ τὴν ἀναλογίκαν δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλωσθαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς εἰγενείας, συμβάλλωνται δ΄ \$ εὐδὲν. ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὰν λόγον πὰν ἀγαθῶν πρὸς πὰν ἀ τὰ εἰ την αμβλητών. ἐι γλρ μάλλον τὸ τὶ μέντδος, καὶ δίνως

33 of $\delta \ell$ Γ M° \parallel 35 of $\delta \ell$1283 a 3 of $\delta \ell$ is regarded as an interpolation by Riese, who wrongly thinks the inferiority of $\alpha \delta \lambda \eta \tau u v_{\eta}$ to nobility and beauty to have been previously stated

1283 a 4 [μάλλον] Ridgeway, ένάμιλλον? Ingram

32 την τήχυην] Adverbial accus, after όμοιων, as after ίστο 11. 2 § α, έξ επου 1. 1 8 α, έξ επου 1. 1 8 α, από το πότετα τὰ λοιπά in line 2ς.

33 δεί δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ξεγον κτλ] So that the only superiority which constitutes a claim to power is superiority in ritte or canacity for serving the state.

to which power is instrumental.

34 και τῶν ὀργάνων τὴν ὑπεροχήν=
the superiority also in instruments i.e.
superior instruments as well, just as πλεονεξίων τῶν αὐλῶν = advantage in respect

of flutes.

35 προαγαγούσω] "if we advance a little further." Intrans, as in Phys. I. I § 2, 184 a 19, προάγειν ἐκ τῶν ἀσαφεστέρων ἐπὶ τὰ σαφέστερα, Pact. 4 § 7,

στέρων έπὶ τὰ σαφέστερα, Poet. 4 § 7, 1448 b 23, κατὰ μικρὸν προάγωντες. It appears then that αὐτὸ is a nom., as 5 § 4: 'of itself.'

S as a state of the second property of the second principal sea of the second principal sea greater good than skill with the flute and proportionately superior to fitter-playing in a degree far exceeding least we must assign to him the superior flutes." I once conjectured that the text was unsound; but these words give a correct sense fir, with Ecmays, we underty and the second property of the second property

entire passage 35 of 80 µmm 879mm...1283 a g obbie as an interpolation; but he proceeds on the incorrect assertion that the remark 'although flute-playing in itself is something less important than nobility or beauty' has already occurred in the context. See moreover Vahlen Beiträge us Arial, Poet. II. p. 71 (159) f. SUSEM.

Vallen is there noticing Aristotle's constant striving after a clearness and precision which to us seems unnecessary, and amongst other instances cites c. 11 § 17 λέγω δε. .δεκοστήκ, Rhet. I. 11 § 26, 1371 b 20, ib. 111. 2 § 6, 1404 b 22. Vallen also urges this in defence of καl για γαρτα τούτους δνάρχει n. c. 1 § 4 of the

present book of the Politics.

1283 a 1 86 vap ds vo Epyov) If the claim of wealth and good birth is walld they ought to contribute to the better performance of function, which they certainly do not.

4 συμβλητόν = commensurable. See De gen. et corr. II. 6 §§ 1, 2 el μιν οδν κατά το ποσίω (συμβλητό), Διόγκης τολνό τι είναι ὑπάρχου ἄπατι τοὺς συμβλητός ῷ μετροϊνται, οἰον el ἐξ ὕδατος κοτύλης εἰον ἀξους δέκο.

§ 6 el γλρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος]
'For if a given bodily stature (confers political privileges) more than' i.e. in preference to—here we must supply 'a certain amount of wealth or good birth.'

5 ầν τὸ μέγεθος ἐνάμιλλον εἴη καὶ πρὸς πλοῦτον καὶ πρὸς (VII) ἐλευθερίαν. ὤστ' εἰ πλεῖον ὁδὶ διαφέρει κατὰ μέγεθος ἡ

οδί κατ άρετής, και πλείου άρετής μέγεθος διλος ύπερέγεω * «, εξη άω συμβλητιά πάντα. τοσόνδε γάρ [μέγεθος] εἰ 81 κρείττου τοσούδε, τοσόνδε δήλου εἰς ἴσου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ ἀδί- ο το νατου, δήλου εἰς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶυ πολιτικών εὐληνος οἰ κατά πάσαν ἀνισότητ ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχών (εἰ γιὰρ οἱ μὲν

πασαν αυτοτητ αμφισβητούσι τών άρχων (εἰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν βραδεῖς οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς, οιδὲν διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τοὺς μὲν πλεῖον τοὺς ὁ ἐλαττον ἔχεις, ἀλλ. ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς κήσει ή τοὺς δὲ ἐλαττον ἔχεις, ἀλλ. ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς κήσει ή τοὺς ἐξ των διαφορὰ λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν) ἀλλ. ἐξ των πόλις συν15 έστηκεν, ἐν τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν.

μαγθόσι Εθεπαρς | 1 όνεμέχων διου έμετήν μέγεδες ΓΕΔ-3 Το Ald. Plutach Bit. | 1 όνεμέχων - 6νθόςτων - 2 Susem, νένερέχων - 6νθόςτων - 1 διεσικ. Γε (corrector) and perhaps Γ | 8 [νέηντα] Bernaps | 1 [μέγεθος] Susem. | 1 ο καὶ omitted by Π'Ατ, [κα] Susem.¹α | 11 ελευόντην Ε'β απα Plutach, leόντη Τ' Μ', leόντην P' (εκ hand) | 1 εδ νερί τῆς Γεδ-3 Δετ. Ald. Plutach Susem.¹ (επ he text) νεγγενές Φ' Τ'. C. Γ. (ματα. ετίτ. εαθ. p. 393 | καὶ νελούντα after 1γ καὶ δενόθφος Π' Ατ. Plutach Bit. | 1 γ τ' omitted by M' P), hence [τ'] Susem.^{1,2} |

5 έναμιλλον είη=would enter the lists

with, be comparable to.

6 ord of whole with "Hence if
A's superiority in stature exceeds D's
superiority in stature exceeds D's
stature are second emit, evidently everything is comparable with everything else'
- are represents the deblyers excepted
- are represented to the control of the control
- are represented to the co

§ 8 14 dNA § dw mAne orwierrycen) But it is on the ground of the elements of which a city is composed that they necessarily contend for state offices, or surk or hyper inexployers § 4. Of these clements of the city, the various factors or sections of society whose preponderance or sections of society whose propositions for society of the qualification for political power, he enumerates three ; merit, wealth, and free butth. Comp. m. or 7 § 9, § 1; also

v1(tV), 8 % 7-9.

17 vigaps is the rated valuation of taxable property, upon which taxes were levied. Generally speaking, it was greatly below the true, or selling, value. Thus trigans φέραν or έχει» το hose property so estimated, to be a taxpayer, because returning a rateable value of property. So in VI(V), 13 % 2, voir με έχουσι αλιά, 6 % 2, verifee a v friguent φέραν. But in itself vigags does not mean taxes.

18 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπόρων...19 δούλων] A body of needy paupers would not have the necessary leisure, 11. 9 § 2. A body

§ 9 οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων)· ἀλλὰ μην εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δήλον ὅτι καὶ ε 20 δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν πλην ἄνευ μεν τῶν προτέρων αδύνατον είναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι κα-13 λώς. πρός μεν οὖν τὸ πόλιν εἶναι δόξειεν ἄν ἡ πάντα ἡ ένιά γε τούτων όρθως αμφισβητείν, πρός μέντοι ζωήν αγα-25 θην ή παιδεία καὶ ή άρετη μάλιστα δικαίως αν άμφισβη- (5.80) τοίησαν, καθάπερ εξρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτε τ πάντων ίσον έχειν δεί τους ίσους έν τι μόνον όντας ούτε άνισον τους ανίσους καθ' έν, ανόγκη πάσας είναι τάς § 2 τοιαύτας πολιτείας παρεκβάσεις. εξρηται μέν οὖν καὶ πρό-30 τερον "ότι διαμφισβητούσι τρόπον τινά δικαίως πάντες, άπλως δ' οὐ πάντες δικαίως. οἱ πλούσιοι μὲν ὅτι πλείον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς, ή δὲ χώρα κοινόν, ἔτι πρὸς τὰ

συμβόλαια πιστοί μάλλον ώς έπὶ τὸ πλέον οι δ' έλεύθεροι 20 πολιτικής P4 and Plutarch | 25 δικαίως drayκαίως P4-6 Qb Tb | 27 ίσων P² (apparently), P³ T⁵ Ald. P⁴ (1st hand) O⁵ (1st hand, corrected by a later hand) and pl. town town Ar. and corrector of Pl-4 in the margin :- in Pl another town is added in the margin after the low altered by pl into low | 32 72 omitted by Ma Pl, hence [74] Susem.1-2

of slaves would be without natural rulers, 2 § 4. It would seem that Aristotle could not consistently allow that any barbarian ĕθνοs constituted a 'city.' The monarchy which is one of his normal governments is not monarchy over bar-barians.

§ 9 21 ἄνευ τῶν προτέρων] These indispensable factors or elements, ὧν ἄνευ Dut justice and virtue are equally indispensable if the city is to live properly.

c. 13 \$1 These claimants for power (ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, 12 § 7) stand on a different footing according as we look (1) to civil society of any sort, or (2) to the highest life, which is nowhere realized save in the ideal state. 23 πρὸς μὰν οὖν τὸ πόλιν ͼἶναι] 'In view of the bare existence of a city,' as

view of the bare edistence of a chy, accontrasted with \$\overline{\overline{\psi}}\text{ pi}_{\overline{\overline{\psi}}} \text{ contrasted with \$\overline{\overline{\psi}}\text{ pi}_{\overline{\overline{\psi}}} \text{ pi}_{\overline{\overline{\psi}}} \text{ substitution \$\overline{\psi}} \text{ substitution \$\overline{\psi}} \text{ pi}_{\overline{\overline{\psi}}} \text{ substitution \$\overline{\overline{\psi}}\text{ pi}_{\overline{\overline{\psi}}} \text{ substitution \$\overline{\overline{\psi}}\text{ can be applied tive.} \$Education (culture) and virtue are words which Aristotle uses interchange-

ably in this connexion. We may add merit, xar' dɛ̃lav=xar' dperip, 5 § 5 (Bradley). See also Rhat. I. 8 § 4 with

Cope's note p. 156 f. 26 και πρότερον] In c. g. Compare Introd. p. 42. SUSEM. (686) 27 παντων Ιστον έχειν κτλ] 'that those

27 παντων του έχειν κτλ. That mose who are equal in some one thing only (cp. 0 § 4 κατὰ τὶ foo) should have an equal share of everything.

29 τοιωντας] All states based on such equality and inequality (Congreve).

\$2 xal mpórapov] c. 9 \$1. It was said, Introd. p. 42, that this reference cannot be dislodged from its place so easily as the preceding one, as Bernays'

suggestion (#. on c. 12 § 1) requires. SUSEM. (587) 31 ότι πλείον...32 κοινόν] "that they

are larger landowners and that the land is a public concern." A national interest; one to which we can widely or generally appeal: quod ad communem salutem et utilitatem pertinet, Bonitz s.v. See also Cope on κοινότερον, Rhet. 1. 1 § 10. But Bernays renders 'is a common foundation of the state —which can hardly be right. 32 ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια κτλ] "Fur-

ther (that) for the most part they are more trustworthy for the transactions of life," as they have not the temptations of the poor.

33 "The claims of the free born and

καὶ εὐγενεῖς ώς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων (πολίται γὰρ μᾶλλον οί (VII) 35 γενναιότεροι των άγεννων, ή δ' εὐγένεια παρ' ἐκάστοις § 3 οίκοι τίμιος. έτι διότι βελτίους είκος τους έκ βελτιόνων, εὐγένεια γάρ ἐστιν ἀρετὴ γένους) ὁμοίως δὴ φήσομεν δι-8 καίως και την άρετην άμφισβητείν * *, κοινωνικήν γάρ 39 άρετην είναι φαμεν την δικαιοσύνην, ή πάσας άναγκαιον § 4 ἀκολουθεῖν τὰς ἄλλας ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς έλάττους, και γάρ κρείττους και πλουσιώτεροι και βελτίους είσίν, ώς λαμβανομένων τών πλειόνων πρός τούς ελάττους. 1283 ο άρ' οὖν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν μιᾶ πόλει, λέγω δ' οἷον οἵ τ' αγαθοί και οι πλούσιοι και ευνενείς, έτι δε πλήθος άλλο τι πολιτικόν, πότερον δυφισβήτησις έσται τίνας ἄργειν δεί, ή

35 δ'] τ' Zwinger, τ' or γὰρ Susem. | 37 δè Plutarch Susem. 1.2 and apparently Γ (autem William):-perhaps right. But see Vahlen Poetic p. 101 ed. 2 (p. 161 ed. 2) | 38 άμφισβητείν < καὶ μάλιστα την δικαιοσύνην > or something similar Susem. | 42 συλλαμβανομένων? Stahr, συμβαλλομένων Koraes

1283 b 2 τι omitted by H1 (dλλ' ότι P4), hence [τι] Susem.1.2

of the nobles are closely related." Supply διαμφισβητούσι». έγγψε is nearly equiva-

lent to an adjective, see n. on Π. 9 § 5.
34 ώς έγγυς αλλήλων] From time immemorial, as noble birth stands to merely free birth so free birth and descent from citizens have been opposed to the status of slaves and freedmen: see I. 6 \$\$ 7, 8, a passage which should be compared with the following words also. Susem. (588) 34 ff. This is confirmed on two grounds: (1) the nobles are the truest citizens, and (2) the cream of the citizens. Properly speaking, it is only in a republic that a real aristocracy can exist. Comp. Free-man, Comparative Politics, Lect. vi. pp.

246-270.
35 The use of γενναιότεροι and άγεν-νῶν does not bear out the distinction made in Rhd. II. 15 § 3, elyevês kard την του γένους άρετην, γενναίον δὲ κατά τὸ μὰ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως.

26 οίκοι τίμιος] Cp. I. 6 § 7, τούς δὲ βαρβάρους νομίζουσιν οίκοι μόνον εύγενείς, n. (52). SUSEM. (588 b)

βελτίους είκος] Ambition to win fresh honour is a trait of good birth, 70 \$60071пополи в а trait of good виги, 76 факти-μbrepov elva. Ток кектуµевок, Rhet. II. 15§2. § 3 37 фрету учеову Сотр. ни. (54, 55) оп 1. 6 § 7, VI(IV). 8 § 9 н. (1248), VIII(V). 1 § 7 проубовы фрету кай

πλούτος, n. (1406). Susem. (589) όμοίως δή...δικαίως...άμφισβητείν] Ας the claim of (a) the wealthy line 31, (b) the free born and the nobles, so now that of (c) merit, is pronounced to have a partial justification,

With & in enumerations Vahlen, commenting on Poet. 18 § 3, 1455 b 31, compares II. 3 \$ 2, VIII(v). 3 \$ 16, 4 \$ 10: often strengthened at the close of a list,

as και δλως δή, και καθόλου δή. 38 κοινωνικήν] 'justice especially; for

justice is, as we affirm, a virtue essential to civil society (κοινωνία), on which all the others must necessarily attend': i.e. jus-tice in the sense of obedience to the laws as is more fully explained in Nic. Eth. v. 12-20, 1120 b 11, ff. [where see Jackson's notes]. Compare too N. E. VIII. 1 § 4, 1155 a 22, 9 § 1 ff. 1159 b 25 (Eaton). See also above c. 10 §§ 1, 2 and the references cited in n. (562). Susem. (590) A remarkable reason for the claim of aperi, after all we have been told (Wyse).

§ 4 40 αλλά μήν και οι πλείους] sc. δικαίως αμφισβητούσι. The justice of this claim has been argued in c. 11.

41 Kal yap Kreittous Ktal Comp. Plato Gorgias 488 D ούκοῦν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ ένδε κρείττους είσι κατά φύσω: (Eaton). Susem. (591)

42 ώς λαμβανομένων] Comp. c. 10 § 2, πάντων ληφθέντων: "if the many are taken in a body and compared with the few in a body" (Congreve). 1283 b I λίγω δ' οἶον] I mean, namely. 3 πότερον ἀμφισβήτησις κτλ] The

question raised in c. 10.

§ Βούκ ἔσται; καθ' ἐκάστην μὲν οὖν πολιτείαν τῶν εἰσημένων ξ 5 αναμφισβήτητος ή κρίσις τίνας άρχειν δεί (τοίς γαρ κυρίοις διαφέρουσιν άλλήλων, οίον ή μέν τώ διά πλουσίων ή δὲ τώ διὰ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν είναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον): ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τὸν § 6 αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ὑπάρχη χρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. * * εἰ δη τὸν 10 10 doιθιών είεν όλίγοι πάμπαν οί την doeτην έχοντες, τίνο δει διελείν τρόπον; ή τὸ ὁλίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δει σκοπείν, εί δυνατοί διοικείν την πόλιν ή τοσούτοι τό πλήθος είναι πόλιν έξ αὐτῶν; ἔστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἄπαν-§ 7 τας τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν. δό-

8 σκοποίσι μὲν Ald., σκοπήσομεν? Sylburg, σκοπώμεν Bas.3 in the margin, considerandum est Ar. || 9 ὑπαρ M°, ὑπάρχει P¹ || εἰ δη̂.....13 αὐτῶν; transposed by Thurot to precede 1284 2 4 el 86 711; see Introd. p. 82 f.

§ 5 4 καθ' έκάστην μέν οὖν κτλ] "Under each one of the constitutions mentioned there will be no dispute as to the proper holders of office: for (these constitutions) differ in their sovereigns, e.g. the one by being in the hands of the wealthy, another by being in the hands of the good, and similarly with each of the others." τὰ κύρια is the plural of τὸ κύριου the 'sovereign,' a supreme authority: also found in Rhet. 1. 8. 2, 1365 b 27 rà 8è κύρια διήρηται κατά τὰς πολιτείας, δσαι γάρ αὶ πολιτείαι, τοσαθτα καὶ τὰ κύριά έστιν, and Demosth. Falsa Les. § 259 p.
424, 11 οΙ δὲ λοιποί καὶ τὰ κύρι ἄττα ποτ'
έστιν ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων. Cope compares N. E. III. 8 § 15, 1116 b 18, 7à πολιτικά=the citizen levies, as a similar 5 τοι̂ς κυρίοις] Comp. c. 6 § 1 π.

(523), c. 7 § 2 n. (537): also n. (466). SUSEM. (592) 8 περί του αύτου χρόνου] So § 4, έν

μιὰ πόλει.

On the following sentence, 9 el 8\(\theta\)...

13 et abrûv, see Introd. p. 43. Thurot Etudes p. 49 gives a brief analysis of §§ 6—14. Aristotle proposed to investigate what class ought to have power in a state where all sorts of superiority (riches, nobility, virtue, numbers) are represented: and this is his answer: (1) If the virtuous are few, we must inquire whether they are numerous enough to govern the state or to make a state by themselves, § 6. (2) No superiority gives an exclusive right to the exercise of power, \$\$ 7-10. (3)
The best laws are relative to the interest

of the whole state and to the great body of the citizens. The citizen is not the same under all governments; under the best government he is the good man, §§ 11, 12. (4) If a single individual, or a handful of men not numerous enough to form a state by themselves, be preeminent for virtue, they cannot be reduced to the level of equality, §§ 13, 14. On this answer Thurot remarks; "the first proposition (1) has nothing to do with the question Aristotle has just raised: it is clear that before he discusses what is to be done with the virtuous few he should prove the right of the virtuous to command. The second, (2), has a direct bearing on the question, of which it is the negative solution. The germ of a positive solution is found in (3), but this solution is not given directly; for Aristotle is handling a difficulty as to the end of the best legislation. In (4) he discusses a particular case analogous to that which is the subject of (1). This analogy and the impossibility of understanding (1) in its present place lead me to suppose that the words et δη...έξ αὐτῶν should be trans-

will be a good sequence of ideas." §6 13 toπιδέ απορία] So 10 § 1 άλλὰ ταθτα πάντα έχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. §§ 7, 8 The refutation of the several claims is not the same as in c. 10, but is a species of reductio ad absurdum by the enforcement on the same ground of the right of the one richest, or noblest, or most virtuous man, or of the strongest group.

posed to come after κατ' άριτην and before el δέ τις (1284 a 3). Then there

15 ξειαν γάρ <άν> οὐδὲν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀξιοῦντες (VII) άρχειν, όμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος δήλον γὰρ ώς εἴ (p. 81) τις πάλιν είς πλουσιώτερος άπάντων έστί, [δήλον] ότι κατά τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ἕνα ἀπάντων δεήσει, όμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εὖγενεία διαφέροντα τῶν ἀμφισβητούν-§ 8 των δι' έλευθερίαν. ταὐτὸ δὲ τούτοις συμβήσεται καὶ 11 21 περί τὰς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰ γάρ τις εἶς ἀμείνων ανήρ είη των άλλων των εν τω πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων όντων, τούτον είναι δεί κύριον κατά ταὐτὸ δίκαιον. οὐκοῦν εί και τὸ πλήθος είναι γε δει κύριον διότι κρείττους είσι τών 25 ολόγων, καν είς ή πλείους μέν του ένος έλάττους δὲ τών

§ 9 είναι μάλλον ή τὸ πλήθος. πάντα δή ταῦτ' ἔοικε ποιεῖν φανε- 12 15 δόξειε Mº, δόξειεν P4 (corrector), δόξαιε Ald., δόξαιεν P9-3 Qb Tb Plutarch Bk. and P4 (1st hand) | γαο «αν» Koraes Bk.2, «αν» γαο Göttling | 17 [δήλον öτι] Camerarius Bk.2, Vahlen (Beiträge zu Ar. Poetik IV. 432) tries to save öτι at least. Comp. also Bonitz Ar. Stud. I. p. 58 n. (1) | 20 robross roure tows P2-8-4 Plutarch Ar., 7007 tows Ob Tb Ald. Bk. | 27 dayeody Tosely II2 Plutarch Bk.

πόλλων κρείττους ώσι των άλλων, τούτους αν δέοι κυρίους

16 δήλον γάρ ώς κτλ] Comp. VII(VI). 3 § 3 π. (1407 b) έὰν εἶς έχη πλείω τῶν άλλων εὐπόρων, κατὰ τὸ όλιγαρχικόν δίκαιον άρχειν δίκαιος μόνος. SUSEM.

17 παλιν=αδ, in this case as in the former. 18 του ένα άπάντων! This is called

Toparis in VIII(VI), 3 § 3.
§ 8 at πφι τάς dp. ênt τῆς dperῆς]
Cp. c. 5 § 5 n. (568), c. 7 § § 3, 4 with
nn. (536, 8). Susem. (698)
There provisionally we get a glimpse of
the momarch whose rule he subsequently

justifies even in the best state, cc. 16, 17; viz. els τις άμείνων άνηρ των άλλων των έν τώ πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων όντων. All the governing class are good, but he is pre-eminent in goodness. 24 el και τὸ πλήθος κτλ] Comp. Pl.

Gorg. 489 E ff. (Eaton). Susem. (594) §§ 9, 10 πάντα δη ταῦτακτλ] Aristotle here returns to what he has already developed above c. 11, so that the inquiry developed above c. 11, so that the impact. L. Stein (Zeitschrift f. d. g. Staatsvoissenschaft 1x, p. 157) and Hildenbrand (p. 422) are right in maintaining that the negative result which rejects as incorrect. all these one-sided claims, is one of the most important passages in the whole work, since it proves most clearly how nearly Aristotle grasped the true concep-

tion of a state, as elevated above all particular opposing interests, although he could not quite attain to it, "since the could not quite attain to it, "since the autocratic conception of authority had not been able anywhere in Greece to rise above the conflict of parties to the de-velopment of its own activity, and even Aristotle was unacquainted with the only means of elevating it above this conflict, namely, true constitutional monarchy," cp. Introd. p. 44 ff. Hildenbrand rightly remarks in answer to Stein, that it is just this negative result which leads to the positive construction of an ideal state, built upon this foundation. Hildenbrand however has also failed to see that even at this point something more than the mere negative result has been attained, and that one claim at any rate, viz. that of superior merit, is only provision-ally rejected,—whether it be the case that the excellence of remarkable individuals is superior or inferior to that of the general mass of citizens. Comp. Aristotle's own express statements 17 §§ 5, 6 nn. (680, 681), VIII (v). 1 § 6 n. (1495): which contain by implication the positive result, that only two forms of government can be the best, viz. those which rest upon the one or the other of the above opposite conditions, an ideal monarchy and an aristocracy. The immediate context §§ 11, 12 shows that Aristotle desires

ρὸν ὅτι τούτων τῶν ὅρουν οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' δυ ἀξι-(VII) οῦσιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὕπὸ σφῶν ἄρχεσθαι

810 πάντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀξιοῦντας 31 κυρίους εἰναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλοῦτοι, ἐχοιεν ῶν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον οὐδὰν γὰρ κολύει ποτὰ τὸ πλήθος εἰναι βέλτιον τῶν ὁλίγον καὶ πλουσιώτερον, οὐς ὡς καθ ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἀβρόους.
811 διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν, ῆν ἔχνηῦσι καὶ προβάλλοισί 36 τινες, ἐνδέχεται τοῦτου τὰν τρόπου ἀπαυτῶν (ἀποροῦσι γὰρ 18

36 τινες, διθέχεται τούτου του τρόπου άπαιτάν (άποροῦσι, γόρ) τινες πότερου τό υκουθέτη νομοθέτητου, Βουλομένο τίθεσθαι τους δρθοτάτους νόμους, πρός τό τῶν Βολτιόνου συμ-39 Φέρου ἡ πρός τὸ τῶν πλειίονου), δταν συμβαίνη τὸ λεχθέν, 812 τὸ γάρ ὁρθὰν ληπτένο ἴεως: τὸ δ΄ ἴεως δρθὰν πρός τὸ τῆς

a8 δρθώς Q^b Ald. and P⁸ (1st hand, altered by the same hand) ∥ 36 (ἀποροῖσε... 39 πλειόνων) Bernays: earlier editions have a full stop at ἀπαντῶν and no parenthesis ∥ 37 βουλομένφ <γγ> Schneider ∥ 4 ο γὰρ Susem. ở ΓΠ Plutarth Ek. Susem.¹

distinctly to express this here. See nn. (597, 599). Susem. (598)
28 row open ordels and Cp. 9 in.
None of the 'standards,' i.e. the defining

principles upon which they claim to govern.

§ 10 31 κυρίους είναι τοῦ πολιτείματος] to control the governing body.

33 το πλήθος είναι βίλετον τῶν
δλέγων] This is the thesis which Grote

33 "a whifes disus Borney with Grote is striving to prove throughout his history, and the six striving to prove throughout his history, and the six striving the Atherisan Demos as his great of which it was capable at Salamis and Agrennase, upon its financial honesty, as attested by an undebased crimage, and six when moderation in the hour of tuningh, so the control of the Thirty it consented to a general matter than the control of the Thirty it consented to a general under the control of the Thirty it consented to a general matter than the control of the Thirty it consented to a general matter than the matter than the under the control of the Thirty it consented to a general matter than the time of the mutilistion of the Hermas and the hasty condemnation the Hermas and the hasty condemnation of the generals at Athens, the trubbles of Cortyns and Samos, and other occasional than the control of the Systilm and Arroys.

problem"; whence πρόβλημα.

36 τοῦτεν τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντάν...39

ὅταν συμβαίνη κτλ) May be met as

follows (in § 12) in the case supposed.

27 τίβκαθαι] Properly. to enect

oran συμβαίνη κτλ May be met as follows (in § 12) in the case supposed. 37 τίθεσθα! Properly, to enact. But Herod. 1. 29, II. 177 of Solon. 30 τδ λαχθεί] That is, the case when the aggregate merit of the great majority surpasses that of prominently

salte individual neen. Strank (1997).

\$12 got by the picke Narpivol troug). The problem is to find the standard to the standard of the picket. The problem is to find the standard for the picket of the picket. The picket is the picket of th

4ι πόλεως όλης συμφέρου καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν (VII) πολίτης δὲ κοινή μὲν ὁ μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι

1884 ε έστί, καθ' έκάστην δὲ πολιτείαν ἔτερος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην ό δυνάμενος καὶ προαιρούμενος άρχεσθαι καὶ άρχειν « 3 πρός του βίου του κατ' άρετήν.

< * * el 8è Tòv

10 < άριθμον είεν ολίγοι πάμπαν οι την άρετην έχοντες, τίνα 11 <δεί διελείν τρόπου; ή τὸ όλύνοι πρός τὸ ἔργου δεί σκοπείν. 12 <εί δυνατοὶ διοικείν τὴν πόλιν ἡ τοσούτοι τὸ πλήθος 13 < ώστ' είναι πόλιν έξ αὐτών; >

1284 a 1 πρδη κατά Schneider, perhaps rightly | 3 του after βίου omitted by Qb Tb and P4 (1st hand)

1283 b 9 ** Conring Thurot (by Susem.1 placed after 13 αὐτῶν), see Comm. n. (599). Spengel assumes either a lacuna before this passage, or that it should be transposed to follow either (1) 1283 a 40 τας άλλας or (2) 1283 b 8 τρόπον | δέ Susem.2, δή Γ II Plutarch Bk. Susem. 1.3 in the text | 11 διελεῶν τὸν Qb Tb Plutarch Bk. | 12 [#] Schneider, probably right

42 πολίτης δὲ κοινή μὲν κτλ] Α neat formula summing up the results of 1284 α 1 καθ' έκάστην δὲ πολιτείαν έτερος | Sec c. 1 § 10 π. (440). SUSEM.

1284 a 1 πρὸς δί...3 ἀρετήν] In the best constitution, the better class (βελτίονει) coincides not merely with the majority but even with the whole mass of citizens: cp Iv(vII). 9 § 3; r3 §§ 9, Io; VI(IV). 7 §§ 2—4. Thurot rightly remarks that after the negative answer §§ 5-10 n. (595) to the question first raised in § 4, this paragraph §§ 11, 12 also contains the germs of a positive answer. Indeed, when § 6 is transposed to follow directly upon it, the answer is continued in the context without interruption of the connexion. Thurot is no less right when he observes that this solution is no direct answer to the former questions, but as regards its form is only an answer to the subordinate question of § 11 itself. There is therefore a considerable hiatus after § 12. But Thurot is scarcely correct and clear when he assumes that it can be supplied from §§ 11, 12 if we draw the conclusion that "in a state where there are virtuous men, rich men, nobles, and a mass of citizens, power belongs to all those who have true civic virtue, this being something different from moral virtue not only under an ideal government but everywhere else." In

my opinion, we should rather expect the

conclusion that in the best constitution, all citizens ought to have equal rights, and that the true aristocracy is one in which all citizens are provided with sufficient property. But where the excellence (doern) of the few is equal to that of the many, especially if neither exceed a certain amount, in default of other means of satisfying the claims of both parties, either the exercise of full citizenship, or else the merely passive right of being elected to office (11 § 8 n. 569), must depend on a moderate property qualification, and wealth be introduced as a supplementary consideration. Thus, although inferior to aristocracy, this government, i.e. Polity, would still be included among the normal forms, and would in such a case be better than democratic equality. Susem. (599)
2 ο δυνάμενος και προαιρούμενος] Comp. Top. IV. 5 § 11, 126 b 9; ούτε γάρ ο προαιρούμενος άδινατῶν δέ, ούθ' ο δυνά-μενος μή προαιρούμενος δε διάβολος ή φέναξ.

§ 6 τ283 b 9 el δè τον αριθμόν...τ3 πόλιν εξ αυτών] "But if the possessors of virtue are altogether few in number, how should we decide (Bernays; set the limits)? Or must their fewness be considered relatively to the task; are they competent to administer the city or, in other words, numerous enough to form a city themselves?" Schneider rightly saw that the last sentence contained a single supposition: able to manage the city, because strong enough to form a city by themselves.

εί δέ τίς έστιν είς τοσούτον διαφέρων κατ' άρετης ύπερ- VIII 1284 8 4 5 βολήν, η πλείους μεν ένδς μη μέντοι δυνατοί πλήρωμα παρέγεσθαι πόλεως, ώστε μη συμβλητην είναι την τών άλλων άρετην πάντων μηδέ την δύναμιν αὐτών την πολιτικήν πρός (p. 80)

την εκείνων, εί πλείους, εί δ' είς, την εκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος πόλεως αδικήσονται γαρ αξιούμενοι των ίσων, 10 άνισοι τοσούτον κατ' άρετην όντες καὶ την πολιτικήν δύναμιν § 14 ώσπερ γὰρ θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον. ὅθεν δήλον ότι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἀναγκαῖον είναι περὶ τοὺς ἴσους 2

καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῆ δυνάμει, κατά δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος. αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος. καὶ γὰρ γελοῖος ἄν εἴη νομοθετεῖν τις 1284 a 4 els] els Γ Mo P4 and apparently P1 (1st hand) | 5 δινατόν Γ Mo | παρασγέσθαι Π2 Bk.

§ 13 1284 a 4 τοσούτον διαφέρων... 6 ώστε μη...] So preeminent...that the merit of the rest is not commensurable. 4 κατ ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν] 'in excess of merit'=by reason of his exalted merit. So N. Eth. IX. 4 § 6, 10 § 5 † ὑπερβολή τῆς φιλίας=friendship in the

extreme, or exalted friendship Two cases are distinguished: (1) one such prince of men, (2) a number of them too small to form the 'complement' of a city. Comp. for πλήρωμα VI(IV). 4 § 12

and Pl. Rep. 11. 371 E (where the sense is slightly different). 5 η πλείους...6 πόλεως] The second case hardly belongs, strictly speaking, to this place, since it requires that one kind of collective virtue be added to another; and in this kind of calculation it is impossible to decide where to stop adding particular men to the virtuous minority, while the result of the calculation varies according to our decision. Therefore Aristotle in what follows neglects this case entirely and does not construct from it a 'truest' form of aristocracy beyond and above the true one. Comp. c. 17 § 5, 18 § 1 with nn.

000. Comp. C: 17 % 5, 10 % 1 π 11. (678, 682). Susem. (600)

7 την πολιτικήν] In other words, την πρός τό έργου δύναμω (Congreve).

9 μέρος] Τhe phrase μέρος έναι = μετέχειν οι κουωνεύ της πόλεως: see tv(vii).

4 § 6; 8 § 1, § 6; 9 § 4. It is opposed to the indispensable adjuncts (ω dies ow ω ω ω ω είη πόλιι) which are excluded from the franchise. 'The conditions of common political life cease to be applicable; the great man is not an equal amongst equals to be bound by equal rules' (Bradley). Trans.: "these men must cease to be accounted members of the city. For they will be wronged if they are deemed worthy of mere equality when they are so far superior (aviou) in merit and civil capacity." See II. 7 § 18 n.,

VIII(V). 1 § 3.

11 Lower yep bedy] Comp. § 25 and n. (615). Aristotle could hardly express more strongly how improbable he himself considers this case. His reasons for considering it notwithstanding are no doubt those mentioned in 8 § 1 for the consideration of other no less improbable cases. Cp. n. (542) and Introd.

p. 70 f. See also n. (678) on III. 17. 5. Bradley Hellenica p. 230 rightly traces this thought to its origin in Plato's Politicus. Susem. (601) Plato's words are πασών γαρ έκείνην γε,

sc. την δρθην πολιτείαν, έκκριτέον, οδον θεζω έξ ανθρώπων, έκ των άλλων πολιτειών, 303 B § 14 13 Kard=anent, applicable to, binding upon; and not necessarily 'against'. Even the rule of law does

not bind such men. "This sentence κατά τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ έστι μόμος occurs word for word in St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, c. 5 v. 23,

suggesting, at all events, a direct adapta-tion from Aristotle." (T. L. Heath.) 14 αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐἰσι νόμος] Comp. 17 § 2 n. (675). Susem. (601 b)

"Comp. the identical sentiment in St

Paul Romans c. 2 v. 14, where carross elos solutos is applied to εθνη τὸ μὴ Εχοντα τόμων, further described (v. 15) as men who do by nature (φύσα) the same things as the law prescribes, i.e. men who have

15 πειρώμενος κατ' αὐτών. Χέγοιεν γιὰρ ἀν ἴσως ἄπερ 'Αντισθέ (VIII) γης ἐφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων τών δασυπόδων καὶ τὸ §15 ἴσον ἀξιούντων πάντας έχεικ. διὸ καὶ τίθενται τὸν όστρακι-

16 δημεγορούντων P* and M* (1st hand), δημιουργούντων Γ || 17 διό καί...... 128ξ b 34 πολέσω Krohn regards as a spirious addition: against this view see Comm. n. (6οα b)

moral virtue" (Τ. L. Heath). Comp. Nic. Eth. IV. 8 § 10, 1128 a 32, οδον νόμος δν έαντῷ.

de deuroj.

15 'Artrofloys] The celebrated
pupil of Secrates who founded the Cynic
school. The quotation is probably from
his work Ilodrucos, "The Statesman";
op. A. Müller De Antithetist Cynic' vide
et scriptis p. 64 (Marburg 1860); Zeller
Secrates and Secratics p. 33 n. (4) 1 and
c. 13 generally, p. 284 ff. Eng. tr. Susem.
(609)

Treatment of disproportionate eminence in the imperfect conditionics: §8 15-33. Motives of self-preservation lead democracies to resort to Ostracism: §8 15, 16. This has a counterpart in the execution by violence of eminent clitzens which tyrants practise (§8 17, 18), and in the policy pursued by sovereign states (Persia, Athens) in humbling their

subjects, § 19-

Compare Grote's masterly defence of Ostracism: c. 31, IV. pp. 200-212. § 15 17 810 ... 60 TPARKOJED] It is improbable that this conception of Ostracism is the correct one. It was resorted to rather when two party leaders had each about the same number of followers and thus the machinery of the state was likely to be brought to a dead lock. In such cases, the removal of one converted the other into the leading statesman. This at any rate was the significance of this institution at the best period of the Athenian democracy, although according to Philochoros, Fr. 79 b, it was at Athens originally directed against the followers of the Peisistratidae (ubvos be Υπέρβολος έκ των αδόξων... έξοστρακισθήναι διά μοχθηρίαν τρόπων, οὐ δι' ὑποψίαν τυραννίδος, μετά τούτον δέ κατελύθη τό έθος, αρξάμενον νομοθετήσαντος Κλεισθένους, ότε τους τυράννους κατέλυσεν, όπως συνεκβάλη καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτ...Müller Frag. hist. gr. 1. p. 397, 3 ff.); and else-where too it may have had a similar origin. Thus it is possible that here Aristotle really adheres to the original intention of Ostracism (so Seeliger in Jahrb. f. Philol. CXV. 1877 742, n. 8) though on the other hand in his remarks further on, § 23, there can be no doubt that he refers to its later degeneracy (n. 613). This institution prevailed at Athens from the time of Cleisthenes until the latter half of the Peloponnesian War or even later (n. 613), at Argos, VIII(v). 3 § 3 n. (1509 b), Megara, Syracuse, Miletus, and Ephesus. At Athens the question whether there should be an Ostracism in any particular year was regularly debated and voted on in the popular assembly. If the result was affirmative, a day was fixed for another meeting of the Assembly, at which at least 6000 citizens had to be present: so Fränkel and before him Lugebil On the nature and historical significance of Ostracism at Athens in the Suppl. to the Jahrb. f. Philol. N. S. IV. p. 141 ff. Here every citizen who possessed a vote wrote on a potsherd the name of the person whom he wished to banish, and the man who was thus designated by the majority had to leave Athens within 10 days for a term of ten

years, subsequently diminished to five; he might however be recalled before that time by a vote of the Assembly. See Schömann pp. 182, 338, 395 Eng. tr. with Frankel's corrections op. cit. p. 92 f. n. 1: cp. pp. 14 ff. 52, 80 ff. SUSEM. (603) One part of the Berlin papyrus, on which hardly decipherable fragments of Aristotle's 'Aθπναίων πολιτεία have been discovered, relates to the establishment of ostracism. 'Aristotle distinguishes two phases in the development of this institution. At first the dread of a restoration of the Peisistratidae prevailed, and (a) relatives or friends of Hippias and Hipparchus were banished. Later on. as a settled institution, it fell upon (b) any who by preponderant influence threatened to become dangerous to democratic equality, such as Aristeides and Xan-thippos.' Diels restores ἐπὶ μὲν οῦν Ἐξηκ-[εστίδου τοὺς τῶν τυράννων] φίλους ώστράκιζον, μετά δέ ταθτα των ά[ντιπολιτευομένων (?) όταν] τις δή σχή μείζω [δ]ύ[ναμιν]. The name of Aristeides is recovered from a brief excerpt in pseudo-Heracleides Müller Frag. Hist. Gr. 11. p. 209, 7 of the

very passage which is but half recovered

σμὸν αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις, διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην alτίαν (VIII) αιται γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦσι διόκειν τὴν Ισότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ο δοτε τούς δοκοῦσι διόκειν τὴν Ισότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ο δοτε τούς δοκοῦσι διάκειν τὴν Ισότητα μάλιστα πάντων, \$16 φλλίαν ἡ τινα άλλην πολιτικήν ἰσχὸν ἀστράκιζων καὶ μεθίστασια ἐκ τῆς πόλοεις χρόνους ἀρισμένους. μυθολογείται ε δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Λργοναύτας τὲν 'Ηρακλία καταλιπτέν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν' οἱ γὰρ ἐθδικεν αὐτὰν ἄγειν τὴν 'Λργω 25 μετὰ τὰν άλλων οἱς ὑπερβάλλουτα πολύ τὰν πλωτήρου. διὰ καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας τὴν τυρανιάλα καὶ τὴν Περιάκδρου Θρασυβούλος συμβουλίαν οὐχ ἀπλῶς οἰγτέον ὁρθῶς ἐπτιμάν \$11 (φωι) τὴρ τὸν Περιαδρον εἰπτέν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρικα περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιροῦττα δὲ τοὺς sο ὑπερέκοντας τὰν στομένω τὸν απρικα τὸν δοναφείνατας τὰν στομένου τὸν δεν τούς σουραν' ίδεν

άγνοοθντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τὴν αίτίαν, ἀπαγ-19 πώτας γὰρ δὰ $P^1 \parallel$ δοκοῦν: omitted by $\Pi^n \parallel$ διάκεσ] persecuenter William \parallel 20 πολυφούω P^1 (1st hand), γρ. πολυφούων corr. in the margin of P^1

to us: Κλεισθένης τον περί δστρακισμού νόμον είσηγήσατο, δε έτθεη δεά τοὺς τυραννιώντας (α)· καὶ άλλοι τε ώστρακίσθησαν καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ 'Αριστείδης (δ). Diels

Clear tile Berliner Programte p. 20.

18 Bet vanciery adready portion. For this reason, that laws are only destined for those who are more or less on an equality, while an individual grows disinctined to be bound by law in proportion as he rises above this general equality. If this very simple connection be borne in mind, there is no reason to suspect an interpolation. SUSEM. (6022 b)

21 αστράκιζον] Note the imperfect; here certainly because Ostracism was obsolete in Aristotle's time. See n. on

II. 9 § 19.
§ 16 22 µrdoAryeFras erk.] "Even in
the story there is a naive hint that
the story there is a naive hint that
the story there is a naive hint that
When he went on board the slip, it
threatened to sink, and when he took
boil of an oar, it broke at once in his
grasp." (Freller Ge. 8/19/44. II. p. 324.)
Frierkytes of Levole/6-6/p., Animatol,
swas set on shore because the Argo complained that his weight was too great for
her (Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. 1 1 200), bett
his was not the only form of the legend.
See Assume 100 form of the legend.
See Assume 100 form of the legend.
See Assume 100 form of the legend.

Zee Assume 100 form of the legend.
Zee Assume 100 form of the legend.

24 οῦ γὰρ ἐθέλειν] "For the Argo refused to carry (ἄγειν) him with the rest as far outweighing her crew": φθεγξαμένη μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τούτου βάρος. Apollodor, I o ro

Apollodor. I. 9. 19.
27 ovy dinkes observe opses energial
must not be thought to blame it with
absolute justice.

\$31 : 26 den't vận vớn ThịcataGeọn.
In the account given by Herodoxos v. op, the parts of Periander and Thrasphulos are reversed (Fertural). Astatole refens to a reverse (Fertural). Astatole refens to reverse (Fertural). Astatole refens to For the tymat Thrasphulos of Milletus see.
For the tymat Thrasphulos of Milletus see.
For the tymat Thrasphulos of Milletus see.
For the tymat Thrasphulos of Milletus see, the the tymat thrasphulos of Milletus see.
For the tymat of tymat of the tymat of tymat of the tymat

Livy (I. 54) borrows the story for Sextus Tarquinius at Gabii, 32 συννοήσαι] Comp. σύννουν γενδ-

μενον, Π. 7. 17. § 18 33 τούτο γάρ κτλ] Oncken (Π. 173) says that Aristotle approves of Ostracism. It would be as correct (or γειλωντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρασύβουλου ὅτι (VIII)
§ 18 δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχουτας ἀνδρας ἀναιρεῖν). τοῦτο γάρ οἱ μόνου «
συμφέρει τοῖς τυράνους, οὐδὲ μένου οἱ τύρανου πουόσικ,
35 ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ὁλιγιαργίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας ὁ γάρ ὀστρακισμός τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμω τρόπου τινὰ τῷ κολούευ τοὸς ὑπερέχουτας καὶ ψυγαδεύευ. (ο. %)
§ 19 τὸ δ΄ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιούσιν οἱ
κύριοι τῆς δινόμεως, οἰον 'Αδηναίοι μέν περὶ Σαμίονς καὶ
40 Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους (ἐπεὶ γὰρ θῶττον ἐγκρατῶς ἔτχον τὴν
ἀρχίν, ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περ
184 ὁ τῶν Βακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

184 ὁ τῶν Βακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

185 τὰν ὁποῦ Βακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

186 τὰν δεῦ Μακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

186 τὰν τοῦν Βακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

186 τὰν τοῦν Βακλιελής Μόδους καὶ Βαβλικρίνος καὶ τὰν ἀλλου τοὺς

186 τὰν τοῦν ἐπερικρίτησε

187 τὰν τοῦν τοῦν

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rather incorrect) to deduce from this exposition his approval of the violent measures of the tyrants. In point of fact, he approves of both, but only from the standpoint of Democracy and Tyrannis respectively, two forms of government

1284 b 2 епескопте Ть, епескопте Ра

which he condemns and pronounces to be degenerate types. See however n.

(614). SUSEM. (606)

35 όμο ων δχα] i.e. συμφόρει, it is the interest of oligarchies and democracies and accordingly they take such measures.

§ 19 38 πρ] τας πολαις καὶ τα θθνη] in the case of cities and nations (und. subject to them). See π. (11) and the references there given. SUSEM. (607)

subject to them). See m. (11) and the references there given. SUREM. (607) 39 'Adpuato µkv mepl Zaµleovs] Aristotle is thinking of the famous Samian revolt, 441—440 R.C., see E. Curtius II.

twoll, 4,411—4,40 h.C., see E. Curtina II.
p. 47 if. Eng. ft; Von Wilmnowitz
42st Kyladlers p. II f. Sustan. (688)
40 Xlous and Aer@Reva] Samos,
Chios, and Leabos were the only independent states amongst the allies of Athers.
were compelled by the Athenians, to pull down their new walls: Thue. IV. 51
The revoid to Milytinee (4,89) and anot
all the other cities of Leabos, and their
uniform (4,97). Curtina III. p. 100 ft.
118 f. Eng. tr. Sustan. (690).

1-production of the contract o

'For as soon as they had firmly grasped empire they humbled these states in violation of the compacts made with them.' It is clear from n. (600) that this is not true of the Lesbians: even in regard to the Chians and the Samians it scarcely holds good (Schlosser). SUSEM.

(610)

For êmel barrow=as soon as, Shilleto compares Demosth. Pantaen. § 41 p. 978, 18, Conon § 5 p. 1257, 28: Plato Protag. 325 c êmesêda barrow canafi ris râ herjouen, Alc. 1. 105 h câr barrow ets rôv

Abgustus of the case of the ca

γνώμης νθν.

Twicorrs πολλάκιε] 'used often to reduce.' Cyrus and the Lydiaus, Herod. L. 150: externally regarded, his conduct was certainly unusually mild. In regard to the Babylonians see Herod. III. 159 (Eaton). Comp. Duncker's History of Antiquity (ed. 4) IV. Pp. 334ff., 464ff., 477 ff. (vol. VI. cc. 6, 7, 14 Eng. tr.). SUSEM. (GII)

τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰς ὁρθάς αἰ μὲν γιὰρ παρεκβεβηκιῦαι (VIII) ς πρός τὰ ίδιον ἀποσκοπύσαι τοῦτο δράσι», οἱ μὴ λλλὰ περὶ τὰς τὰ κοινὰν ἀγαθὰν ἐπισκοποιότας τὰν μὴν λλλὰ εξιεί ξαι τρόπου. Εῆλον εἰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλαν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν οὕτε γιὰρ ηραφείν ἐάσειεν ἀν τὰν υπερβάλλοντα πόζα τῆς συμμετρίας ἔχειε τὰ ξῷσι, οιδ εἰ διαιο το φέροι τὰ κάλλος, οῦτε πρόμμαν ναυπηγὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλαν τι μορίων τῶν τῆς νεώς, οιδὲ ἐδ χαροδιέσκαλος τὰν μεῖξον καὶ κάλλου τοῦ παυτός χοροφ φθεγγόμενο ἐάσει συγ-

The problem (what to do with men of preeminent ment) is urgent even in the normal state, § 20. Principles of symmetry require that, as in the arts, the should be no disproportionate influence or merit, § 21. This is a frequent cause of revolutions (& brepoxip), as is explained vull(v). 2 & 6.—8. § a (Eaton).

To object the process of the proces

15 κατά τὰς ὁμολογουμένας ὑπεροχὰς] Hence in regard to admitted instances of superiority the case for Ostracism possesses a certain political justification, a ground of right.

§ 23 It would be better to frame the constitution so as not to require anything of the sort; failing that, the next best course is to adopt it as a corrective measure. Unfortunately it was used in

13 ώστε διά τοῦτο κτλ] It is only with the gravest misgivings that I have followed Thurot in the transposition of § 22, b 13-15, to this place and in his other by no means simple changes. But I see no other means of obtaining any really consistent connexion, corresponding to the one idea prevalent throughout the whole chapter, namely that the measures taken by Monarchs and Republics rest in this respect on the same principle, and that the same problem must be considered by the true forms of Monarchy and Republic, and not merely by the degenerate ones. Thus in these matters a republic has no advantage over a monarchy; on the contrary the corresponding measures of violence are generally calculated with a view to the maintenance of the monarchy, 14 στηφουνών τοία πόλεσω, εἰ τῆς οἰσείας εἰρχῆς ἐφολίμου (VIII)
15 ταΐα πόλεσω οἴυσης τούτο δρώσω. διό κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογουμένας ὑπεροχίας ὅχει τι δίκαιου πολιτικόυ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ
38 του ὀστρακισμόυ. Θέλτιου μέν οὐυ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς
οὕτω συστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν ἄστε μὴ δείσθαι τοιαύτης

23 τον όστρακισμόν. βέλτιον μέν οὖν τοὺ νομοθέτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐτο συστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν ὅστε μὴ δείσθαι τοιαίτης ἱατρείας ἐεὐτερος ἐξ ἀποῦς, ἀν συμβῆ, πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτος το τινὶ διορθώματι διορθοῦν. <ὅστε διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐξὲν καλύει τοὶν ι< κυνάρχας συμφωνεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἀψες <</p>
5 < Χιμου ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐσης τοῦτο δρῶσιν. ΄ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐγίωτο περὶ 11 τὰς πόλεις οὐ γὰρ ἔξλικπον πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας τὸς οἰκείας τὸς οἰκείας τὸς οἰκείας τὸς οἰκείας τὸς τοῦτο δρῶσιν.</p>

14 μονάρχουν Π^3 Bk. \parallel τ $\hat{\eta}$ olecią ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$ Thurot, τ $\hat{\eta}$ olecią ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$ < $\dot{\omega}$ »? Susem.
 $\dot{\omega}$ νεν» ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$ ν Schneider, <χάρω» ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$ ν Schneidt \parallel ἀρλιμον [ταδ τόλισον ούρν] Thurot (the best suggestion as yet), ἀρφλίμου.....ούσης transposed to follow 19 larpetas Schmidt \parallel 15 ταδ τόλου] τοῦ τολλοί Lindau

while it often happens that they are employed in a degenerate republic not for the corresponding purpose, the mainte-nance of the republic, but without any plan or principle. In this way the connexion is best established. On the other hand it is impossible to fit into an part of the dissertation the idea which Bernays, Postgate, and others find there, that it is rather a question of an agree-ment between absolute monarchs and their subjects; of absolute rule for the benefit of the latter, and of the banishment of powerful party leaders; with a view to the maintenance of absolute rule and also to the advantage (and therefore with the consent) of the governed. The instance of Pittacus, quoted by Postgate, 14 § 10, is not even appropriate, for it was not as alouwhing that Pittacus banished the Oligarchs: on the contrary, it was not till after their banishment that he was elected alsouppings by the people in order that he might command them against the exiles who were trying to effect their return by arms and violence. He at length brought about the peaceful return of the exiles, and reconciled the parties to one another. Even this interpretation cannot however be obtained without a transposition, viz. that, as Bernays pro-posed, § 22, ὧστε...δρῶσω, be inserted between τρόπου and δηλου at the end of § 20: these words, if understood in the sense required, cannot retain their present place, as Postgate thinks. For two conclusions, both introduced by particles of inference (ωστε...διό) cannot possibly follow each other if, as the sense here

shows, the second does not follow from the first, but is like the first an inference drawn from preceding premises. Moreover Aristotle nowhere else designates a monarch's subjects as πόλεις; we should rather expect rois appontions or at any rate τοις πολίταις in both places instead of ταίς πόλεσι»: and, if the philosopher wished to employ this last expression, at any rate ταις έαυτών πόλεσω. Besides, in the second place, the insertion of Kal "also" before ταις πόλεσω would be indispensable for the sense, as Bernays' own translation shows. Still in face of all these difficulties, the question may arise whether it is not advisable, instead of making all these violent changes, to regard the whole passage (which we can easily dispense with) as an interpolation by another hand. Susem. (612)
20 όπερ ούκ ἐγίνετο] If Thurot's

20 5mp of kfwero] If Thurot's transposition be approved, this means: "but the free states did not employ Ostracism as a measure beneficial to their government." Without any such change Bernays and others make it refer to the words recover rus teophiquent tempologies, it was not need as a corrective.

21 of yae @Nerow rel.] It is probable that there was often chicancy in the exercise of Ostracian, especially under an absolute democracy. It is said that when it was enforced for the last time at Athens, Alchiades and Nicina diverted Athens, Alchiades and Nicina diverted Athens, and the property of the story in this form is not to be relied on, still it in this form is not to be relied on, still it may have become apparent on that ore.

§ 24 συμφέρον, άλλά στασιαστικώς έχρωντο τοῦς ὀστρακισμοῦς. ἐν (VIII) μέν ούν ταις παρεκβεβηκυίαις πολιτείαις ότι μέν ίδια συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον έστι, φανερόν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐν ἀπλώς 25 δίκαιου, καλ τοῦτο φανερόν άλλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας τ

έχει πολλήν ἀπορίαν, οὐ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ύπεροχήν, οίον Ισχύος καὶ πλούτου καὶ πολυφιλίας, άλλὰ (ρ. 84) § 25 αν τις γένηται διαφέρων κατ' άρετήν, τί χρή ποιείν; οὐ

γάρ δή φαίεν αν δείν εκβάλλειν και μεθιστάναι τον τοιού-20 του άλλα μην ούδ άργειν γε του τοιούτου (παραπλήσιον γάρ καν εί του Διὸς άρχειν άξιοιεν), μερίζοντες τὰς άρχάς. λείπεται τοίνυν, όπερ έοικε πεφυκέναι, πείθεσθαι τώ τοιούτω πάντας ασμένως, ώστε βασιλέας είναι τοὺς τοιούτους αιδίους έν ταις πόλεσιν.

24 [ούχ] Bernays | 25 έπεὶ P2-8 | 31 ἀξιοίμεν Γ Susem. 14, ἀξιοί μὶν M*. The parentheses Hampke, but the subject is not strictly the same as in the principal clause: μερίζωτας? Susem. | 32 διτερ<καl> Susem.14 and possibly Γ (quod et videtur William); perhaps rightly | 33 dσμένως dναγκαίως P4-6 Qb Tb | βασι-Asine P2-3 Tb

casion how easily a combination of two parties could defeat the true aim of this institution, and turn it against the most zealous of patriots. Indeed there is no evidence that it was ever actually re-sorted to again at Athens. Cp. Scho-mann pp. 182, 395 Eng. tr. When the healthy life of parties ceased there, and especially when its surplus strength beespecially when its surplus strength be-gan to fail the state, and every man of talent was needed at his post, Ostra-cism proved to be superfluous. When it had been more than once employed in order to remove some person dis-pleasing to the dominant party (Damon Plut, Per. 4., Aristid. 7., Callias Pseudo-Andoc. IV. 32) it disappeared from the frame-work of the Constitution (See-

liger). Susem. (613)
Summary of results: the removal of eminent men is (a) expedient and just in eminent men is (a) expedient and just in the interests of perverted constitutions, but (3) not absolutely just. The best tatle can notifier expel such a man of preeminent merit, nor treat him as on ordinary subject. It only remains to make him sovereign, \$8 24, 25. \$2 4, 23 (\$60] expedient and just in the private interest of the government. Not 'in particular cases.' This is a

restatement of §§ 18, 20.

24. ούχ ἀπλῶς sc. ἐστὶ δίκαιον. The

mere fact of its accord with the blamor of a perverted state is decisive, c. Q § 3.

25 άλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας] Aristotle does not say what should be done in a Polity or a false Aristocracy, which are also to be reckoned among right forms of government. Is it possible that he regarded Ostracism as still ad-missible? Further comp. nn. on 11. 9 § 30 (339); III. 6 § 1 (521); III. 13 § 9 (595), § 11 (597), § 13 (601); 17 §§ 4, 5 (677—8); VI(IV). 2 §§ 1, 2 (1133-6-7), 10 § 3 (1280) and Introd. p. 43 ff. Su-SEM. (614) 26 οὐ κατά τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν την

ὑπεροχήν] κατὰ governs ὑπεροχήν. Note that the cases chiefly alleged for Ostra-

that the cases cliently alleged for Ostromberon, \$12 are now excluded.
\$25 31 rev Auto | 100 per proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{1.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in High \(\text{2.0} \), \$20 of proventially, as in Hieror, \(\text{2.0} \), as distribution of offices; \(\text{1.0} \), applications as a subject. Better taken with \(\text{2.0} \), \$20 of proventially, \(\text{2.0} \), and \(\text{2.0} \), the second of the least and \(\text{2.0} \), and \(\text

must be strained to mean κατά μέρος άρχων και αργόμονος as in c. 17 § 7, ούτ' αξιούν ἄρχεσθαι κατά μέρος. 33 βασιλέας άιδίους] Kings for life.

The form of the phrase, and the words & ταις πόλεσεν certainly do not favour the reference to Alexander which it was once 14 Έσως δὲ καλώς ἔχει μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους λύγους μετα-ΙΧ 36 βίγαι καὶ σκέγασθαι περί βασιλείας 'φαμὲν γιὰρ τῶν ὁρθῶν πολιτειδων μέων εἰναι ταίτην. σκεπέσο δὲ πότερου συμφέρει τῆ μελλούση καλώς οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ πόλει καὶ χώρα βασιλείνεσθαι, ἡ οῦ, ἀλλ' ἀλλη τις πόλιτεία μάλλου, ἡ τιαὶ μὲν 2 συμφέρει τιαὶ δ' οῦ συμφέρει δεᾶ δὲ πρότου διελέσθαι

41 πότερου ε΄ν τι γένος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἡ πλείους έχει διαφοράς.

1853 - βάδιου δὴ τοῦτό γε καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι πλείω τε γένη περι-2

8 έχει καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶν οὐχ εἰς πασῶν, ἡ γὰρ ἐν

τῆ Λακονικῆ πολιτεία δοκεῖ μὰν εἶναι βασιλεία μάλιστα τῶν

κατὰ ἐνίων αἰκ ἐπτ. ἐλ μπί.

κατὰ νόμον, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ κυρία πάντων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐξέλθη
35 ώμαμθους ΓΜ° || 37 cival < καὶ> Κοταες || δή Sussem., δὲ ΓΙΙ Ατ. Εk. ||
40 δή ΓΜ° Ριδιά || 41 δν τη δν τό Π° Εk. || αὐτῶν Π° Ατ.

1285 a : \$\rho^2\text{off} M^\circ P^1 \| \delta^2 \text{ Susem.}^2 \text{ (perhaps rightly) } \| \delta \delta^2 \delta^2 \cdot P^4 Q^b T^b U^b L^b, \$\gamma d A A.\$

the fashion to discover in the treatise. From VIII(v). 10 § 8 we learn that the historical origin of the Macedonian monarchy was widely different from this exaltation of one eminent citizen of extraordinary endowments to lifelong sway.

c. 14 Transition to the particular constitutions or forms of the state, the first of which is Monarchy. There are few actual and historical types of single rule: (a) the Spartan kings, (B) the critical moreoides, (c) the descriptives or distinct, (B) the king in the horsic age: §§ 2—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age: §§ 3—100 to the king in the horsic age in the horsi

The last type is alone of value for our inquiry, because, as shown 14 § 25, 17 § 8, 7, 8, it is a rare, but quite legitimate, form of the best constitution. See *Introd.* pp. 44—47, *Analys.* p. 112 f., and v1(tv).

\$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\frac{1}{2}\$\$ \$\phi_2 \text{by}\$ \$\phi_2 \text{wish}\$ \$\phi_2 \text{min}\$ \$\phi_2 \text{min

portant to insist that a merely verbal allusion of the kind, is, after all, indecisive, whereas the discussion of monarchy forms a natural sequel to the result enunciated in c. 13 \$\mathbb{8}\$ 24, 25; which, be it observed, answers the question of \$\mathbb{1}\$; and \$\mathbb{6}\$ 6. Indeed Bernays' view would not be all the control of t

Introd. p. 42 sr. (4).

30 oksjoverensu middle, II. 1 § 3.

30 oksjoverensu middle, II. 1 § 3.

wikha sel xujepj (comp. Iv(vII), 6 § 3.

yejosa sel zvikover. This admits the case of the 80 ser nation, and helps us to see that Aristotle would not have allowed Persia or Macedon to rank as a solution of the second produced the self-complex self

n. on 12 § 8.
 2 1285 a 1 γένη Used indifferently with closs (§§ 5, 6, 8, 11) for 'species' or 'variety': so 1. 11 § 5 π., ν1(τν).
 4 § 8.

4 § 8. § 8 'The kingly office in the Spartan constitution is held to be the truest type of monarchy according to law,' i.e. constitutional or limited monarchies)(tyrannies.

4 άλλ' δταν ἰξέλθη κτλ] "He is merely commander in war when he has quitted the country." See Schömann p. 228 Eng. tr. It is remarkable that Aristotle does not notice the judicial power of the Spartan kings and their

5. Την χώραν, ήγεμων έστι τῶν πρός τὸν πόλεμων ὅτι δὲ τὰ (ΙΧ) §8 πρός τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδέδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ή βασιλεία οἶον στρατηγία τις αὐτοκρίτωρ καὶ άἴδιος ἐστίν κτείναι γὰρ οὐ κύριος, εἰ μη ἐν τωί [βασιλείη], καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀργαίον, ἐν ταῖς πολεμκαῖς ἔξόδιος ἐν γειοὸς νοιιῶ. δηλοῖ

αρχαιων, ευ ταις ποκεμικαις εξοοοις ευ χειρος νομφ. οηλοι 10 δ "Ομηρος ' Αγαμέμνων γάρ κακώς μὲν ἀκούων ἢνείχετο ἐν 8 ταις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξελθύντων δὲ καὶ κτείναι κύριος ἢν. λέγει γάρ ὁν δὲ ἐ ἐγὸν ἀπώνευθε μέχης...

> ου οι... ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢδ' οἰωνούς πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ Θάνατος.

15 εν μεν οὖν τοῦτ' εἶδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διὰ βίου, τούτων 8

presidency in the Senate and the Popular Assembly, especially as in treating afterwards of monarchy in the heroic age (§ 12 n. 628) he rightly emphasizes the former. SUSEM. (616)

§ 4. 8 et μη tν τιν η "except in a specified case." To the other remedies suggested for this passage Jackson adds the omission of the words 8 & του βασιλεία and the transposition of 9 & ταίε πολειμικαίε ἐδόδοι to take their place.

Najusan's éjébon to lake their place.

soukémpe let vie degalawi II general we can observe in the effice of the Spartan or the control of the theorie age. See Schimann p. 217 Eng. tr., Treber p. 114. SUBBA (2017) So as reporting the tasts in relation to the gels., Ed., The Spartan state was the early Oreck state of the heroic age, barbarically, not controlled to the control of the same of t

(or shall we say fossilized?) this early form, with just so much of modification (Ephors, Helots &c) as sufficed to secure its maintenance.

9 ἐν χειρὸς νομῷ] in hand to hand encounters.

10 'Αγαμέμνων γάρ κτλ] 'For Agamemnon was content to listen to chiding in their debates': e.g. Titad I. 225. SUSEM. (618)

The Homeric 'ecclesia.' or αγορά, is

not the βουλή of chiefs (as Congreve supposed) but a counterpart of the assembly of citizens in time of peace. See Gladstone Homeric Studies II. p. 114 ff., Freeman Comp. Politics, pp. 201—207. Grote

has unduly depreciated it.

§ 8 11 May Apl Jiliad II. 391 ff.
But in our texts the wording is slightly different, and the last worts *Rep *ph § look different, and the last worts *Rep *ph § look also quoted, with a slightly different readslao quoted, with a slightly different readslao quoted, with a slightly different readslao quoted, with a slightly different readplease *Rep *Rep directed paging *Tridecores respect | od of \$\frac{1}{2}\text{directed} \text{directed} \text{direct

§ 6 δ' αξ μὲν κατὰ γένος εἰσὶν αξ δ' αἰρεταί· παρὰ ταύτην δ' (ΙΧ) άλλο μοναρχίας είδος, οἶαι παρ' ἐνίοις εἰσὶ βασιλεῖαι τών βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αδται την δύναμιν πάσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννίσιν, είσι δε και κατά νόμον και πατρικαί διά γάρ (p. 85) 20 το δουλικώτεροι τὰ ήθη είναι φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Έλλήνων οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν τῶν περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ύπομένουσι την δεσποτικήν άρχην ούδεν δυσχεραίνοντες. § 7 τυραννικαὶ μέν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰσίν, ἀσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον είναι. καὶ ἡ φυλακή δὲ βασι- ι 25 λική καὶ οὐ τυραννική διὰ την αὐτην αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολίται φυλάττουσιν όπλοις τους βασιλείς, τους δε τυράννους ξενικόν οι μέν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐκόντων οι δ' ἀκόντων άρχουσιν. ώσθ' οξ μέν παρά των πολιτών οξ δ' έπλ

18 παραπλαισίαν P3 (1st hand, emended by the same hand), παραπλησίως P4-6 C4 Q Mb Qb Rb Sb Tb Ub Vb La and Pa (1st hand, emended by corr.) | 19 Tupawists, elot be kal kard Susem., rupannios kal kard P Ms, rupannios kard P1 and P2 (corr.3), тирання ката P^0 T^b V^b and P^0 (1st hand), тирання ката C^4 , тираннямі ката Q^b R^b Sb, τυραννικήν elol δ' όμως κατά Pi-6 Q Mb Ub L*, τυραννίδι elol δ' όμως κατά Ar., τυραννική είσὶ δ' όμως κατά Wb Ald. Βk. 🖟 πατρικάς ΓΜ, πατρικά Rb, πάτριος Spengel | 20 δουλικώτερα P4 Q Ub Ar. Ald. δουλικώτερας Mb | είναι τὰ ήθη Bk., είναι τὰ έθνη Π2 Ar. | 24 πάτριαι Π2 Bk., πατρικαί Schneider | 25 αὐτὴν] τοιαύτην? Γ (talem William) Susem.^{1,2}, perhaps right || 27 <πδ> ξενικόν? Sylburg (wrongly)

§ 8 τούς πολίτας έχουσι την φυλακήν, δύο μέν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα s 30 μουαρχίας, έτερου δ' όπερ ην έν τοις αργαίοις "Ελλησιν.

16 al δ' alperal] Possibly the ταγδε of Thessaly, called βασιλεδε Her. v. 63. Thuc. I. 111; compared with the Roman dictator by Dion. Hal. Greece retained few traces of that older institution common to many Aryan races, an elective monarchy or chieftainship but with presumption greatly in favour of a few noble families (Basileés=duke, while drat= noble). See Gladstone Hom. Stud. III. 51, Freeman Comp. Politics, Lect. IV pp.

8 6 The oriental monarchy is a rule over unfree subjects (δεσποτική) with their consent and in virtue of traditional forms. 18 παραπλησίαν τυραννίστυ] In Eur. Heracl. 423, ου γὰρ τυραυνίδ' ώστε βαρ-βάρων έχω, the rule of non-Greek kings is called a tyranny (Eaton). Susem. (670) 19 δια γάρ το δουλικώτεροι κτλ] Comp. 1. 2 § 2—4 n. (11), IV(VII). 2 § 15, 14 § 21; and notes (54, 780, 781). SUSEM. (621) 20 τd. ήθη] This accus. 'of respect' depends on δουλικώτερου. Comp. 9 § 10 πλήθος εΐεν μύριοι, 12 § 2, 13 § 6.

§ 7 23 dopales firmly established, not to be overthrown (like tyranny). "Yet in 16 § 9, 1287 b 7, as in 11 § 7, 1281 b 26, and in 11.8 § 16 'safe,' 'trustwortby' is the meaning." (T. L. Heath.)
24 ή φυλακή] From meaning 'selfdefence'—see VIII(V). II § 27—the word came to be used in the concrete sense of a protecting force, or body-guard. So also δπως μήτε φυλακή τρέφηται, VIII(V). 11 § 8. 26 [council] Foreigners, a force of foreign mercenaries. Comp. c. 15 § 10 n. (656), § 14 (666), and especially VIII(V). 10 § 10, φιλακή τυραννική διά ξένω, n. (1666), Rhet. 1. 2 § 19, 1357 b 30 ff., Herod. 1. 59 (Eaton). Susem. (622)

§ 8 State officers called alovuritat were appointed anciently in troublous times, some for life, others with a commission to accomplish a definite political task (wpdfear). Hence their analogy to the Roman dictators.

30 έτερον δ'...αίρετή τυραννίς] Comp. 15 § 14 n.667, VI(IV). 10 § 2 nn. (1277-9). In the Polity of Cyme (Fr. 481, 1557 a οθς καλούσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἀπλώς εἰπεῖν (ΙΧ) αίρετή τυραυνίς, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ τῶ μὴ κατὰ

ε 9 νόμον άλλὰ τῷ μὴ πάτριος είναι μόνον, ήρχον δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν ώρισμένων 35 χρόνων ή πράξεων, οδον είλοντό ποτε Μιτυληναίοι Πιττακου πρός τους φυγάδας ων προειστήκεσαν 'Αντιμενίδης καί

§ 10 'Αλκαίος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοί δ' 'Αλκαίος ότι τύραννον είλοντο ε τον Πιττακον έν τινι των σκολιών μελών επιτιμά γάρ ότι τὸν κακοπάτριδα

Πεττακον πόλιος τας δεχόλω και βαρυδαίμονος έστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ ἐπαινέοντες ἀολλέες, 1285 b

35 olav M*, olav P1, olav P4 | φεττακόν Π1 and so subsequently | 38 σκολίων Göttling | 40 πόλιος Schneidewin, πόλεως all MSS. edd. | διχόλω Schmidt Bergk, έχόλω or άχόλω Μ°, άχόλω ΓΠ°P¹ Ar. Bk. Susem. 1.2.3, άσχόλω Camerarius

1285 b 1 μέγ] μέν Γ Mo and apparently Pl (1st hand) | παίνεντες? Η. L. Ahrens

5 ff. = 476 Rose Ar. pseudep. = 192 Müller) Aristotle stated that in olden times the tyrants were called αΙσυμνήται (ὁ δὲ ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἐν Κυμαίων πολιτεία τοὺς τυρώννους φησί το πρότερον αίσυμνήτας προσαγορεύεσθαι. εὐφημότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῦνομα). Susem. (623)

32 ού τῷ μη κατά νόμον] For he

was constitutionally appointed, although to powers beyond the constitution. § 9 35 οἶον είλοντο κτλ] The similar fragment of Theophrastos in Dionys. R. A. V. 73, already mentioned in the Introduction p. 18, n. 7, runs as follows: οι γάρ αισυμνήται καλούμενοι παρ' "Ελλησι το άρχαῖον, ώς έν τοῖς περί βασιλείας Ιστορεί Θεόφραστος, αίρετοί τινες ήσαν τύραννοι ήροθντο δ' αύτοθε αἱ πόλεις ούτ' els αδριστον χρόνον, ούτε συνεχώς, άλλα πρός τους καιρούς, όπότε δόξειε συμφέρειν, και els πόσον χρόνον: 'Those whom the Greeks in older times called alovuri-704 were, as Theophrastos states in his books on Monarchy, elected tyrants, But the states did not elect them for an indefinite period, nor yet regularly, but only during the pressure of misfortunes, as often and for as long a period of time as seemed expedient, as e.g. the Mitylenians once elected Pittacus to ward off the attack of the exiles, who followed the poet Alcaeus.' The single expression "during the pressure of misfortunes" (πρός τοὺς καιρούς) is, as Krohn shows, thoroughly in the manner of Theophrastos and "so too is the further treatment which undertakes to assign to αἰσυμνητεία its

historical position in political development. Originally, he says, there pre-vailed everywhere in Greece a law-abiding monarchy based on law; but gradually this degenerated into arbitrary rule, and the next step was to a republic. But neither did this prove strong enough to uphold law and right, and thus, through the pressure of circumstances καιροί πολλά νεοχμούντες) they reverted in reality, though not in name, to the establishment of monarchical powers. Compare the words, V. c. 74, payraforro παράγειν πάλιν τὰς βασιλικὰς καὶ τυραννικάς έξουσίας els μέσον, δνόμασι περικαλύπτωτες αιτάς ευπρεπεστέρας, Θετταλοί μέν άρχοίε, Λακεδαιμώνιοι δὲ άρμοστὰς καλοίντες, φοβούμενοι τυράννους ή βασιλείς αὐτούς καλείν, with the fragment from Theophrastos Πολιτικά πρός τούς καιρούς Β. Ι (in Harpoer. s. v. έπίσκοπος) πολλώ γάρ κάλλιον κατά γε την τοῦ ὀνόματος θέσιν, ώς οἰ Λάκωνες άρμοστας φάσκοντες els τας πόλεις πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπισκόπους οὐδὲ φύλακας, ώς 'Aθηναΐω, as a proof that the account moves in the sphere of ideas peculiar to Theophrastos. (Henkel Zur Arist. Pol. p. 3, n. 1.) Susem. (624)

§ 10 38 σκολιών μελών] A skolion was a particular kind of drinking song, sung by the guests at a party singly in a certain order. Fragments of them may be found in Bergk Poet. lyr. III4. p. 643 ff. Susem. (625)

39 κακοπάτριδα] Does this mean base-born)(εὐπατρίδαι? 'They set up the base-born Pittacus to be tyrant of the

§11 αθται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἢσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ δεσποτικαὶ (ΙΧ) εἰναι τυραννικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἰρεταὶ καὶ ἐκόντον βασιλικαί τέταρτον δ΄ εἶδον μοναρχίας βασιλικής αὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωι-τ 5 κοὺς χρόνους ἐκούσιοί τε καὶ πάτριοι γμούμεναι κατὰ νόμιοι.

812 διὰ γιὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους γερέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας κατά τέχρας ἢ πόλεμου, ἢ διὰ τὸ συναγαγείν ἢ πορίσαι χώραν, εἰγίνοντο βασιλικός ἐκθυτουν καὶ τοῦς παραλαμβάνουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ΄ ἢσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας το καὶ τὰν θυσιών, ὄσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινου. τοῦτο δ΄ ἐποίουν οῦ μὲν οὐκ ὁμνύοντες οἱ δ΄ ὑμνίοντες ὁ δ΄ ὅρκος ἢν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις (;, ες) οἱ δ΄ ὑμνίοντες ὁ δ΄ ὅρκος ἢν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις (;, ες)

wrathful ill-fated town with loud cries assenting in full assembly' (Wyse). Or is it 'bane to his country'? 40 Ill-trukov] See Exc. II. on this

40 Πεντωκόν J See Exc. 11. on this Chock, p. 45 ft. SUEMA (680) S. SUEMA (680) S

we should put it, they rest upon the consent of the governed. See n. (634).

4 at kard rob's ipasacob's Xpówenj.
The monarchies of the herois age are described by Grote, Part 1 c. 20; Gladstone Studies on Homer II. pp. 1-69. See also Freeman Comp. Publica Lect. IV. and Lect. II. p. 64, per robes paperous. cispviews (Comp. c. 15 § 11 (fer 'etsyseira).

To (Son) and VIIII VII. 10 8 2 and 'trasorber of the comp. C. 15 § 11 (fer 'etsyseira).

7 κατά τέχνας] In the arts (of peace).

He is probably thinking of the mythical

inventors.

8 rois παραλαμβάνουν πάτριοι] 'hereditary kings for their successors.' Yet we can bardly be wrong in conjecturing that the Hellenic chieffains had once been, the the Testions, elected. Comp. Ridgeway The Loud Towner in Homer in the State of the Company of the Loud Towner in Homer in the Company The Loud Towner in Homer in the Company of the Loud Towner in Homer in in Homer

10 καλ τών θυστών κτλ] "Such as did not require a priest acquainted with special rites," e.g. like the Eumolpids (Jebb). So Saul, the Israelitish king, is described as offering sacrifice.

It rooto=the judicial functions. It is not the 'coronation oath' that is in question, as Mr Lang assumed, Essays p.

12 τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπιψάταστος 'The form of oath consisted in the act of uplified ing the sceptre.' Comp. Hind 1. 23 f. et μ/γμν βροκο ψισίμια. το μα λτόδε στο τορο τορο VII. 412 το κτήπτρου αλεξανέε τῶτα μου δρώσεν. Χ. 321 το κτήπτρου αλεξανέε τῶτα μου δρώσεν. Χ. 321 το κτήπτρου αλεξανά αλα μου δρώσενου: also m. (616) generally. Su-SEM. (628)

The sceptre as an instrument of the cath is always a symbol of office, whether kingly or judicial. Note that while Homer calls the thing sworn by (σκηπτρον, Ζεός VII. 411 &c.) δρεος, Aristotle gives the name to the solemn accompanying act.

§13 οθ μεν οῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων [καὶ] τὰ κατὰ πόλινε καὶ τὰ ἔπερόρια σινεχώς ἡρχον ὕστερου 15 οὰ τὰ μεν αὐτῶν παρείτπων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὅχλων παραφουμένων, ἐν μεν ταῖς ἀλλαις πόλεστω αἱ πάτριοι θυσίαι κατελείθνησαν τῶς Βασιλέων, αὐτου ἔποι δ΄ ἔλεινο τὸνοῖαι κατελείθνησαν τῶς Βασιλέωτι πόνου. ὅποι δ΄ ἔποι δ΄

οχλου παραφουμένους, εν μεν ταις αλλαις πόλεσιν αι πατριοι θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τούς βασιλείσι μόνου, ὅπου δ΄ ἀξιοι εἰπεῖν εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν τοῦς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πόλεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνου εἶχου.

§ 14. βασίλείας μὲυ οδυ είδη ταύτα, τέτταρα τὸυ ἀριθμόυ, χ 11 μία μὲυ ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡροικούς χρόνους (αὐτη δ΄ ἡν ἐκόντων μέν, ἐπὶ τωὶ δ΄ ώρικαμένους τηρατηγός τε ηἰρὴ ἡν καὶ δικαστης ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ΄ ἡ βαρβαρική (αἴτη δ΄ ἐστὶν ἐκ γένονε ἀρχὴ δευτόναική) 25 κατὰ υέμου), τρίτη δὲ ἡν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αίτη δὲ ἐστιν αἰρετή τυρανιές), τετάρτη δὲ ἡ Λακονική τούτουν (αίτη δ΄ ἐστὶν ός ἀπλώς ἐἰπῶν στρατηγία κατά § 15 γένος ἀίδιος): αἴται μὲν οὐν πούτου τὰν τρότου διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλου, πέμπτου δ΄ είδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ἡ πώττων κ οκύρος εἰς δων ὕστικο δεκατον ἐίδνος καὶ πόλικ ἐκάτην τόν οκόνος εἰς δων ὕστικο δεκατον ἐίδνος καὶ πόλικ ἐκάτην τόν

§ 13 14 τὰ ἐνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια] domestic and foreign affairs.

15 τὰ μὶν αὐτῶν κτλ] 'As the kings themselves resigned some of their functions, while others were taken from them by the populace.' παραμουμένων=shred-

by the populace. * παραφουμένων=shred-ding or paring off, as in c. 5 § 8. 16 ἐν μὲν ταῖς αἴλλαις κτλ] Thus at Athens the second of the nine Archons specially superintended religious worship and bore the title of King Archon, as the successor in this respect of the ancient kings. Comp. further Herod. III. 142, IV. 161 (kings at Cyrene), VII. 149 (kings at Argos), 153; also VII(VI). 8 § 10 n. (1482) below and n. (1653) on VIII(V). 10 § 6. SUSEM. (629) functions of the King Archon (whose wife was βασίλωσα, as the wife of the Roman 'rex sacrorum' was called 'regina') see also Lysias c. Andocidem, Or. 6 §§ 4, 5: on the Argive kings Pausanias II. 19 § 1 and Plutarch De fort. Alex. II § 8, p. 340 D: and in general on these shadowy survivals of a former real kingship, including the interrex and rex sacrorum or sacrificulus, Dion. Hal. IV. 74, Plutarch Quaest. Rom. 63, p. 279 C, and Freeman op. c. pp. 147 ff., 430—441, whence these references are taken.

17 δτου δ δξιον sc. ψ; where it deserved to be called a kingdom.
19 την ήγημονίσεν μόνου] This is decidedly too strong an assertion, see n-(6:6). In § 14 where the Spartan kings are mentioned, it is more correctly limited by the qualifying phase & είτεῦ, for the most part. SUSBM. (850)
The Argive kings belonged to this class of

Argive kings belonged to this class of commanders in war: Herod. VII. 149. § 14 22 in 1 and 8 dependents of oncertain fixed conditions: in l pyrois yépasi

πατρικαί βασιλείαι, Thuc. I. 13.

24 ἐκ γένους=κατὰ γένος, hereditary.

27 ὡς ἀπλῶς ἐπεῖν] Sec π. (630)

and II. 9 § 33, ἐπὶ τοῦς βασιλείσω οδοι
στρατηγούς ἀιδίος, π. (343). SUSEM.

(631)
§ 15 The fifth species is opposed to all the foregoing, so far as they are limited or varieties of constitutional rule. It is a monarchy answering to the art of household management, τεταγμέτη κατά την οξιστορικής: (cp. 1. § 2.

30 ώσπερ έκαστον έθνος και πόλις έκαστη] Like each separate barbarian κοινών, τεταγμένη κατά την οἰκονομικήν. ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ (Χ) οἰκονομική βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ή<παμ>βασιλεία πόλεως [καὶ ἔθνους ένὸς ἡ πλειόνων] οἰκονομία.

σχεδου δη δύο έστιν ώς είπειν είδη βασιλείας περί ών σκε-35 πτέου, αύτη τε καὶ ή Λακωνική. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξύ τούτων είσίν. έλαττόνων μέν γάρ κύριοι της παμβασι-

31 τεταγμένων Montecatino: Bücheler rightly thinks no change needed; if any, he prefers τεταγμένης | 32 παμβασιλεία Susem., βασιλεία Γ Ar. Bk. See VI(IV). 10 § 3, 1295 a 19 || 33 [καl.....πλειώνων] Susem.2, see Comm. n. (633) || καl] ή M8 | πλείονος M8 II3 and P2-3 (1st hand, altered by corr. 1). Postgate explains this as the gen. of whelow used as a subst. | olymorphias P3 H3 and P2 (1st hand, altered by corr.1 or corr.2) | 36 βασιλείας Π1

tribe or Hellenic city. Comp. nn. (11. 633). SUSEM. (632) 33 πόλεως...οικονομία] It is difficult to see what could have induced Aristotle to describe absolute monarchy not only as dominion over a state, but also to add "and over a nation," where we should at any rate have expected "or" (as M" gives); and not content with this, even to add "or several nations." Throughout his work he is dealing with the forms of government of a state, not of a nation: (see 1. 2. 4 n. 11) and there is nothing in the nature of absolute monarchy, which would justify such an exceptional extension. On the contrary, it appears further on in the work (17 § 1, § 5 n. 677), as has been stated several times already, that the only admissible and possible non-despotic absolute monarchy is that which can be conceived in the ideal state in the exceptional case described in c. 13. The interpolator has been misled by the preceding words έκάστου έθνους και πόλεως, and has made the mistake into which since his time many modern critics have fallen (see Introd. p. 26 and c. 13 § 13 n 601, § 25 n. 615, 17 § 5 n. 678), of supposing that this Aristotelian absolute monarchy referred to the Macedonian Empire. Cf. also VI(IV). 10 § 3 and n. (1280). SUSEM. (633)

Doubtless there are some slight indications in the work itself that Monarchy was actually exercised over a wider area than the territory of a single city. But in such cases it seems to be assumed that the rule must be δεσποτική, and the population not yet fully organized for civil society.

c. 15 From this survey it appears that Monarchy is either (1) a special state office, as at Sparta, or (2) Absolute Monarchy, or something intermediate to these two. Whether it is expedient to have an hereditary or elective commander-in-chief for life, is a question in the theory of legislation: the expediency of Absolute Monarchy is a constitutional question: §§ 1-3. Montesquieu has criticized Aristotle's classification, Esprit des Lois B. XI cc. 8, 9.

§ 1 35 αί πολλαί] The oriental monarchy may be as absolute as the παμβασιλεία; but it is separated from it by the aim and mode of its administration. as δεσποτική άρχη from οἰκονομική in c. 6 §§ 6, 7. Hence the arbitrary rule of an eastern king is no mere perversion of true monarchy: but because the subjects allow themselves to be enslaved (δουλικώτερος τὰ ήθη) they submit to a rule which is primarily for the ruler's advantage (see 6 § 6), and in material results does not greatly differ from tyranny, even as to the greatly differ from tyramity, even as to the four points emphasized c. 14 § 11: (1) the consent of the governed, (2) heredity, (3) legal forms, and (4) the body-guard.

36 ελαττόνου μέν...παμβασιλείαs] Of

the 'despotic' kings of non-Greek peoples, this is scarcely true. In dealing with Monarchy Aristotle is guilty of the con-fusion of ideas with which Schwarcz rightly charges him, in Die Staatsformenlehre des Aris. p. 32 f. (Aristotle's Theory of the forms of government, Leipzig 1884): he does not properly distinguish between government in accordance with the laws and the legal (i.e. hereditary) origin of the government. [To the former is opposed any arbitrary or personal government whatsoever, whether it be a tyrant, or the great king, or the citizen of transcendent virtue and merit, who rules all things at his own good pleasure (αρχει πάντων κατά την ξαυτού βούλησιν): to the latter is opposed only the usurped rule of the τύραννος.]

To what extent may this also be assert-

§ 2 λείας, πλειόνων δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς. ὥστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν (Χ) περί δυοίν έστίν, εν μεν πότερον συμφέρει ταίς πόλεσι στρατηγου αίδιου είναι, καὶ τοῦτου ἡ κατὰ γένος ἡ κατὰ αίρεσιν.

1286 2 η οὐ συμφέρει, ἐν δὲ πότερόν ποτε ἕνα συμφέρει κύριον εἶναι πάντων, ή οὐ συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρα-8 τηγίας έπισκοπείν νόμων έχει μάλλον είδος ή πολιτείας

(ἐν ἀπάσαις γὰρ ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις), (p. 87) \$3 ωστ' ἀφείσθω την πρώτην ὁ δὲ λοιπός τρόπος της Βασι-

6 λείας πολιτείας είδος έστίν, ώστε περί τούτου δεί θεωρήσαι καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰς ἐνούσας.

άρχη δ' έστὶ της ζητήσεως αύτη, πότερον συμφέρει μάλλον 30 αίρεσω P4-6 L1 Ar., μέρος Π1 P2-3 Qb Tb Wb Ald. Bk., αρετήν Bas.3 in the margin 1286 a 1 ποτε omitted by III Ar. Bk., perhaps rightly | 3 έχει] έχεται omitting elĉos ?Bernays

ed of the alσυμυητεία? Aristotle does not seem to give a sufficient answer to this question. Both, it is true, are founded on law; but though the elevation of the ideal king in a genuine aristocracy is a suspension of the laws, the alougrifus too, as long as he rules, causes a suspension of the old constitution, and has power to remodel both constitution and laws according to his pleasure. Still the alouge from himself governs according to his own laws, while the ideal king may, in each single case, disregard them if he pleases. Susem. (634)

§ 2 1286 α 3 νόμων έχα μάλλον είδος=presents a branch of legislation rather than of constitution. Exer as in έχειν λόγον Ι. 6 § 9, or ἀπορίαν, 111. 10 § 1, 11 § 1, § 10, 12 § 1: and so εχα δ' έκάτερα χάριν, De Part. anim. 1. 5 § 2, 644 b 31. The genitive with είδος is again explanatory or defining, much as in & opygiou előes, L 4 § 2. A better example is Rhet. II. 22 § 1, 1305 b 21, άλλο γὰρ είδος έκάτερου (Bekker έκατέρου) τούτων έστίν. Trans. 'a generalship of this nature is a question for the laws rather than the constitution to examine." The meaning is better explained in the parallel passage c. 16 § 1. 4 ἐν ἀπάσαις] Comp. 16 § 1 π. (669).

SUSEM. (635)

5 dφείσθω] 'We may dismiss it for the present.' One of the two passages from which it is inferred that Aristotle intended a treatment of legislation to form part of his Politics. See Introd. p. 32 n. 1. Susem. (636)
την πρώτην=at the first, as in Meta.

Z (VII). 12 § 12, 1038 a 35, τοσαθτα

εξρήσθω την πρώτην. In Herod. I. 153 την πρώτην είναι: cf. III. 134. In Probl. II. 32 § 2, 869 b 24, ἐκ πρώτης=ἐξ ἀρχῆς. § 3 5 6 81 λοιπθς κτλ] "But the remaining mode of royalty forms one species of constitution; hence it must be examined, and the difficulties which it presents must be briefly reviewed." Without doubt then, the difficulties of cc. 15. 16 concern the λοιπός τρόπος, i.e. παμβατο contern the norms τροπως, i.e. παιρασταλεία. See nm. on c. 17 § 1. For ἐπιδραμεῦν 'τun over,' like ἐπελθεῦν, comp. Rhet. i. 15 § 1, 1375 a 23. The difficulties are collected and partly answered in cc. 15, 16; a decision of some sort is pronounced in c. 17. This is the most confused part of the treatise. The arrangement adopted in the text may be learnt from *Introd.* pp. 83-86, or in greater detail from *Philologus* xxv. 1867. pp. 386-392. Its rationale is that the first editor (or publisher) found the discussion imperfect: a lacuna at 16 § 2, 1287 a 10, which he could not fill; three or four supplementary fragments, 16 suitable places in the main discussion: and part of an independent sketch, 16 § 10 (elot be)...§ 13. Hence the changes; c. 16 §§ 4—13 being cut up into four

ment of related topics there. See Anal. First dwopla: is it expedient to be ruled by the best ruler or the best laws? The passage c. 16 §§ 4-9, on any view of its collocation, manifestly belongs to this question and not to the fifth deropta stated in 16 §§ 2-4.

sections and distributed over c. 15, in

sequence or juxtaposition to the treat-

p. 112 f.

20 ένειν πάσαν.

§ 4 ύπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρὸς ἄρχεσθαι ἡ ύπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων νόμων. δο- ά το κεί δή τοίς νομίζουσι συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ καθόλου μόνον ό νόμος λέγειν, άλλ' οὐ πρός τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν. ώστε

έν όποιαοῦν τέχνη τὸ κατὰ γράμματ' ἄρχειν ηλίθιον καί πως εν Αλγύπτω μετά την τριήμερον κινείν έξεστι τοίς λατροίς, έὰν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνφ. φανερὸν τοίνυν ώς 15 οὖκ ἔστιν ή κατὰ γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία § 5 διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν του λόγου του καθόλου τοις άρχουσιν κρείττου δε φ μή πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἡ ῷ συμφυές. τῷ μὲν οὖν νόμφ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη τοῦτ'

9 δοκούσι Bas.* Bk. | 10 ο νόμος Göttling, οἱ νόμοι Γ Π Ar. Bk. | 12 < ώσπερ> καὶ Conring, <καθά>καὶ Koraes | πῶς Μ*, omitted by P2-8 Qb Tb Ar. Ald. Bk. and P4 (1st hand), <ωσπερ> πως <καλ>? Susem. | 13 τριήμερον Γ M8 Ar., τετρήμερον P^I Π² Bk. | 14 αὐτοῦ P^I Π² Bk., αὐτῶ M², αὐτῶν perhaps Ar., αὐτῶν an unknown scholar in the margin of Stahr's copy of Morel's edition, also Schneider following Vettori's translation | 17 δέ] γὰρ Koraes, wrongly | 19 τούτφ Ald., τούτω P² and P3 (1st hand)

§ 4 Argument in favour of monarchy.
9 δοκεί δη κτλ] Now those who maintain kingly rule to be expedient hold that the law lays down general statements (only) and gives no instructions for treating the (various) cases which arise. "This side is defended in Plato's

Politicus 294-303. Cp. c. 11 § 19 n. (570), c. 16 § 11 nn. (652-3), 11. 8 §§ 18-22 n. (275), VI(IV). 4 § 31 (1210)."

SUSEM. (637) 12 ἐν ὁποιροῦν τέχνη...ήλίθιον] Plato brings out the absurdity in navigation

and medicine, Polit. 298-9.
καί πως έν Αλγύπτω] Undoubtedly
this is not found in Plato, yet he em-

ploys the analogy of the physician, 295 C. See II. 8 § 18 n. (270), III. 16 § 6 (720), IV(VII). 2 § 13 (870). SUSEM. (638)

13 perd 7th γτρήμερον...κυδύνομ "After the treatment has lasted three days the physician may change it; but if sooner, he does it at his own risk." Herodotos (II. 84) does not mention this, but Diodoros I. 82 § 3 states, without any such limitation, that in Egypt the phy-sicians were paid by the state, and were obliged in their treatment of patients to adhere to a written code, compiled by many of the most celebrated physicians of ancient times. If they acted contrary to prescription, they might be accused of a capital crime (Camerarius). It is not

easy to determine which of the readings, τρεήμερον or τετρήμερον, is correct. That μελέτην must be understood with την τριήμερον το την τετρήμερον, is proved by Postgate from Pseudo-Hippocrates 817 F τεσσαρακουθήμερου την μελέτην και την έπίδεσιν χρή ποιέεσθαι. Herodotos II. 77 relates that the Egyptians who lived in the corn country purged the body for three successive days in each month by means of emetics and clysters. Diodoros § 1 says that the Egyptians sometimes made daily use of these precau-tionary means of fasting, vomiting and clysters, but sometimes omitted them for three or four days. Neither does this then supply a safe analogy, if indeed

§ 5 Reply to this argument.

16 αλλά μὴν κάκεινον κτλ] "But again rulers are obliged to have the general principle, too, before-mentioned: yet that which has no emotional nature" viz. the law "is in general superior to that in which it is innate."

18 τῷ μὰν οὖν νόμφ κτλ] A similar statement in c. 10 § 5 n. (562 b); Nic. Eth. v. 6 § 5, 1134 a 35; X. 9 § 12, 1180

a 21 (Eaton). Susem. (640) 19 τουτ' έχειν] sc. τὸ παθητικόν, or (10 § 5) τὰ συμβαίνωτα πάθη περί την ψυχήν.

<δ μέν οὖν τὸν νόμον 4 1287 R 28 29 <κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεί κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νοῦν μό-30 < νους, ό δ' ἄνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καλ θηρίου. ή τε γλο < επιθυμία τοιούτου, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς άρίστους

20 άλλ'..... 1287 b 34 δμοίως. That the right order has been disturbed was seen by Giphanius, Zwinger, Schneider, Spengel. See Introd. 83-86 on the arrangement here followed; also for Cook Wilson's resolution of cc. 15, 16 into two parallel versions 15 \$\ 2-10=16 \$\ 1-9, \$\ 11-13, and for Spengel's proposals.

1287 a 28—b 8. a 28 ὁ μὶν οἶν.....32 ἐστίν cited by Julian ad Themistium p. 261 B | v6100 | II Ar. and the Codex Vossianus of Julian, voiv I Julian and Bk.1 | 20 δοκά.....άρχαν omitted by the Cod. Voss. of Julian | θεὸν | γρ. νοῦν corr.1 of P1 and corr. of P2 (both in the margin), allow your corr. of P4 in the margin !! τον νούν μόνους Cod. Voss. of Julian, τους νόμους Γ II (including fr.) Ar. Julian and Bk.1 | 30 θηρία Cod. Voss. of Julian perhaps rightly | η τε | ο τε Ms, ότε Γ | 31 τούτον Cod. Voss. of Julian | αρχοντας omitted by Julian, αρχον τέλος Γ? (et furor principatum habuerit, tandem et optimos viros interimet William), άρχων τέλος οτ άρχων <κατα> σταs τέλος ? Schmidt

Four objections to the human ruler. c. 16 \$\$ 5-9; 1287 a 28-b 8. (1) Law is passionless and therefore its rule is the better; § 5

28 ο μεν σύν] Whether οῦν marks an inference, or is merely a transitional particle, in either case there is a want of logical connexion in its present place. The section might follow 1287 a 23, but there too ow would have no force.

νόμον...νοῦν μόνους] The two versions in which this celebrated passage has come down to us can be traced back to an early date. For Julian had before him (as is clear from his words ad Themist. 261 C D όρας, ὁ φιλόσοφος...τέλος έπιθείς τὸν κολοφώνα τοῦς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμον μέν elval φησι τον νούν χωρίς δρέξεως) not the version in the text, but another recension, viz. ὁ μέν οὖν τὸν νοῦν κελείων άρχειν δοκεί κελεύειν αρχειν τόν θεδν καί τους νόμους, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καί θηρία: ή τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιούτον, και ὁ θυμὸς ἄργαντας διαστρέφει και τους αρίστους άνδρας. διόπερ άνευ όρέξεως δ νούς νόμος έστιν. Yet Codex Vossianus of Julian restores to us the valuable reading τον νούν μόνους, the corruption of which into τους νόμους is the key to the whole confusion. In the existing manuscripts the two recensions are variously blended and confused. See Julian and Aristotle in the Jahrb. f. Philol. CXVII. 1878 p. 389 f. Susem.

Trans. 'he therefore who appoints the Law to rule makes none but God and Reason rulers, it would seem; he who appoints a human ruler adds thereto a brute; for appetite is akin to the brutes, and anger corrupts even the best of human rulers. Wherefore Law may be

called reason unfettered by passion.'
30 προστίθησι και θηρίον] Best explained by the Platonic simile in Rep. IX. 588 B C: the tripartite figure, man, lion, and many-headed appetite (τὸ ἐπι-

θυμπτικόν). η τε ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὁ θυμός] While Plato makes θυμός and ἐπιθυμία two different parts of the soul (v. Zeller Plate p. 413 ff.), in Aristotle they are only two subdivisions of the sensitive and appetitive part of the soul (1. 5 § 6 n. 40). They are not however the only ones in the region of desire and aversion. as Häcker seems to assume in his treatise On the division and classification of the moral virtues in the Nicomachean Ethics (Berlin 1863. 4) p. 6 ff., but there is a third subdivision, the Will, βούλησι. At any rate Häcker's careful investigation of the difference between them has not attained the right result. He maintains that, according to Aristotle, both are based on the instinct of self-preservation. but that excepta springs from the unpleasant sensation accompanying a want i.e. a stopping of vital activity, θυμός on the other hand from the feeling of unpleasantness, aroused by an external limitation of our vital energy; θυμός then consists in the reaction that we oppose to this influence, or in our striving to regain the sensation of pleasure in the unim- 16 § 6 < ἀπδρας διαφθείρει. διόπερ ἄνευ δρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. τὸ ὁ < ὸὲ τῶν τεχνῶν εἰνοι δοικεὶ παράδεεγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ κατὰ < γράμματα ἰστρεύεσθαι φαίλιον, ἀλλὰ [καὶ] αἰρετώτερον χρῆ-...16 § 7 < σθαι τοῦς ἔχουτι τὰς τέχοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ φιλίαν</p>

681
σθαι τοῦς ἔχοισι τὰς τέχνας, οῦ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ φλιζαν
36
<παρὰ τὸν λόγων ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρνινται τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς</p>
<κέμνοντας ὑγιάσαιτες · οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πολιτιαςὰ ἀρχαῖς</p>
<πολλὰ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν καὶ χάρμν εἰδιθαι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ</p>
<τοὺς ἱατροὺς ὅτων ὑτοπτείνωσι πιστευθέντας τοῦς ἐχθροῦς δια-</p>
<φθείρευι διὰ κέρδος, πότε τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείων</p>

Schneider Bk.3, probably right peded activity of our natural individuality. But Aristotle does not limit θυμός to external reaction, nor indeed to mere reaction at all. For, in the first place, even if the passage in Nic. Eth. VII. 6. 1 ff. 1149 a 24 ff. was not written by Aristotle himself, but only by some one who (whether directly or indirectly) was his pupil, we may still infer the master's opinion from the pupil's, and assume that in $\theta \nu \mu \delta s$ the idea of displeasure at oneself was not foreign to him. For Anger, Displeasure, Indignation, and on the other hand Courage and Love of Freedom, IV(VII). 7. 2 n. (781), are the principal manifestations of θυμός, indeed θυμός is sometimes actually used for "Anger," sometimes for "Courage." As regards Häcker's second statement, the conception of busis in Aristotle is by no means always confined within the limits of mere warding off and rejecting; on the contrary Aristotle thinks IV(VII). 7. 5, n. (786), that the part of the soul whence hatred proceeds may also produce love. Thus it embraces, at any rate in part, what we call "the affections." On this analogy however, Fear should belong to it as well as Courage (Top. IV. 5-4 126 a 8 f.) hut scarcely, as Eaton supposes, all the passions in contrast to Desire. Plato also ascribes to it ambition and

love of honour. And it is by no means as certain, as Häcker and Brandis (Gr.-

Rēm. Phil. III i p. 140) suppose, that Aristotle was of an entirely different opinion. In a pamphlet entitle δ θμούπ apud Aristotlem Hathemapue P. Meyer in his account of the Aristotleian distinction in his account of the Aristotleian distinction in the Aristotleian conception of both; and the matter is no clearer than before. Compare Sussemilli in Burnien's Yadrovien's 18γ6, v. p. 26 ft; also III. 10. 5 with n. (56α h) and netes 18χ γ. γρ. 859, 953, 17γ04, 1741.

and notes 182, 790, 839, 935, 1704, 1741.

The malagy of the 'arr': it min(a) The malagy of the 'arr': it min(b) The malagy of the 'arr': it min(c) The malagy of the 'arr': it min(d) The malagy of the 'arr': it min(d) The malagy of the arrise of the malagy of the arts
and mornal conduct is seriously defective.

§ 7 35 of phy wr3,1 'the physicians
do not at unreasonably out of personal
lining; on the contravy they carn their fee
lies in effecting cures and this coincides
with their 'art.'

wifit tener art.

38 mpbs ferripans sol xdopu) "to

38 mpbs ferripans sol xdopu) "to

spile (men) and to win favour; since

are pledged to their enemies for gain"

i.e. have been bribed "to make away
with them, they will in that case may

or ungently require to be treated according

to written rules."

.. 16 § 8 < ζητήσαιεν αν μάλλον. αλλά μην εἰσάγονταί γ' εφ' εαυτούς ε 1287 6 <οί ιατροί κάμνοντες άλλους ιατρούς και οί παιδοτοίβαι γυ-

< μναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ώς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ ἀληθές <διά τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει ὅντες, ὥστε δήλον 4 < ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ζητοῦντες τὸ μέσον ζητοῦσιν ὁ δὲ νόμος τὸ

<μέσον. < ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων τῶν κατὰ γράμματα

<νόμων οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστ' εἰ τῶν κατὰ γράμματα <άνθρωπος άρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, άλλ' οὐ τών κατὰ 8 <τὸ ἔθος.>

1286 a 20 $d\lambda\lambda$ ίσως αν φαίη τις ώς αντί τούτου βου-1286 a 21 λεύσεται περί τών καθ' έκαστα κάλλιον.

1287 b 2 τδ άληθές...... 3 κρίνειν omitted by P4-6 Qb Tb | 4 δè Thurot, γάρ Γ II (including fr.) Ar. Bk. | 6 ωστ' (ωστε Με) el Π1 Ar., ωστε Η2 Bekk., ωστ' el < καl > Schneider § 8 A fresh objection (3) to the hu-

man ruler. "But again physicians, when they are ill, call in other physicians to treat them, and trainers in their practice (call in) other trainers, which implies that they cannot here judge aright, be-cause they are judges in their own case and under the influence of feeling."

1287 b 3 διά τὸ κρίνειν κτλ] Comp. c. 9 § 2 n. (544). Susem. (642) ώστε δήλον κτλ] "Hence it is clear that whoso seeks what is just and right seeks an impartial middleman: now the

law is such a middleman." 4 μέσον] The arbitrator or 'middle-man' stands between the two contending sides and is therefore of neither side, i.e. is impartial. Comp. VI(IV). 12 § 5; πανταχού δὲ πιστότατος ὁ διαιτητής, διαιτητής δ' ὁ μέσος, n. (1314), and Nic. Eth. v. 4 § 7, 1132 a 22, και ζητούσι δικαστήρ μέσον, καὶ καλούσιν ένιοι μεσιδίους. SUSEM. Add Thuc. Iv. 63, erocuos ῶν Βρασίδα μέσφ δικαστή ἐπιτρέπειν.

§ 9 (4) In any case the authority of umwritten and social law is supreme. 5 κυριώτεροι] more authoritative. Comp. n. (48), on I. 6 § 1, and VII(VI). 5 § 2 n. (1430). Broughton adds Soph. Antig. 580 ff. SUSEM, (644)

See Cope Introd. to the Rhetoric pp. 239-244. He shows that τὸ ἐπιεικές, Equity, is a special application of κριpos pouos, which as universal law, or the law of nature, is opposed to positive, conventional and written laws; that both κοινδε νόμος and το έπιτικές are designated unwritten law, άγραφα νόμιμα, Rhet. I. 13 \$ 2, \$ 12, 15 \$\$ 3-6, and correspond to the έθη and έπιτηδεύματα of Plato Laws 793 D. Comp. Politic. 295A, Laws 680A; Demosth. De Cor. p. 317, 20 ff.: Thuc.

II. 37 s. fin.
6 d... 7 d\lambda\d] Even granting a human ruler is more trustworthy than written statute-law, still he is not so safe as the law of social custom.

c. 15 § 5 1286 a 20 αλλ' ίσως αν η τις...καλλιον] "But perhaps some one will say that to compensate for this [a human ruler] will be better able to advise on particular cases." This sentence evidently belongs to the first aroota, advocating like c. 15 § 4 the claims of the human ruler, though in a modified manner. But the words following in the mss, c. 15 § 6, are in no definite logical connexion; so that translators are at a loss to make any intelligible sequence, Jowett for instance inserting [to whom we in turn make reply:] after this sentence, though he does not propose to insert άλλά πρός τοῦτο ἀντιθετέον before the δτι or to omit the roleus after it : while Bernays translates "to this objection one might perhaps reply &c.," and separates off the next sentence by a break.

c. 16 S 4, 5 1287 a 23-28 This is at any rate a valid objection to the modified view just proposed, and is clearly still concerned with the first amopia. "But vet in any cases where the law seems unable to decide, a man would equally be unable. Whereas the law gives a suitable training and then sets the magistrates to decide and manage all other matters ' to the best of their judgment."

III. 15. 6,7] <1287 a 41-b 8: 1287 a 23-a 28>1286 a 20-28. 433

c. 16 § 4 1287 A 23 $< \mathring{a} \lambda \lambda \mathring{a} \quad \mu \mathring{\eta} \nu \stackrel{\text{(XI)}}{*}$

24 < όσα γε μη δοκεί δύνασθαι διορίζειν ο νόμος, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος .. 16 § 5 25 < αν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν. αλλ' ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας ὁ νόμος 26 < ἐφίστησι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆ δικαιοτάτη γνώμη κρίνειν καὶ διοικεῖν 27 < τούς ἄρχοντας. ἔτι δ' ἐπανορθοῦσθαι δίδωσιν, ὅ τι ἀν δόξη

28 <πειρωμένοις ἄμεινον είναι τῶν κειμένων.>

ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν .(X) C- 15 § 6 🟗 ἀνάγκη νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, δῆλον, καὶ κεῖσθαι νόμους,

άλλὰ μή κυρίους ή παρεκβαίνουσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν γ' ἄλλων είναι δεί κυρίους όσα δὲ μη δυνατόν τὸν νόμον κρίνειν ή 25 όλως η ευ, πότερον ένα τὸν ἄριστον δεῖ ἄρχειν ἡ πάντας;

§ 7 | καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιόντες δικάζουσι καὶ βουλεύονται καὶ κρίνουσιν, αύται δ' εἰσὶν αὶ κρίσεις πάσαι περὶ τών καθ' έκαστον. καθ' ένα μέν οὖν συμβαλλόμενος ὁστισοῦν ἴσως γείρων'

1287 a 23-28 24 000'] o o' Ar. (accepted by Vettori and Schneider) # 26 < 70 καθόλου > ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας Susem. 1.2 wrongly (and similarly Schneider and Koraes). universale William (from a gloss in Γ on entraces); παιδεύσαι omitted by II1 | 27 έπ δè <πάντα> Susem.1.2 wrongly, following William's version (adhuc autem omnia dirigere dant)

1286 a 21—25 25 δεί άρχειν] δεί διαιρείν οι διαιρείν ? Κριαες | πάντας] πάνυ P2-3-6 Qb Tb Ald., γρ. πάνυ p1 in the margin, πολλούς Ar.

1286 a 26-b 3=1287 b 15-35. See Introd. p. 84 f., the parallel columns.

1286 a 27 al relotis thoi Π^2 Bk.

1287 a 26 τῆ δικαιοτάτη γνώμη κρίvew] The standing expression apparently used of the judge: the heliastae took this oath, says Demosthenes, XXIII. c. Aritor. § 96 p. 652 s. fin. γνώμη τη δεκαστάτη δικάσειν όμωμόκασιν, cp. αάν. Lept. § 180, p. 493, 1 καὶ περὶ ων άν νόμω μη ων γνώμη τη δικαστάτη κρινές (βιωμοκτάτη κρινές (βιωμοκότες τκετε), Pollux VIII. 10 § 122, δ δ' όρκος ήν των δικαστών περί μέν ων νόμοι eld. Ψηφιείσθαι κατά τους φόμους, περί δέ ών μή είσι, γνώμη τῆ δικαιστάτη. (Eaton). SUSEM. (645)

Aristotle remarks in Rhet. I. 15 § 5, 1375 a 29 f. that the oath may be explained to mean το μη παντελώς χρήσθας

plained to mean το μη παντελώ. χρηνουω τοῦς γεγραμένος. 27 ἐπανορθοῦσθαι] "and allows them to adopt any correction which appears upon trial to be an improvement upon the established laws." The play upon words έπανορθούσθαι...κειμένων is quite accidental. On behalf of the place here assigned

to c. 16 §§ 4, 5, 1287 a 23—28 it may be urged (1) that the plurals (τοὺς ἄρχουτας, πειρωμένοις) are not appropriate to the transition from the first to the second dwople, and (2) that only in this way do

H

the words άλλὰ μη κυρίους ή παρικβαίpoυσι become intelligible. c. 15 & 6 Transition to the second ample. If it be allowed that there is a province (viz. that of particular cases in which the decision of the laws it insufficient, should it be supplemented by the one best citizen as ruler, or by the

entire community? 1286 a 22 αυτον] that he (viz. the

ruler). Otherwise Eaton, "that there be some one to make laws." 23 fl waps: Balvoverv] "but should not be unalterably binding where they are wrong." This refers to the gradual cor-

rection of the established laws just mentioned, c. 16 § 5. § 7 With §§ 7—9 compare the parallel version c. 16 §§ 10—13, printed in parallel

columns, p. 84 f.

26 συνώντες] The subject is πάντες sc. of moliva, the entire body of citizens, 27 περί τῶν καθ' ἔκαστον] Cp. Rhet. I § 8 περί τοῦ γεγανέναι ή μη γεγονέναι, η έσεσθαι η μη έσεσθαι, η είναι η μη είναι,

§ 7 περί παρόντων και άφωρισμένων. 28 καθ ένα] Taken individually χείρων inferior [to the one best citizen].

28

άλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλών, ὥσπερ ἐστίασις συμφορητὸς (X) 30 καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ άπλης. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει ἄμεινον § 8 όχλος πολλά ή εἶς όστισοῦν. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδιάφθορον τὸ ε πολύ, καθάπερ ὕδωρ τὸ πλείου, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ολίγων αδιαφθορώτερου τοῦ γὰρ ένὸς ὑπ' ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ή τινος έτέρου πάθους τοιούτου αναγκαΐον διεφθάρθαι την κρί-25 σιν. ἐκεῖ δ' ἔργον ἄμα πάντας ὀργισθηναι καὶ ἀμαρτεῖν. ς 9 έστω δὲ τὸ πλήθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον (p. 88)

πράττουτες, άλλ' ή περὶ ων ἐκλείπειν ἀναγκαίον αὐτόν. εί δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῦτο ράδιον ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ πλείους εἶεν άγαθοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πολίται, πότερον ὁ εἶς άδιαφθορώ-40 τερος άρχων, η μάλλον οί πλείους μέν τον αριθμον αγαθοί 20 [ῶσπερ.....20 ἀπλῆs] Oncken | 30 κρίνειν M* H3 | 32 καθάπερ <γάρ>

Bk.2, rashly. Other changes have been proposed, but the construction is Aristotelian. Cp. Vahlen Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. XVIII. p. 721 ff. | 33 yap Susem., & F Π Ar. Bk. | 37 ον P2-3-4, ον Qb Tb | 38 τούτο μη Π2 Bk.

29 ἐστίασις συμφορητός] "a feast to which many contribute." Cp. 11 § 2, π. (564). SUSEM. (646)

§ 8 31 ἔτι μάλλον...33 άδιαφθορώ-τερον] Vahlen has illustrated this construction, viz. a simile breaking the principal sentence (often worked out into elaborate detail) and a resumption of the ensional decain; and a resimption of the main thought with of τω asyndeton, from VI(IV). 3 § 6, 1290 a 11—15; Nic. Eth. VII. 6 § 1, 1149 a 25—31, δομε γφρ δ θυμός ακουράς με τι το δ δίγου, παρακότευ δέ, καθάπερ...δλακτούσω οδτως ο θυμός ος, καθαπερ...υλακτούσω ουτώς ο συμος κτλ; De Soph. El. 16 § 5, 175 α 16—30, συμβαίνει δέ ποτε, καθάπερ έν τώς δια-γράμμασω καὶ γιὰρ έκαι ἀναλύσεωτες είνοιτε συνθείναι πάλω δάνυατούμεν "ότω καὶ ἐν τοίς ελέγχοις εἰδότες παρ" δ ὁ λόγος συμβαίνει συνείραι διαλύσαι τον λόγον άπορο μεν; Poet. 15 § 11, 454 b 8—13, έπει δὲ μίμησίς έστιν ἡ τραγωδία βελτιώνων, ἡμῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἰκονογράφους. και γάρ έκεινα...γράφουσιν' ούτω και τον ποιητήν κτλ; De Anima II. 8 § 10, 420 b 17 ff., 9 § 7, 421 b 26 ff. (ούτως οδο the text, ούτω και the other recension or paraphrase of E), III. 7 § 7, 431 b 12 ff. Comp. I. 3 § 9, 406 b 15—20 (ομοίως δὲ καλ...), Rhet. III. 9 § 6, 1409 b 22—25, τὰ δὲ μακρὰ ἀπολείπεσθαι ποιεῖ ώσπερ...ομοίως δὲ μακρά ἀπολείπεσθαι ποιεί ἀσπερ... αρμοιεί δὲ καὶ αἰ περιόδος κ.Τ.), where the resump-tion is not asyndeton. "Add Pt. 1. 4 § 3, 1754 b 33–39, H. 6 § 14, 126 ξ b 20 L, H. 7 § 6, 127 π. 5 Π, v(VIII). 7 § 7, 1342 π. 22 Π." SUSEM. αδιάφθορον] "incorruptible," notmerely

by bribes, but by any passion.

32 το πλήθος των ολίγων άδιαφθ.] Yet when, Rhet. L I § 7, he is com-paring the functions of the dicast and of the laws he expresses an opinion which it is difficult to reconcile with this, on ένα λαβείν και όλίγους ράον ή πολλούς ευ φρονούντας και διναμένους νομοθετείν

και δικάζειν 35 exet & epyov] "But in the other case it is improbable" lit. difficult, see II. 7 \$ 3 m, "that all should err at

once. έκει δ' έργον...άμαρτείν] This is hardly correct. A large assembly is more likely to be led into over-hasty conclusions than a single capable man and ruler. Still it is true that in the case of a large assembly, the passion does not generally last so long; and they more easily regain composure; while a single ruler, if once misled by inclination or hatred, may easily confound obstinacy and stubbornness with energy, so that there is greater danger that he will misuse his unlimited power. Susem. (647) § 9 36 μηδέν παρά τον νόμον κτλ] "not acting against the law except," i. e. only acting against the law in cases where it [i.e. the law] must necessarily be defective.

38 ἐν πολλοῖς=ἐν τῷ πλήθει line 36. ἀλλ' ἐ πλείους] "at least suppose a majority to be good men and good citi-zens." A majority, though not the whole body of citizens.

40 οί πλείους μέν τον άριθμον] Numerous enough, indeed, in the best state, to

c.16 § 10 <καταστήσαι τούτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, εἴπερ, ὁ καὶ πρότερον 12 <εἰρημένον ἐστίν, ὁ ἀνήρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν 13 <δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ</p>

4 <σύν τε διο έρχομένω

καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ᾿Αγαμέμνονος

<τοιούτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.>

1286 b t δὲ πάντες] δ' άνδρες Γ Με ∦ στασιάζουσιν Ar. Morel Bk.

1887 b 8—18 8 πολλά omitted by F²Q-T-Ār. Ald. and F²-4 (the hand, added in the margin of F², and by a latter hand in F²₁ but afterwards ensed) | 9 qs' arowe | 11 til. 11 t

form the popular assembly and to appoint the council, the magistrates and the courts of justice from themselves alone—or, more precisely, from the older members amongst them, provided they are not too old: see IV(VII). I4 § 5, n. (817). SUSEM. (648)

15

§ 10 1286 b 1 dh. of piverh.] Objection. "A larger body will split up into parties; with the one ruler this is impossible. To which we must, I take it, reply that they are (ce hypothesi) as virtuous in soul as that one ruler."

c. 16 88 9, 10 1287 b 8 — 15. The place

of this fragment is vindicated by the congruence between its subject-matter and the foregoing. The contrast is still between δ of and $\pi\lambda\epsilon lowes$.

The one ruler cannot overlook all things himself: he must appoint a number of

officials; so that the state of things is virtually the same as if there were a number [i.e. a large body of the citizens ruling.

1287 b το & dρχῆς εἰθὺς ὑπάρχαν]

Whether this was the original state of

'Whether this was the original state of things' as it would be if the great body of citizens were rulers.

§ 10 τι δ καλ πρότερον κτλ] In c.

13 § 8, § 13—95. See also o. 15 § 3 p. for. If we followed the manuscript order we should have to translate: "Lasting as the second of the sec

after el cp. Phys. IV. 8 § 11, 215 b 15, el yap rà rétraga rûn tribu ûmepkye ênl, rhelow de rôin duôn...roû de impôndr oi-néri êxel hôyan û ûmepkye. With alla this is frequent: see e. g. c. 5 § 3 of this book.

14 σύν τε δύ έρχομένω] Homer Iliad X. 224. SUSEM. (650)

ή εὐχή] Agamemnon says this of Nestor, *Iliad* II. 372 f. SUSEM. (651) 1286 b 3 εί δή την μέν τ 4 τῶν πλειόνων ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν πάντων ἀριστοκρα-5 τίαν θετέου, την δε τοῦ ένὸς βασιλείαν, αίρετώτερον αν είη ταῖς

πόλεσιν αριστοκρατία βασιλείας, και μετά δυνάμεως και χωρίς δυνάμεως ούσης της άρχης, αν ή λαβείν πλείους όμοίους. § 11 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὐρεῖν

άνδρας πολύ διαφέροντας κατ' άρετήν, άλλως τε καὶ τότε 10 μικράς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις, ἐπειδή ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τούς βασιλείς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι πολλούς όμοίους πρὸς άρετήν, οὐκέτι ύπέμενον άλλ' εζήτουν κοινόν τι καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. § 12 έπεὶ δὲ γείρους γενόμενοι ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ε

1286 b 3-1287 a 23 τ286 b 7 δμοίως ΓΠ³ Ατ. ∥ 9 πολύ] plures Ατ., πολλούς ? Sylburg | 10 emeth Susem., emel Jackson, en & Susem. 1.2.3 with all earlier authorities | έτι δ'...... τι ανδρών Krohn rejects as spurious, but the change to ἐπειδὴ disposes of his doubts. See Comm. n. (650) | 13 καl < dοιστοκρατίαν καl > πολιτelas ? Susem. | 14 γενεόμενοι Π2 Bk.1, γενόμενοι Bk.2

c. 15 § 10 1286 b 3 el δή τὴν μὲν... 5 0eréov] Compare n. (536) on 7 § 3. SUSEM. (655)

Susem. (655)

6 καὶ μετά δυνάμεσε καὶ χωρλε δυνάμεση.

4 "whether the king has an armed force granted to him or not." Cp.

5 14—c. 16 § a n. (666), as well as 1,8 β 7, (622). Susem. (656)

7 ἀν ἢ λαβάν ετλ.) "provided always a majoriy can be found of milliom excellence." In fact an "assembly of kings' as Kinsens said of the Roman

senate. ouolous as in 4 § 5, and as in 15 § 11 ouclous woos aperip.

In §§ 11—13 (δημοκρατίαν), we have a sort of historical appendix to the first two ἀπορίαι.

§ 11 8 καλ διά τούτο κτλ] The immediate reason is rather to be sought-as Aristotle himself explains I. 2 § 6, n. (19 b)—in the development of the state from the family through the intermediate link of the village-community. It would have been better therefore to repeat that fact and then to add that on account of the further reason which is here adduced kingly rule was maintained for some time longer. Cp. n. (659). SUSEM.

9 τότε μικράς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις] "considering too the small size of the cities in which they lived then." Comp. § 13 n. (663), and the passages there collected. Susem. (658) 10 έπειδή ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας κτλ] Ιτ

would have been highly desirable to adjust this second reason to the first. For if monarchy is traced back on the one hand to the government of a community by its elders, and on the other to personal merit, the two causes cannot personan merit, the two causes cannot simply be at once combined, though a partial combination is not only conceivable, but even right. Aristotle however has neglected to make it, and has thus left a difficulty unsolved. For when Henkel writes Stud. p. 95, 'but even in home with the study of the study o places where the original connexion between the state and the organization of the family no longer exercised a determining influence, it was only monarchy that grew up in the beginnings of civi-lization,' adducing the second reason to explain this, he is quite right, but unfortunately there is nothing of the kind in Aristotle. See also VIII(v), 10, 3 %,

(1649). SUSEM. (659) 12 συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι πολλούς κτλ] Comp. VIII(V). 10 § 37 n. (1708). "They would no longer submit to the rule of a king, but strove after a commonwealth (KOLPÓP 71) and tried to set up a free government" (woherelas): i.e. a republican constitution, or more accurately, first an aristocracy or a 'polity' of horse soldiers, next a 'polity' properly so called, of heavy-armed foot: VI(IV). 13 § 10, cp. n. (1273). SUSEM. (660)

§ 12 14 émel be xelpous... 15 oht-yapxias] And yet Aristotle (?) VIII(V).

15 ἐντεϊθέν ποθεν εἴλογον γενέσθαι τὰς δλεγαρχίας: ἔντιμου (X) γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν πλοίτον, ἐκ ἐἐ τούταν πράπου εἰς τυρανείδας μετέβαλον, ἐκ ἐὲ τῶν τομανείδαν ἐκ ὁ πρωκρατίαν αἰεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττοις ἄγουτες ἐι αἰσγροκέρξειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλήθος κατέστησαν, ῶστ ἐπιθίσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας. ἐπεὶ ἐὲ καὶ μείζους εἰναι συμβέθηκε τὰς πότιλεις, ἴσως οιδὲὰ ἐρίξουν ἔτι γίνεσθαι πολετείαν ἔτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίας.

εὶ δὲ δή τις ἄριστου θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι » 23 ταῦς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πύτερου καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γινομένων ὁποῖοί τινες

17 ματ/βολλον M·IP fr. Bl. § 18 δηματει «τολ δλέγου» οι άγωντει «τολο πλουσίου» οι something similar Henkel (Σλοιάπ., p. 5/n. 2.); see Comm. n. (6) § 22 d......27 фώτυν cited by Julian ad Thomist. p. 280 D f. § 23 περί] περά the mss. of Julian except the Cod. Voss. § 24 όπολό (δπολίο ΜΡ) IP fr. Julian and Pé (corn.), όπολο P VP ΦλΑ. απd IP f(st hand), όπολο P VP ΦΤΣ L C

12 § 14 has α hostile criticism of Plato, who accounts for the transition from Timocracy to Oligarchy in precisely the same way (Schlosser). See un. (1767,

1777). SUSEM. (661)
18 els δλάττους άγοντες] Here τὰς
δλιγαρχίας οτ τὴν δλιγαρχίαν must he
supplied as object from what precedes.
Henkel however would insert τοῦς δλίγους or rols whovelous in the text and translate: "while the powerful" (viz. the tyrants) "from disgraceful avarice continued more and more to thin the ranks of the rich." But then there would be no justification for the development of Tyranny out of Oligarchy, and it would appear as though the people had only risen against the tyrants, and not against the oligarchs. It is true that if we keep to the received text, the passage is some-what obscure through its brevity, but other passages quoted by Henkel himself supply the necessary explanation. The oligarchies were constantly tending to develop into the rule of single families (II. 10 § 13 n. 371) by the exclusion of more and more families from power, and those who were excluded went to strengthen the commons, which took its leaders from among them; for the biguos in spite of its hatred for the rich, living as it did "dispersed over its farms and isolated," VIII(v). 5 § 8 n. (1558), stood in need of leaders. But for this very reason there was first a transitional state of things, viz. the tyranny of these same leaders; and

afterwards when the people grew stronger the tyrants were banished, and a democracy arose. Susem. (662)
§ 13 20 êmêl Sê καὶ μέζους κτλ]

cary arose. SUSEM. (689) 13 not ref. 18 nai pulpos eràl. Comp 8 11 not ref. 18 nai pulpos eràl. Comp 8 11 v/fr/). 65 g. st. (1-85), 18 fio. Comp 8 11 v/fr/). 65 g. st. (1-85), 18 fio. Comp 8 11 v/fr/). 12 fio. not (1-85). Comp 14 v/fr/). 12 fio. not (1-85). Comp 14 v/fr/). 12 fio. not (1-85). Comp 14 v/fr/). 18 fio. not (1-85). Not (1-85).

(483—5) (Henkel). SUSEM. (688)
21 tows o686 p68100 kr3\] "Now-adays hardly any form of government, except democracy, can easily arise." Kingly
rule in particular is not to be expected;
if a monarchical constitution arises at all,
it is in the form of ryparys, VIII(V). o
§ 37; cp. VIII(V). 5 \subseteq 6—8 (Henkel)
with n. (1708). SUSEM. (6694)

a gr. cr. vitaty); 5 % co.— (Henkel) with a (1908). Sursus (68). Sursus (68). Sursus (68) at a 48 kg rs... 23 rws gs ra way far ra way. This is the third drapfa: a standing difficulty of all monarchy. In order to meet it heredity has been medified at different periods (i) by election from a royal line, as amongst the early from a royal line, as amongst the early from a royal media to the special cribes, por, on rofs a following the surface of the Roman empire.

24 άλλα γινομένων όποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον] "But that will be mischievous if § 14 έτυχου, βλαβερόν. ἀλλ' οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὡν τοῦς (X) 45 τέκνοις. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτ μάδιον τοῦτο πιστεῦσαι 'χαλεπὸν γάρ, καὶ μείζους ἀρετῆς ἡ κατ' ἀνθροντίνην ἀρίστης.

καὶ μείζουος ἀρετῆς ἡ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ 10

τοι μέλλοντα βασιλαύεων Ισχύν τωα περί αίτών, ή δυνήσεται (s. %) 3 βμίζεσθαι του μή βουλομένους παθαρχέν, ή πός εὐνέχεται 31 την άρχη δυωκείν; εἰ γὰρ [κα] κατα δύμω είγ κύμος, μηδὰν πράττων κατὰ την αύτου βούλητων παρὰ τὸν νόμως, όμως ἀναγκαίου ἀπάρχεια στης δύναμμη ἡ φιλάζει τολς νόμοις.

βιετάχαι μεν ούν τὰ περὶ του βασιλέα τον τοιούτου ού χαιλεπόν 35 διορίσαι (δεῖ τὴρ αὐτόν μέν έχειν ἰσχόν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην την ἰσχόν όστε ἐκάστου μεν καὶ ἐσόν καὶ συμπλειώνων κρείττο τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττα, καθώπερ οἱ τ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰς ψιλικκὸς ἐδίδοσαν, ότε καθισταίδι τυαι τῆς πόλους δὲ ἐκλουν αἰσυμπίτην την ἡ τίραυνου, καὶ Διονυσίος τις, ὅτ' ἤτει τοὺς φίλακας, συν-

την $\hat{\eta}$ τίραυνον, καὶ Διονυσίω τες, $\hat{\sigma}^{*}$ ήτει τοὺς φύλακας, συν40 εβούλευε τοῖς Σύρακουσίοις διόδοναι τοσούτους τοὺς φύλακας):
16 εκρὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ την αὐτοῦ βούλησων πάντα Χι
25 αλλ......5 eteres emitted by \hat{O}^{*} $\hat{\Gamma}_{*}$ given in P*L OMUNC's in the form

ON of serubsiya rods visit habiyos i haboles it ikosis dyas rotor rotora \mathbb{R}^n vivi raseiras A. Suma- \mathbb{R}^n (septhan sightly), omitted by Islam \mathbb{R}^n of oir striphosorous varietus Julian, oi phikos fir rotor \mathbb{R}^n), oisefu (six fir M, oke fere \mathbb{R}^n) rotor phoso II (nothing fir) Bis, perhaps rightly \mathbb{R}^n of oir fir \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n of \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n oir \mathbb{R}^n and omitted by Ilf fir, untranslated by \mathbb{A}^n \mathbb{R}^n so \mathbb{R}^n is a sirve \mathbb{R}^n , sirve \mathbb{R}^n \mathbb{R}^n so \mathbb{R}^n is a first first \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n of \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n so \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n is \mathbb{R}^n in \mathbb{R}^n

the children are liable to turn out good or bad at random" or "just as it happens," a euphemism for "jit they are very inferior." So Pl. Gorg. 51,4 E rejbe mohlà qu'e frons trioquer monjan, mohlà dè xaroptiona: Eur. Hift. 292 Tip µth bealant yi b'ê frons trioques.

"This is certainly a very serious difficulty in an absolute monarchy, but in limited or constitutional monarchies the question is not so important" (Congreve). SUSEM. (665)

28 circp(av) The fourth difficulty started is that relating to the forces to be placed at the monarch's disposal.
758 Suvduses This means not only

a body-guard, but a standing army generally, or even a standing police-force. Cp. further § 10 n. (656), 14 § 7 n. (622). Susem. (666)

§ 15 31 el γάρ κατά νόμον είη κύ-

puos] "For even if he be lawfully sovereign...still he must have a force to guard the laws."

8 16 38 alσυμνήτην] Cp. c. 14 § 8 n. (623). SUSEM. (667) 39 στ' ήτει τοὺς φυλακας] This is what Dionysios the Elder did, after he

what Discussion the Élder did, after he had obtained his normination as general with unlimited power (ergarype across) expenses and expenses of the property o

SUSEM. (668)

c. 16 § 1 1287 a τ περί δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως κτλ] This clause with δὲ answers

πράττοντος ο τε λόγος εφέστηκε νύν καὶ ποιητέον την σκέ-(ΧΙ)
ψιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμου λεγόμειος βασιλεύς οὐκ ἔστιν
είδος, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, πολιτείας (ἐν πάσιας γὰρ ὑπάρ5χειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀίδιον, οἰον ἐν δημοκρατία καὶ
ἀριστοκρατία, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιούσιν ἔνα κύμουν τῆς διοικόγους
τοιαίτη γὰρ ἀρχή τις ἔστι καὶ πορὶ Ἑπιδαμνον, καὶ περὶ
'Όποῦντα δὲ κατά τι μέρος ελαιτική: περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβα-2
\$\$ αιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ ἡν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ
ι την ἐκυνοῦ βαθληκειν ὁ Βασιλείς. «*

οκεί δέ τισιν οὐδέ κατὰ

11 φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπου

συνέστηκεν ἐξ όμοίων ἡ πόλις τοῖς ἡὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσει τὸ

αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαίον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν κατὰ φύσι

11879. 4 # mourels Cameraius and Vetteri (also by an unknown hand in the margin of the Munich Aldine), floraches FI II (including 6.) Art. Suem. 7 in the test 1 8 Oddraw Schneider and an unknown scholar in the margin of Stahr's copy of Morel 18 Oddraw Schneider and an unknown scholar in the margin of Stahr's copy of Morel 19 of Morra Corlex Vossianus of Julian 1 # gags.... to Bodyew perhaps transported by 1 for follow to Repostable 1 midraw Julian and Themila, 5:81 A.1. The follow to Repostable 1 midraw Julian midraw Hertlein 1 heartwood in the school of t

to the preceding one beginning τάχα μεν οῦν 15 § 16; and it is an objection to Mr J. Cook Wilson's analysis of cc. 15, 16 that it ignores this correspondence. 2 ἐφάστηκα] the question is now at

hand, impends.
4 καθάπερ είπομεν] c. 15 § 2, n. (635).

SUSEM. (669)

5 d(διον=held for life.

δ τῆς διοικήσεως] 'of the administration.' Not in the technical sense in which δ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως meant the Mi-

nister of Finance at Athens.
7 περί Ἐπίδαμνον] Comp. VIII(V). I
§ II, n. (1501), 4 § 7 n. (1550); also II.

§ 11, n. (1501), 4 § 7 n. (1550); also II. 7 § 33 n. (249). SUSEM. (670)

8 At Opus the holder of this office bore the title of Cosmopolis Polyb. XII.

16. Comp. Schömann p. 142 Eng. tr.

§ 2 There is a manifest lacuna after

3 2 There is a manifest lacuna after line 10 δ βασιλεύ; the omission of δê in the citation by Julian is one attempt to conceal it, as the change to δη is another. For instead of extending to maphen-hela the fourth drople (which in 1; 58 ig. 1, 61 in respect of limited monarchy) the text goes no to raise an entirely new problem, argin (2); viz. In not the raise of one on ageing (3); viz. In not the raise of one on family. It is not natural that powhould past from hand to hand (she keps) and he wested in officials, whose functions are arranged by the mention of the contract of the collection of the colcetion of the collection of the collection of the colcetion of the collection of the collection of the colcetion of the colcetion of the collection of the colcetion of the c

first and second droples.

10 Soket St rury] Comp. II. 2 § 4 n. (133), § 6 (134 b): IV(VII). 3 § 6 n. (740): further I. 7 § 1 n. (58 b); IV(VII). 8 § 2 (707), VI(IV). II § 8 (1293). SUSEM.

είναι, ώστ' είπερ καὶ τὸ ἴσην ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνίσους τροφήν ἡ (ΧΙ) 15 έσθητα βλαβερον τοις σώμασιν, «καί» ούτως έγει και τὰ περί ε 3 τὰς τιμάς, ὁμοίως [τοίνυν] καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τοὺς ἴσους ὁιόπερ οὐδένα 3 μάλλον ἄρχειν ή ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος τοίνυν ώσαύτως. τοῦτο δ' ήδη νόμος ή γὰρ τάξις νόμος. τὸν (p. 90) 19 ἄρα νόμον ἄρχειν αίρετώτερον μᾶλλον ή τῶν πολιτῶν ἕνα §4 τινά, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον, κάν εἴ τινας ἄρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύλακας καὶ ύπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα τοῦ-23 τον είναι φασι δίκαιον όμοιων γε όντων πάντων. dλλd μήν s δοκεί δύνασθαι διορίζειν ό νόμος, ούδ' άνθρωπος γε μή ννωρίζειν. άλλ, ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας 26 έφίστησι τά λοιπά τῆ δικαιστάτη γνώμη κρίνειν καλ τούς άρχοντας. έτι δ' έπανορθούσθαι δίδωσιν, δ τι άν δόξη

28 πειρωμένοις άμεινον είναι των κειμένων. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον 14 είπερ] ώσπερ an unknown hand in the margin of the Munich Aldine | ώστ' είπερ και] ώσπερ γάρ ? Schneider | 15 <και> Göttling | έχει] έχειν Schneider | τὸ P⁴Q⁵ T⁵ L⁵ Bk. | 16 τοίντο omitted by Π¹ | οὐδένα Bernays, οὐδέν Γ Π (including fr.) Ar. Bk. | 23 ouolos II

1287 a 23 αλλά μήν όσα..... 28 κειμένων transposed to follow 1286 a

21 κάλλιον: see p. 433 1287 a 28 è µèr eur b 8 tè éfes transposed to follow 1286 a

20 πασαν: see pp. 430-432

14 τὸ ἴσην ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνίσους] Comp. Nic. Eth. 11.6 § 7, 1106 a 36 ff. (Broughton). Susem. (673) § 3 16 όμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄνισον κτλ] "So too it is quite as harmful if unequal shares are assigned to those who are equal. Hence it is right that in ruling and being ruled all should be alike, and

consequently should interchange with one another in both. But here we come to law, for the system" on which they interchange "is a law." 17 70 ava pipos rotation in ruling and being ruled.

18 ώσαύτως sc. δίκαιδυ έστι. § 4 21 νομοφύλακας=guardians of the

\$ 4 21 Vομοφόλακας=guardians of the laws: the expression used by Plato Laws IV 715 C (Eaton). SUSEM. (673 b) 23 dλλλ μψν κτλ] "I norder to bring this passage 125γ a 23—26, as it stands, into logical connexion with the preceding fifth drop(a, it will be necessary to regard it not as an objection to the view therein

expressed, but as introducing a new objection to a ruler who goes beyond the letter of the law: άλλά μήν = but again, as in 1262 b 24, 1287 b 8. Yet the next sentence, a 25 -27, allows that within certain limits the one ruler is really in a position to make such decisions, and speaks of rulers in the plural. Hence there can be no question here of attacking or defending monarchy, and besides all the arroging are alike in treating absolute monarchy unfavourably. It would still be open to us to read & & with Arctinus instead of ook, a 24; but if that were done alla in the next line would not be in place: Ar. omits it and we should rather expect διδ or

йоте or something of that sort." Susem. 28 δ μλν οδη "It is not to be denied that, if the preceding passage 1287a 23—28 be transposed, this passage 1287a 28—b 8 might quite well follow the fifth ἀπορία, so far as the connexion of thought goes. But the form renders this impossible. The fact that law is passionless is not an inference that can be drawn from the natural injustice of a permanent ruling body: so that of will not stand as 'therefore.' Nor will it suit as a transitional particle, without something else, kal or \$71 de." SUSEM.

11

15

κελεύων άρχειν δοκεί κελεύειν άρχειν τον θεόν και τον νοῦν (ΧΙ) 30 μόνους, δ 8' άνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι και θηρίον έπιθυμία τοιούτον, και ό θυμός άρχοντας και τούς άρίστους § 6 ἄνδρας διαφθείρει. διόπερ ἄνευ δρέξεως νοῦς δ nomos δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, **Ι**ατρεύεσθαι 34 урациата φαύλου, άλλά Kal § 7 σθαι τοίς ξχουσι τάς τέχνας. οξ μέν γάρ οὐδέν διά ποιοῦσιν, λόνον ďλλ, άρνυνται τὸν ύνιάσαντες. οi ταῖς πολιτικαῖς έπήρειαν Kal χάριν εἰώθασι πράτταν. ξατρούς όταν ύποπτεύωσι πιστευθέντας POS έγθροῦς 40 φθείρειν διά κέρδος, τότε τήν έκ τών μάλλον. άλλα μήν εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐφ' κάμνοντες άλλους ίατρούς καl οŝ μναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ώς ού δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τό τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οίκείων και έν πάθει όντες. ώστε δήλον ζητούντες τὸ μέσον ζητούσιν ὁ δὶ νόμος τὸ κυριώτεροι και περί κυριωτέρων τών κατά κατά τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ἄστ' εἰ τῶν ката άρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, άλλ' ဝပိ οὐδὲ βάδιον έφοραν πολλά τόν Eva. εΐναι τούς ύπ' αύτοῦ καθισταμένους τοῦτο έξ αρχής εύθὺς **ὑπάρχειν** § 10 καταστήσαι τούτον τον τρόπον; έτι, είπερ, δ καλ πρότερον ελρημένον σπουδαίος, διότι å βελτίων.

και ή εύχη τοῦ Αγαμέμνονος

τοιούτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες. || είσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν περὶ ἐνίων αἰ 16 άρχαὶ κύριαι κρίνειν, ώσπερ ὁ δικαστής, περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος

άδυνατεί διορίζειν, έπεὶ περὶ ών γε δυνατός, οὐδεὶς άμφισβη-1287 b 8 άλλα μήν οὐδέ..... 15 συμφράδμονες transposed to follow

το καιος, τού δὲ ένὸς οἱ δύο αναθοὶ βελτίους τούτο ναο έστι τλ

σύν τε δύ έρχομένω

1286 b 3 d els: see p. 435 1287 b 15 elol be kal.....35 beir buolus is another recension of 1286 a 26

-b 3. See Introd. p. 84 f. | δè] γὰρ? Susem. | 17 γε omitted by Πº Bk.

c. 16 §§ 10—13 1287 b 15—35. In Introd. pp. 84—5, the reader will find this passage printed in parallel columns side by side with c. 15 §§ 7—10, 1286 a 26—b 3,

an arrangement which cannot be adopted here, simply because it is then no longer possible to preserve the lines of Bekker's quarto edition, as is done elsewhere, 35 δείν όμοίως.

τεί περί τούτων ώς οὐκ ἄν ἄριστα ὁ νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν. (ΧΙ) § 11 άλλ' έπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθήναι τοῦς νόμοις τὰ s 20 δε άδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν πότερον τον άριστον νόμον άρχειν αίρετώτερον ή τον άνδρα τον άριστον. περί ών γάρ βουλεύονται νομοτεθήσαι τών άδυνάτων έστίν. οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ώς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄν-24 θρωπον είναι τὸν κρινούντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι § 12 οὐγ ἔνα μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλούς. κρίνει γὰρ ἔκαστος ἄργων πεπαιδευμένος ύπὸ τοῦ νόμου καλώς, ἄτοπόν τ' ἴσως αν είναι δόξειεν εί βέλτιον έχοι τις δυοίν υμμασι καὶ δυσίν ἀκοαίς κρίνων, και πράττων δυσί ποσί και χερσίν, ή πολλοί πολλοίς, έπει και νύν όφθαλμούς πολλούς οι μονάργαι ποιούσιν 30 αύτων καὶ ώτα καὶ χείρας καὶ πόδας. τοὺς γὰρ τῆ ἀρχῆ § 13 καὶ αίτοῦ φίλους ποιοῦνται συνάρχους. μη φίλοι μέν οὖν ὅντες ού ποιήσουσι κατά την του μονάργου προαίρεσιν εί δε φίλοι κάκείνου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅ γε φίλος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος, ώστ' εἰ

17 ά μέν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν λέγου-18 ώτ.....κοίνειεν transposed to precede 17 έπεὶ by Π2, untranslated by Ar. | 10 καί omitted by Γ and P1 (1st.hand, added by p1) | έπειδή Π2 fr. Bk. | 22 νενομοθετήσθαι Susem. 1-2 lege statuta esse William | 25 κρινεί Spengel, κρίνει ΓΠ Ar. Bk. | 26 άτοπον...31 συνάρχους cited in Scholia on Aristoph. Birds 92 | τ' Π' fr., δ' Hº Ar. Schol. on Aristoph. | 27 έχοι Susem., tδοι Γ II (including fr.) Ar. Schol. on Aristoph. Bk. | δυούν] δυσί Sylburg | 28 πράπτοι Conring wrongly, but recognizing that the text was unsound | 20 μβραρχοι Π2 fr. Schol. on Aristoph. Bk. | 30 αὐτῶν Morel, αὐτῶν II Schol. Aristoph., αὐτῶς Susem. 1.2 (sibi William), possibly right | της ἀρχής Casaubon | 31 αύτοῦ Susem.3, αύτοῦ Γ Π Susem.2 Bk.1, αύτοῦς Schol. Aristoph. Susem.1, perhaps right, airois Bk.2, but see Bonitz Ind. Ar. 125 a 18 f. | 32 δέ omitted by fr. | 33 ő τε Γ, ότε P4 Tb Ald., ούτε Qb, ὁ δὲ Ar. | φίλους ίσως Γ Ma

τούτους οἴεται δεῖν ἄργειν, τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους ἄργειν οἴεται

c. 16 § 11 19 άλλ' έπελτά μέν κτλ] It is on this account that 'equity' is necessary to supplement law, right, and justice, because the law only determines the general rule, but there are some things for which no general rules can be established; therefore besides laws there must be popular decrees. See Nic. Eth. v. 8. Cf. also Rhet. I. 13 § 12 ff. 1374 a 25 ff. [with Cope's comments and his In-25 n. [wint Cope s comments and ins 18-tred. pp. 190—193]. Plato Peiti. 294 Eff. (Eaton). Also see notes 275, 579, 637 and v1(iv). 4-31 n. (1212). SUREM. (602) 22 mpl div ydp Bouketovrau] This de-partment of human action is defined in

the detailed investigation of Nic. Eth. III. c. 3. Susem. (653)

τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν] Here, it may be remarked, Mr J. Cook Wilson finds a place for the fragment 16 §§ 4, 5, 1287 a 23-28, άλλά μην δσα...τών κει-

§ 12 29 οφθαλμούς] An allusion to the title of the king's eye, given by the Medes and Persians to a counsellor of the king: Herod. I. 114 (cp. c. 100), Aesch. Persac 973, Aristoph. Ach. 94 with scholiast, Xenoph. Cyropad. Vill. 2 §§ 10—12. Comp. also Pseudo-Arist. De Mundo c. 6, 398 a 21 ff., Poll. 14 (Patco) and m. (1715) upon VIII(V). 11 § 7. SUSEM. (654)

c. 17 A partial decision of the above difficulties. A reference to c. 15 §§ 2, 3

36 σι, σχεδου ταῦτ' ἐστίν ἀλλ' ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐπὶ μὲν τινών ἔχει 10 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δὲ τινῶν οὐχ οὕτως. ἔστι γάρ τι φύσει δεσποτικόν καὶ άλλο βασιλικόν καὶ άλλο πολιτικόν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον τυραννικόν δ' οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ φύσιν, (р. 92) 40 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβάσεις εἰσίν ταῦτα

§ 2 γάρ γίνεται [τά] παρά φύσιν. άλλ' έκ τῶν εἰρημένων γε φα-1288 α νερον ως έν μεν τοις όμοιοις και ίσοις ούτε συμφέρου έστιν ούτε δίκαιον Ένα κύριον είναι πάντων, ούτε μη δντων νόμων, άλλ' αὐτὸν ώς ὄντα νόμον, οὕτε νόμων ὄντων, οὕτε αγα-4 θου αγαθών ούτε μη αγαθών μη αγαθόν, ούδ αν κατ' αρετήν § 3 αμείνων ή, εἰ μὴ τρόπου τινά. τίς δ' ὁ τρόπος, λεκτέου εξρηται δέ πως ήδη καὶ πρότερου. [πρώτου δὲ διοριστέου τί τὸ 11

38 δεσποτικόν] δεσποτόν P2-3 Qb Tb fr. Ald., probably also P4 (1st hand), δεσποστόν Sylburg Bk., άριστοκρατικόν in place of either δεσποτικόν or βασιλικόν Schlosser. See Comm. | και άλλο βασιλικόν omitted by Π1 (in P1 added in the margin) | βασιλευτών P2-3 Qb Tb fr. Ald. Bk., probably also P4 (1st hand), βασιλευτικών P4 (corr.) 41 7à rightly omitted by H2 Ar. Bk., retained by fr.

1288 a 2 νόμων δυτων Ma II2 fr. Bk. | 3 dλλ' νόμον omitted by II3 | 5 el omitted by fr. | 6 ήδη omitted by Π1, [ήδη] Susem.1 . | [πρῶτον......15 ἀρχάs] Susem. See Ouaest. crit. coll. p. 308 f.

will suffice to show that the solution here with sained to allow that the solution lefe proposed relates to nothing else than the λοιπόν τρόπον τῆς βασιλείας, or absolute monarchy. Comp. Susemihl Quaest. coll. crit. p. 396 ff. If so, they must relate to that commonwealth of virtuous men in which alone absolute monarchy will arise,

Comp. c. 15 § 9. § 1 36 em per river] i.e. in certain circumstances: not, as Bernays and others translate, "in the case of certain men (populations, civic bodies)." See n. (677) and Quaest. crit. coll. p. 307 ff. Susem.

38 δεσποτικόν...βασιλικόν] "Bekker writes δεσποστόν after Sylburg and βασι-λευτόν as in Π². But we find τυραννικόν standing side by side with these; and as this can hardly be used, like apartosparaκὸν and πολιτικόν, in a passive sense it proves that we should rather read degreτικὸν with Göttling, as in III, and adopt βασιλικὸν from the corr. of Pl. Further, how else are we to construe and dismor καί συμφέρον and των άλλων...παρεκβάσεις, to which Lambin raised an objection? But with the text before us fore door is the predicate of the first clause, for kurd φύουν the predicate of the second clause; all the rest is subject." SUSEM. 40 ταῦτα γὰρ...παρὰ φύσιν] Com-

pare the apparently inconsistent passage VII(IV). 12 § 3 n. (1310). SUSEM.

(674 b) § 2 1288 2 3 άλλ' αύτὸν ຝs ὅντα νόμον] Cp. 13 § 14 n. 601 b. Susem. (675) This is the thorough-going Absolutism of the scientific expert in government, as

advanced by Plato. §3 6 καλ πρότερον] viz. c. 13 §§ 13 25. Susem. (676)
6 πρώτον δέ...15 ἀρχάs] Krohn is right in objecting to the meaningless tautology in the definition of the peoples suited to monarchy or aristocracy. It is even worse that aristocracy is here described in a manner which, although it does not directly contradict Aristotle's conception, still by no means exhausts it. and therefore does not render it faithfully. It is indeed essential that a true aristocracy should possess citizens who are capable enough always to elect the most capable persons to office. But it is as essential to this ideal aristocracy, that these persons should only hold their offices for a certain time, and then be replaced by persons not inferior in capacity, so that there is a perpetual interchange of rulers and ruled. And it is yet worse to find the people suited for a monarchy represented as different from that suited for

βασιλευτὸν καὶ τί τὸ ἀριστοκρατικὸν καὶ τί τὸ πολιτικόν. (ΧΙ) § 4 βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι πλῆθος ὃ πέφυκε φέρειν

γθυσε υπερέχου κατ άρετην πρός γημουιδια πολιτικήν, άρτ-10 στοκρατικάν δὲ πλήθος δ πέφικε φέρειν [[πλήθος άρχεσθαι δυνάμενον]] την τῶν ελευθέρων ἀρχήν υπό τῶν κατ ἀρετην ήτημοινικών πρός πολιτικήν ἀρχήν, πολιτικόν δὲ πλήθος ἐν ῷ πέφινε ἐγγίνεσθαι πλήθος πολεμικόν δινόμενον ἀρχειν καὶ δηχεσθαι κατὰ νόμου τὸν κατ ἀξίαν διανέμοντα \$ τοῦς εὐπόροις τὰς ἀρχάς.] ὅταν σύν ἢ γένος δλου ἡ καὶ τῶν με

aristocracy, although according to the genuine teaching of Aristotle, the true monarchy and the true aristocracy are only possible with the same people, viz. that of the ideal state (13 § 24 n. 614, see Introd. p. 44). For this very reason, we would not translate above at 17 § 1 "for some people monarchical government is naturally suitable, for others the true Republican government"—but rather: "under some circumstances the one, and under others the other." But the interpolator, like many modern critics, mispolator, like many modern critics, mis-understanding the passage adopted the former meaning, and so it seemed to him necessary to interpolate here an exact account of each kind of people. When the passage is rightly interpreted, the incorrectness of this interpolation at once becomes manifest. While c. 17 § 5 is closely connected with sal πρότερον... (8 3) the interpolation 82 of disturb his (§ 3) the intermediate § 3, 4 disturb this connexion entirely. In its present form the definition of the people suited to a Polity is quite un-Aristotelian, whether we adopt the reading edwopous or dmbposs; the former gives a mixture of aristocracy and oligarchy, the latter a monstrous combination of aristocracy and democracy, while the Aristotelian Polity is a compromise between oligarchy and demo-

cracy. Yet this mistake seems too bad even for this interpolator, and we ought perhaps to adopt Stahr's conjecture row etrapors < xal ross darbooss which would remove the difficulty. Suskii. (677)

effective series was required. The series of the series of

16 άλλων ένα τινά συμβή διαφέροντα γενέσθαι κατ ἀρετὴν (ΧΙ) τοσούτου ὥσθ' ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος εἶναι τοῦτο βασιλικὸν καὶ κύριον πάν-

8 των καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἔνα τοῦτου. καθάπερ γιὰρ εἰργται πρό-20 τερον, οἱ μόνον οἴτως ἔχει κατὰ τὸ δίκαιου, ὁ προφέρεων εἰώθασιν οἱ τὸς πολιτείας καθιστάντες οἶ τε τὸς ἀριστοκρατικός καὶ οἱ τὸς ολιγαρχικὸς καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὸς ἑημοκρατικός (πάντη γιὰρ καθ΄ ὑπεροχὴν ἀξιωΐσιν, ἀλλά ὑπεροχὴν οῦ τὴν \$7 αὐτήν), ἀλλά <καὶ> κατὰ τὸ πρότερου λεχθόν, οῦτε γιὰρ κτείνευ ἢ ῖι

2. φυγαδεύειν οὐδ' ὀστρακίζειν δή που τὸν τοιοῦτον πρέπου ἐστίν, οἰτ ἀξιοῦν ἀρχεσθαι κατὰ μέρος οὐ γιὰρ πέφικε τὸ μέρος ὑπερέχειν τοῦ παινίς, τῆ δὲ τὴν τηλικαίτην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντι \$ ποῦτο συμβέβηκεν. ἄστε λείπεται μόνον τὸ πείβεσθαι τῆ τοιούτο καὶ κύριον είναι μὴ κατὰ μέρος [τοῦτου] ἀλλὶ ἀπλώς. (c. ω) το ποὸι μὲν οῦν βασιλεία, τίναν ἄγεν διαφοράς, καὶ πότερου ΧΙΙ

nf vad omittel by ΠI_1 [read] Sussem. I_1 so [es labou] Bejonen I_1 at a descrepation and 2 shopagets in N Sussem. I_2 at a desponents in N Sussem. I_3 at a desponents in N Sussem. I_4 and I_2 such than I_3 is a vary fix-steric Π^2 An. Bit. and Π^2 (in than I_3), perhaps right; yet altered to varive by the control of P is I_3 decision. As a point of P is a disposite I_3 and I_4 decision and disposite valued in the margin of P and disposite I_3 disposite I_4 di

§ 8 18 võrs Sõeausv võ ybos avõl Africatote spaals with far more correctness here than in 13 § 13 when he is dealing with a whole stack of individuals or even with a whole stack of individuals or even control to the stack of the control to the co

on the state of th

to see which excels the other. Susem.

(680) 24 κατὰ τὸ πρότερου λοχθόν] sc. δέκαιεν 'but also according to the right previously expounded!: viz. the right of merit, when the estimate just mentioned (in n. 680) has been correctly made. Accordingly we are referred back to c. 9 as well as to c. 13. Further comp. n. (500) and VIII(V): 1. 8 6 n. (1004).

Summit. (881) § 7 as of valve refuses... 28 orugh@p-seq! For it is not natural that the part seq. For it is not natural that the part sep seq. For it is not natural that the part season of such extraordinary entinence has happened to be in this case 'vir. that all he others together stand to him as part to whole. The ordinary interpretation is, for it is not the course of rature that river it is not the course of rature that that happens when a man is very superior to the rest.' But see c. 13 § 13. Su-

SEM. (681 b)
§ 8 29 μη κατά μέρος άλλ' άπλῶς)
'not merely in rotation' with others,
'but absolutely sovereign.'

31 οὐ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλοσι» ἢ συμφέρει, καὶ τίσι, καὶ πῶς, (XII)
18 διορίσθω τον τρόπου τοῦτον ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεῖς φαμεν εἰναι τὰς
όρθις πολιτείας, τοῦτων δὲ ἀνυγκοια φίρτην εἰναι τὴν
τῶν ἀρίστων οἰκουριουμένην, τοιαύτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἢ συμβέβη.

35 κεν ἢ ἔνα τιναὶ συμκτίστων ἢ γένος δλου ἢ πλῆθος ὑπερέχου
εἰναι κατὶ ἀρετήν, τῶν μὲν ἀρχεσθαι διυναμένων τῶν δὲ
ἀρχευ πρὸς τὴν αἰρετοντάτην ζωήν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρότοις ἐδείχθη λόγοις ὅτι τὴν αἰστὸν ἀναιοι αὐκρὸς ἀρετὴν εἰναι καὶ
πολίτου τῆς ἀρίστης πόλεως 'φαιερὸν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπου
40 καὶ διὰ τὰν αὐτὰν ἀντῆν τε γίνεται σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν συστήσειεν ῶτ τις ἀριστοκρατουμένην ἢ βασιλειουμένην, ὅστε ἔσται 2

188 καὶ παιδεία καὶ ἔθη ταὐτὰ σχεδον τὰ ποιούντα σπουδαῖον
2 ἀνόρα καὶ τὰ ποιούντα συλτικού μελ βασιλειουμέν), διορισμέ-

νων δὲ τούτων περὶ τῆς πολετείας ἦδη πειρατέων λέγειν τῆς ἀρίστης, τίνα πέφικε γίνεσθαι τρόπου καὶ καθίστασθαι πάς. 36 άρχεθαι «καὶ ἀρχαν» Spengel Βἰκ. ‖ 39 τῆ πόλαν τῆς αἰρίστη Πι Ἡ. Βἰκ. ‖ 41 «ἄριστ ἦ» ἀριστοκρατουμένη» Βικλείες, probably right. Schmidt thinks ἀρωτοκρατομένη ἡ βωνλανμένη» a gloss which has taken the place of the true reading ἀρωτα πολιτουμένην σε ἐντανμένη» [ἡ βωνλανμένη»] Spengel who

finst aw the text to be unsomed 188 b z avariarily πλίτης πέρεθες (or σποδαίου)? Spengel. I [cal βασλικός 189 bz z ανατικός πλίτης και δρατοφοπικό» Conting wrongly: sal βασλικός Nickes, accepted by Bernays, whose translation shows that it will not give a good sense I a «πλίτοτεσθεί πει πλίτης πλ

 c. 18 Transition from Monarchy to the best constitution in the narrower sense, i.e., excluding monarchy, to pure Aristo-

cracy.

This chapter is of first-rate importance for the question of the order of Books IV (IV), \(\psi(IVI)\), because it enables us to decide whether the best (i.e. the ideal) state in its normal form is or is not identical with the \$\phi\psi\rangle^{2}\to \text{violental}\) that is in the order of the fixed of the \$\phi\rangle^{2}\to \text{violental}\) and the properties of \$\phi\rangle^{2}\to \text{violental}\) for \$\phi\rangle^{2}\to \text{viole

p. 60 (652) f. §1 34 οἰκονομουμένην] administered, managed. No stress can be laid upon this word: see VIII(V). 8 § 15 τŷ δλλη οἰκονομία.

35 η ένα τινά... ή γένος όλον η πληθος] The first two cases give the ideal kingdom; see c. 17 § 5 n. (678): the third gives the ideal aristocracy. See also n. (600). SUSEM. (682)

37 mos rip... [wip] Comp. II. 1 § 1 n. (128): also n. (21) on I. 2 § 8, n. (284) on II. 9 § 5 and the passages there cited. SUSEM. (688)

ev 62 rols mpérois hóyois] c. 5 § 10; see n. (471). Susem. (684)

At the end of this chapter in the manuscripts and in the editions (flown to and including Bekker's quarto) is appended the unfamished sentence drivery by ris places and a sent of the end of the editions (flown to an edition to the places and a sent of the edition (flown to the edition to the edition of th

EXCURSUS I

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF CONSTITUTIONS, POLITIES, OR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. III. 7. 1.

On the development of the theory of the different forms of government before Aristotle see especially Henkel Studien p. 38 ff., Oncken II. p. 139 ff. From Herodotos III. 80-82 we learn that the Athenians of the Periclean age used to distinguish three forms only, but with tolerable definiteness and clearness of view; the rule of the people, for which Herodotos nowhere as yet uses the term democracy; Oligarchy i.e. the rule of a picked association of the best men; and Monarchy. Thus Oligarchy means here what was in later times called Aristocracy, after that 'during the Pelononnesian war,' as Henkel says, 'men endeavoured to win credit for party efforts by well sounding names (Thuc, III, 82): afterwards the Socratics used the term with great predilection as a word of good omen, την εδώνυμον άριστοκρατίαν, Plato Politic. 302 D.' Lastly the terms Monarchy, Kingship, Tyrannis, are found in Herodotos as yet undistinguished side by side. Considerable progress is shown in the masterly descriptions of the Athenian and Spartan governments and their points of contrast by Thucydides, in Pericles' Funeral Oration and elsewhere: there indeed the Athenian constitution is already called a democracy. But it was Socrates who first prenared the way for the more subtle distinctions to be found in Plato and Aristotle. He divided the monarchical constitutions into kingships and tyrannies, and the oligarchies into aristocracies and plutocracies (governments of wealth). He took as the criterion for kingship the government of the prince in accordance with the laws and the willing obedience of the people; for tyranny, the arbitrary rule of the prince and the coercion of the people: for aristocracy, the appointment to the magisterial offices of men from among the number of those who are most law-abiding as at Sparta (Xen. Mem. III. 5. 14-16: IV. 4. 15, cp. De Rep. Lac. 10, 7, Plato Crite 92 E); for plutocracy, their appointment by a property qualification, Xen. Mem. IV. 6. 12, cp. 1. 2. 41-45. Here already is the germ of the distinction found in Plato and Aristotle between normal constitutions and the perverted forms corresponding to them. Yet the principle of law-abiding rule and willing obedience (and their opposites respectively), which Socrates followed, is carried out clearly in the case of

¹ And not, as Oncken II. 152 misinforms us only 'after performance of definite statutory injunctions.'

the monarchical constitutions only. Plutocracy, thus defined, does not present any such sharp antithesis to Aristocracy, although the mere wealth of the rulers in the one case, and their excellence and obedience to the laws in the other offer a strong contrast of a similar kind!. In democracy he made no such distinction at all: he merely defined it by the fact that the appointment to the offices of state is open to all; and certain statements by him lead to the inference that in general he regarded it as a perverted form (Xen. Mem. III. γ , 5, f, 1, 2, 9, 1, 2, 6, 1, 1, 9, 1, 2, 10, 10.

Plato follows in his master's footsteps most closely in his Politicus, strange to say, for from the most recent investigations it follows that this is in all probability not his earliest exposition. But the principle which Socrates had already laid down, that the excellence of a man and of a ruler is only conferred by conceptual knowledge, is there put into serious application by the exaltation of reason above the law. He declares the most perfect constitution to be the rule of the wise man unfettered by legal restraint, so far as it can actually be realized. Next, after dismissing this ideal state, he carries out completely the Socratic opposition between states governed by laws and those which are subject to arbitrary rule, at the same time showing a correct appreciation of the numerical standard2 which, though in itself something external, nevertheless involves essential intrinsic differences. Thus he distinguishes not only between Kingship and Tyrannis, Aristocracy and Oligarchy (which latter name he employs instead of Socrates' Plutocracy). but also between Democracy governed by law, or moderate Democracy, and arbitrary or unrestrained Democracy. But it is quite a novelty when he undertakes to determine precisely the order of merit of these constitutions, reversing this order in the two classes of constitutions, (1) those where the laws are respected and (2) those where they are not; so that the former are less bad, the latter less good according as the number of the rulers increases.

With this the older account given in the Robublic so far agrees that here also Tyranny is depicted as the worst of all constitutions and Democracy and Oligarchy as coming next to it. But while in the Politicus arbitrary Democracy is, as we have said, represented as more tolerable than Oligarchy, and nothing is said about recognising a good Democracy or Oligarchy along with the had forms. Instead of this, Aristocracy, the name given in the Politicus to Oligarchy along with the had forms. Instead of this, Aristocracy, the name given in the Politicus to Oligarchy where the laws are respected, is here reserved for the ideal state itself and this Aristocracy is in its real and essential nature placed on a par with me Monarchy: or Zeller Plate p. 465 Eng it. But to make up for this, between the only good constitution of the Robublic and the three wholly bad ones an intermediate form is inserted a constitution after

¹ Hence Oncken's criticism is quite unfair when he asserts that this point of view is abandoned in the non-monarchical constitutions, purely external differences respecting the conditions for admission to office being alone taken into account,

and that Socrates reverts to the superficial view which bases a distinction simply on the number of rulers.

² That is, the distinction between government by one man, a few, or a multitude: Plato *Polit*. 210 D f., 302 C.

the fashion of Sparta and Crete, for which Plato invents the new name Timocracy (tule of honour) because he negards its intrinsic principle as being ambition and the love of honour. We may conjecture that this is partly due to the views of those theorists who originated the doctrine of the mixed constitution and discovered such a combination in Sparta and Crete (It. 6. 17 with m. 219, cp. also Interal p. 20): for Plato in the Republic does not simply describe Timocracy as a constitution intermediate between Aristocracy and Oligarchy, he expressly says it is a combination of elements of both, of good and bad: 15 & 4.1, 6.47 D ff.

Lastly, it was pointed out in the notes on II. 6 §§ 17, 18 that he shews himself very distinctly influenced by these theories in the last of his works. the Laws, where he himself sketches a wholly new and improved form of such a mixed constitution (cp. also n. 191 on H. 6. 4). Thus forms of government are now divided by him into mixed or moderate and pure or unlimited; the latter he represents as merely governments of faction or party in the one-sided interest of the ruling power. This division in the main coincides with that followed in the Politicus, except that it is not stated in the Laws whether Oligarchy or absolute Democracy is regarded as the less bad; nor whether unlimited Monarchy, otherwise called Despotism or Tyrannis, is still regarded as the most intolerable constitution of all. But in any case he no longer assigns to limited or constitutional Monarchy the same high place as in the Politicus, where it ranks not only above moderate Democracy but even above Aristocracy; nor does he make Kingship and Aristocracy identical, as in the Republic. It would appear as if he placed limited Democracy before limited Monarchy rather than in the reverse order: at least he apparently sets both on an equality in merit, but certainly ranks mixed Aristocracy before them both: for if we adopt his own terminology we may thus describe the pattern state of the second rank sketched in the Laws, since he uses the term Aristocracy III 701 A in the sense of a 'government by the best,' although in III 681 D it means a government by nobles, while in the decisive passage IV 712 CD it is employed in such a way that one does not rightly see whether that is still its meaning or what it is that Plato understands by "Aristocracy," We may however conjecture that it is at any rate a government by certain families in which special excellence is really hereditary. It may be seen from Aristotle (III. 7. 3, VI(IV). 7. 1, Nic. Eth. VIII, 10. 1-cp. n. 1230) that the champions of a mixed constitution before Plato's time gave it the common name Πολιτεία, Constitution or Commonwealth in general: evidently (a) because, as a combination of several or indeed of all constitutions with one another, it is so to speak the all-comprehensive constitution or the constitution par excellence; or else (b) because as in their opinion the best constitution it seemed alone deserving of the name, or it may be (c) for both reasons. This name is retained by Aristotle, yet with the remark in the Ethics I. c. that the more correct term would be Timocracy, which however he applies to it in a sense different altogether from that in which Plato coined the expression, to mean the rule of the census or property-qualifica-

н. 29

tion, i.e. the rule of a moderate property-qualification. Comp. III. 7. 4 n. (537), VI(IV), Q. 3 n. (1254), VI(IV), 13, 7 n. (1260).

Aristotle for his part follows very closely, as he himself remarks VI(IV), 2, 3 (cp. nn. 1139, 1140), the view presented by Plato in the Politicus, except that he replaces law-abiding Democracy by Polity and adheres firmly to the distinction between law-abiding or moderate Oligarchy and Democracy and their opposites, a distinction which with special reference to the Athenian state was certainly the common property of educated Athenians, even before Plato, in the form of the antithesis between the 'old fashioned' and the 'modern' Democracy-II. 12 88 2, 4, cp. vI(IV), 6 8 5, 14 8 7, 88 11, 12; VII(VI), 4 88 1, 2; 5 \$\ 3, 4. VIII(v). \$\ 10 and n. (406)—which Isocrates, in particular, is fond of using1. Hence follows the essentially original addition made by Aristotle to the Greek classification of forms of government, which he expressly claims as original VI(IV), I \$\$ 8-11 (cp. n. 1126, also VI[IV], 2 \$4 n. 1140 b. VII[VI]. 1 § 7 n. 1383 b, VIII[V]. 12 § 18 n. 1787), namely the accurate analysis of the principal forms of constitution, Oligarchy and Democracy in particular, into their sub-species, and the estimate of the comparative merit of the latter, which leads him to assume not simply two but more exactly four forms of Democracy and Oligarchy from the most moderate and law-observing species, which resemble Polity, down to the most unbridled and corrupt, which resemble Tyrannis, vI(IV), c. 4 f, VII(VI), cc, 4-7. Thus in contrast to Plato's procedure in the Politicus and the Laws he certainly regards even the first and most law-observing of these forms as already a degeneration. though it stands still very near to Polity. But even amongst the mixed forms he employs a more exact mode of distinction, particularly to delimitate spurious or mixed Aristocracies from Polities, the name of Aristocracy in its proper distinctive sense being reserved for what is really and truly such. Aristocracy pure and unmixed, the best constitution in the absolute sense: vI(IV), 7 \$\ 2-4, 8 \ 9, cp. 2 \ I n. (II33), \ 4 (II4I); II. 6. I7 (218), IV(VII). 11. 5 (849), also n. (536) on III. 7. 3: for which an ideal Monarchy as the best form of all is at least conceivable: III. c. 13 nn. (505, 507, 601), c, 17 nn, (677, 678); VI(IV), 2 § 1 f nn. (1133, 1136-7), 10 § 4 n. comparing nn. (521) on III. 6, 1, (614) on III. 14. 24, (633) on III. 14. 2. But this, the only Monarchy which has any justification in the developed state, is not tied down to laws but is absolutely unqualified. Comp. Introd. p. 44 ff. The same sketch of the various constitutions had already been given by Aristotle, without specifying the sub-species, in the Nic. Eth. VIII. 10. 1-3:2 indeed he had probably expounded it still earlier in one of his dialogues. For it is assuredly probable, if not certain, that when Isocrates, who is trying to maintain the old threefold division into Monarchy, Oligarchy and Democracy, as found in Herodotos3, makes a hit at those who, caring little for essential points, regard Democracy blended with Aristocracy, and Timocracy

¹ Comp. e.g. Isocr. vII. 15 ff. 2 The divergences which Oncken, p.

¹⁵⁸ff. believes he has discovered rest upon misapprehensions.

³ But in such a way as to give Oligarchy the meaning it has in Plato and

in the sense of government by property qualification, as separate forms (Parant, & [3] 1–13], he is attacking Aristotle. But Isocartes is not referring, as Henkel p. 46 n. 25 thinks, to the Ethics, which at that time unquestionably was not yet published; nor is there anything said in the Ethics about a combination of Aristocracy and Democracy at all, much less as a special constitution.

Van der Rest p. 415 f. criticizing the principle of classifying constitutions as normal and perverted which had been inherited by Aristotle from Socrates and Plato, says not without some reason: la science ne peut admettre une classification des gouvernements qui s'appuie, non pas sur le principe même ou l'organisation des divers gouvernements, non pas sur leurs différences intrinsiques, mais sur la manière dont usent du nouvoir ceux qui en sont revêtus, sur les qualités morales dont ils font ou non preuve dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, c'est à dire sur quelque chose de tout à fait en dehors des constitutions mêmes. However there is always this difference ; that certain constitutions by their essential organization may be adapted either to prevent such misuse, or on the other hand to call it into existence, sometimes indeed to render it inevitable. How else could the distinction between a despotism and a really free government be maintained? And is there not a difference in the 'principle of the constitution itself' between a constitution which really favours the rule of the masses and one which distributes power wisely? The conception of Plato and Aristotle may be untenable in this form, but there is something true underlying it, SUSEM. (533)

EXCURSUS II.

PITTACUS: III. 14. 10.

In regard to the life of Pittacus, all that we either know with certainty, or may with some probability conjecture, amounts to very little, as Töpffer more particularly has recently shown in his *Quaestiones Pisistrateae* pp. 81—107

1 Heitz in his continuation of K. O. Miller's History of Greek Literature, Geschichte der griech. Litt. II ip. 486. f. (ep. p. 445) is centally of opinion that the Nismanthans Ethica owe its crigin, the Little of the Comment of

Aristotle and his friends, and that conquently after Plant's oben'th Aristotle paid quently after Plant's oben'th Aristotle paid quently after Plant's oben'the Aristotle Arist

(Dorpat, 1886). He is said to have been allied to the Lesbian nobility through his wife, who was descended from the once princely house of the Penthilidae, VIII(V), 10, 10 n, (1681); but on the father's side he was not of Lesbian, but of Thracian descent (Duris Frag. 53 in Diog. Laert. I. 74, Suidas). Yet whilst still in his vigorous manhood he attained great reputation. Mitylene was at that time torn with factions and Pittacus' first political act seems to have been to bring about the fall of the tyrant Melanchros with the aid of the nobles, or at least that party of them which was headed by Antimenides and Kikis the brothers of Alcaeus the poet. Perhaps this also contributed to his election by the Mitylenaeans (presumably not long afterwards) to be their general in the war with the Athenian immigrants into the Troad, who under the leadership of Phrynon had conquered the Mitylenaean colony Sigeion. In this campaign, which proved disastrous to the Mitylenaeans, Alcaeus also took part. No mention is made of him on occasion of the expulsion of Melanchros, although according to Aristotle's statement here he was afterwards chosen as the leader of the exiled nobles along with Antimenides. He himself describes his flight after a battle with the Athenians, in a poem addressed to his friend Melanippos (Fr. 32 in Herod. v. 95, Strabo XIII. p. 600). The statement that Pittacus slew Phrynon in single combat (Strab. XIII. 600, Plut, De Herod, malion, c. 15, Diog, Laert, Lc., Suidas) is very suspicious, as Töpffer has shown: probably it did not originate long before Strabo's time. At last peace was concluded in accordance with the decision of Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, and the Athenians retained Sigeion (Herod. and Strabo II. ec., Apollodoros Fr. 78 in Diog. Laert. Lc., Töpffer p. 86 ff.). But there was no cessation of the intestine feuds, in which Alcaeus largely increased his renown as a poet by the composition of his "Faction songs," στασιωτικά, as they are called (Strab. XIV. p. 617). The tyranny of Myrsilos, whose death Alcaeus celebrated in one of his poems, Frag. 20. probably falls within this period, although Strabo mentions him before Melanchros. At length the nobles themselves were banished, and when the exiles threatened to commence an attack, Pittacus was chosen Aesymnetes. He victoriously repulsed the invaders, taking Alcaeus prisoner: but he pardoned him (Heraclitus in Diog. Laert. I. 76, Diod. IX. 20) and permitted Antimenides also to return. He issued a general amnesty, and though he authorized a new division of the land he introduced no changes at all into the constitution, but only into the laws and courts of justice (see 11. 12 § 13 n. 429). So completely was peace restored that several years before his death he was able to lay down his office.

The fixed dates in his biography which are given, from the same original source, most fully in Dieg, Laert. 1, 25, 29 and in Suidas, are based upon very arbitrary calculations. Nothing more was known about Pittacus and Alcaeus than what tradition and the poems of the latter had to tell about them, and that of course furnished very uncertain starting points for chronology. The only trustworthy date established by written evidence was due to the fact of Phrynon having previously won a victory at the Olympic games furnished the property of the contract of the property of the contract of

in the corresponding list of victors. If I am right in my conjecture, he was reckoned as being 25 years old at that time and 50 when he conquered Sigeion, and Pittacus as being about ten years younger: hence the floruit (dxpr)) of the latter, i.e. his fortieth year, perhaps also the beginning of the Signian war, was placed in the 42nd Olympiad; more precisely Ol. 42, 2=611 B.C., which would make his birth fall in Ol. 32, 2=651. To the same 42nd Olympiad, but somewhat earlier probably, was next assigned the fall of Melanchros. Those who wanted to bring in the single combat with Phrynon placed it half a decade later than the outbreak of the war, i.e. as Eusebius in the Armenian translation attests, Ol. 43, 3=6061. Now counting two decades from 611 we arrive at 501; and as it was important that two events which followed at no long interval, viz, the expulsion of the nobles and Pittacus' appointment to be Aesymnetes, should be fixed here, a year earlier, 502, was chosen for the one (the Parian Marble, Ep. 36 as restored by A. Schöne 'Researches into the life of Sappho' in Symb. phil. Bonn. p. 755 ff.), and a year later, 590, for the other. Just as arbitrary was the assignment of ten years to Pittacus' tenure of office and ten years more to the remainder of his life (Diog. Laert. 1. 75), whereby the year of his death became exactly Ol. 52, 3=570, and he was made to live just over 80 years, or between 80 and 81 (Laert. Diog. 1. 79, where 6880µn kovra must obviously be altered to ονδούκουτα). Now this whole calculation in round numbers, decades and half-decades, may still be approximately correct; but it is quite possible that mistakes of more than ten years have crept in. Hence we must be contented, e.g. to place the Sigeian war in the latter part of the seventh century, some time after 636. Nor can we decide whether Alcaeus was younger than Pittacus, nor, if he was so, by how many years. About Antimenides we learn further, from a poem of Alcaeus addressed to him, of which the beginning has been preserved (Fr. 33), that he served in the Babylonian army. This must certainly have happened after his banishment which, though quite possibly previous to 502, can hardly have been earlier than 605; hence we are obliged to reject the conjecture of Otfried Müller that he took part in the battle of Carchemish, B.C. 605; see his essay, 'A brother of the poet Alcaeus fighting under Nebuchadnezzar,' in Rhein. Mus. for 1827, pp. 287-206. Müller's only reason on the other side, viz. that at the later date he would have been too old, is not valid; for there is nothing to contradict the supposition that he was a man of about fifty, or a little over, in 500. Possibly Pittacus himself was no older in that year; for we must be content to place his birth somewhere about 650-640, and that of Alcaeus still more vaguely, somewhere about 650-630. Hence Duncker is nearer the truth when he remarks op. cit. VI. p. 281; "Antimenides may have taken part in Nebuchadnezzar's Syrian campaigns, or in his conflicts with Pharaoh

¹ The text of Suidas (s. v. Πιττακός) καὶ τῆ μβ΄ δλυμπαδι Μελαγχρον τὸν τὸν συρανος Μετιλήσης ἀνάλε, καὶ θρόσωνα στρατηγὸν ᾿Αθηναίων πολεμοθντα ὑπὸρ τοῦ Σεγείου μοσφαιχών ἀπέκτευτ δεκτώψ περιλολών αὐτόν should be thus punctuated,

with a full stop, in place of a comma, after an after. If this be done, Suidas does not contradict Eusebius. This too has been correctly remarked by Töpffer p. 55 f.

Hophra, or in the taking of Jerusalem.* Moreover, as Alcaeus himself tells us that he reached Egypt (Fr. 106 in Strabo I. p. 37), which was no doubt during his exile, it would appear that he at any rate was exiled for several years. SUSEM. (828) (Pp. now Rhein. Mus. XIII. 1887, p. 140 ff

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Ol. 32, 2	Pittacus born	B.C. 651
Ol. 36	Phrynon aetat, 25 victor	636
Ol. 42	Downfall of the tyrant Melanchros	-
Ol. 42, 2	Pittacus floruit, aetat. 40	611
	Phrynon aetat. 50 conquers Sigeion	611
Ol. 43, 3	Phrynon slain in single combat by Pittacus	606
Ol. 47	Expulsion of the Lesbian nobles	592
Ol. 47, 2	Pittacus aetat. 60	591
Ol. 47, 3	Pittacus made Aesymnetes	590
Ol. 50	Pittacus resigns his office	58c
Ol. 52, 3	Pittacus dies, aetat. 81	570

EXCURSUS III

FRAGMENTA VATICANA RESCRIPTA

The printing of B. III was almost completed when a very praiseworthy piece of work was published: in the Rheinisches Museum for 1887, vol. XIII p. 102 ff. C. Heybbut communicated to the world his collation of twelve leaves of a palimpsest in the Vatican library (gr. 1298) containing the following passages of the Politics 1275 a 13—43 1, 1276 b 17—1279 b, 1278 a 24—1281 a 37, 1286 b 16—1288 b 37, 1290 a 36—1292 b 20. Notwithstanding their great age' the fragments, which we denote by fr., abound in more or less serious blunders of every kind, which need not be fully recorded in the critical notes? The gain accruing to the text is next to nothing: at 1278 a 24 they confirm Perizonius' conjecture derfue, at 1289 a 34 my rejection of sai, and that is all. No one need be surprised at this when he reflects on the extraordinary accuracy which marks: IP, the principal codex of the family IP, although it is, comparatively specialism or recents. To frue definite separation between the two recensions III and

¹ Heylbut pronounces the writing to be of the tenth century. Accentsare very rare, but not altogether absent; iota adscriptum is written or omitted at random; etacism is very frequent; there are no pauses between the words except at the

end of a paragraph.

2 It will be found that of some 400 readings cited by Heylbut 50 record the

Namely, of xiv century, four centuries later than fr.

II2 was brought about, as I have shown1, in the sixth or seventh century while the manuscript of which these fragments have been preserved, was copied from an original of an earlier date than that separation. So far it may be compared with the manuscript which Julian used; but with this difference, that of the two subsequent recensions Julian's MS apparently more nearly resembled Π^1 than Π^2 , while the case is just the opposite with the newly recovered fragments. That is to say, apart from the two readings above mentioned it shares in general both the merits and the faults of II1 and of II2. Consequently, as I am bound to state in reply to Heylbut, it is not of the slightest importance for deciding the question, whether on the average the text is better preserved in III or II2. On the contrary, the reasons which have led me to infer that II1 has retained the true reading (or traces of the true reading) somewhat oftener and in more important cases? than II2, and must therefore in all more or less indifferent cases retain the advantage over it, remain, now that the palimpsest has been made known, exactly the same as they were before. More than this I have never asserted

But besides, Heylbut has made no complete enumeration of the readings in which the fragments agree with II1, or with II2: sometimes too, where he records such agreement, his statement is not quite precise enough to make clear the actual state of the case. Thus he tells us, "1276 b 30 800 "with Π2, 1281 a 35 f εχοντα...ψυχην placed after φαυλον with Π2, 1287 a 11 "sya marrow sum with H2, a 32 o pour pours as Julian reads, 1288 a 2 pours "ovrov as II2": whereas in the fourth of these passages II1 also agrees with Julian, and in the other four it is not Π1, but only Γ M8 (or in the last passage P P1), from which fr. diverge. If Heylbut chose to adopt this procedure (viz. to make divergence from I Ms equivalent to divergence from II1), he should in all fairness have set down to the credit of II1 the readings in which the fragments agree with FM* only; namely, 1278 b 22 moleretas, 1280 b 5 διακονουσιν, 1287 b 13 εργομενων. The second of these three erroneous readings is of some interest: for while a codex so late as P1 has not got beyond the first stage of corruption, διακοπούσω for διασκοπούσω, the fragment as well as T Mt had already converted this into biasovoyaw3. Still more interesting is 1202 a 3, where M* has the true reading with H2, while the frightfully corrupt reading which, as we now see, already stood in the palimpsest was also found in I, and originally also in P1. At 1287 a 33 I II rightly have γράμματα, fr. has γράμμα with M* P1. The statement "1286 b 17 μετέ Baλλον with Π2" is quite misleading: for here it is only P1 that has μετέβαλον at all, at least we cannot determine the reading of r. At 1278 a 36 the order of the words in fr. is the same as in P1 and corr. P4, i.e. a branch of II1.

series of similar passages,

¹ In my critical edition p. xIV. Cp. above, p. 2, n. I.

A reference to a single passage may suffice, II. 2 § 6, 1261 a 39 ff, where II² affords an especially deterrent example: cp. *Quasst. crit. coli*. p. 360 f. I can with the greatest ease supply a

³ See above p. 76 n. (1). We know that P¹ was copied quite at the end of the fifteenth century: for on the last page but one the scribe, Demetrios Chalkondylas, records the births of his children from the year 148, to the year 1501.

Remarkable, too, is the reading at 1291 a 39, if Heylbur's statement is accurate: for in that case fr. have δρολονέρμενο with II' and appower with II'. Heybur's omission to annotate a number of readings in which fr. agree with II' or II', as the case may be, is evidently intentional: but on his own principles he should have added "with III* in the following cases; 1276 b 33; 1277 a 20, 1278 b 19, 1281 a 3, 1288 a 29, 1292 b 9, (υπυρρο); and "with III" in the following; 1276 b 36, 1279 a 25 (το πολιττυμο), 1280 b 4 (εξεν), 1287 b 41, 1288 a 23.

Leaving out of account the circumstance that fr. usually write oldels and hyperedow with rft, on the basis of an exact calculation made by me the case stands as follows: fr. agree with 12 against 11 fe times; 15 times rightly, to fit mes wrongly, while 31 cases are doubtful or impossible to decide: whereas fr. agree with 11 27 times, 20 times rightly and only 4 times wrongly with 3 cases doubtful or not to be decided?. The correctness of the calculation that 11 has retained the true text oftener than 12 cannot be better brought before us. Moreover the right reading in fr. at 125/3 at 7 ar 4 and 4 and 5 undoubtedly derived from 12. And if we now take into account the cases mentioned above where fr. have the right or the wrong reading in agreement with a part only of the family 12, even this makes but very little change in favour of fr?

Assuredly we ought not to reckon amongst the doubtful cases 1278 b 20. defear $\mu \delta$ for ν defeares δ even wearasic on the contrary there can be no doubt that Π^0 fi. are wrong in omitting the article. That by Aristotelian usage it might in itself be dispensed with, would never have been doubteen even apart from the parallel plessages which Heyblut adduces; but unfortunately Heyblut has left out the three closest parallels, which are alone sufficient to decide the case: 1353 a 7 bders restrate δ ege ω δ dispenses, E(Mo). Nic. 1007 b 11 ψ ders molarabis δ δ defearers, 1169 b 18 molarabis δ δ defearers 1169 b 18 molarabis δ defeared. However ANNEDIOS may be for defeared, as Sidth suggests 4

On the other hand in the above calculation sai of sai sei, and in most cases the order of the words, have been regarded as doubtful. Yet as a matter of fact we may hold it more probable that Aristotle everywhere words sai, sai, sai and sai order of course will dispute the fact that the frequently places the attribute after the substantive and repeats the article as in r_{pi}^{*} makes r_{pi}^{*} depictive because this coccurs often enough, we must

¹ It is a mere accident that Mⁿ here agrees with IIⁿ. With the copyist of Mⁿ no other fault is so frequent as the omission of words in consequence of an homocoteleuton: here too it is he, no doubt, who is to blame, and not his original.

² Besides the 51 passages noted below in which II² fr. agree against II¹ there are 11 others where the text with which Heylbut collated fr, viz. Susem.³, agrees with II² against II³, viz. 1275 a 28, 1275 a 128, 1275 a 22, 1280 a 24, 1270 a 2 fr. 1280 b 5, 1288 a 16 (in which cases II³) omits words), also 1277 a 23, 1280 a 24, 1291 b 27, 129 b.5. Similarly with the eight passages 1276 b 32, 1280 b 34, 1288 b 42, 1288 b 27, 1290 b 19, 1291 a 39, b 6, 1291 b 14 in which fr. may be assumed (from Heylbut's silence) to agree with Susem³, i.e. with III as against III²: adding these 8 to the 19 noted below we get 37 readings in which III⁴ fr. are agreed as against III².

See Rassow Forschungen über die Nikom. Ethik. (Weimar, 1874) p. 54.
See Commentationes Philologicae (Monachii, 1891) p. 98. feel some scruples about accusing the author of the recension H1 (which, as the figures above show, is on the average the better and more careful) with such confidence as to exclude all doubt, of having three times intentionally altered it 1260 b 23 f., 1288 a 39, 1331 a 5. Just as little do I hold the case to be decided, or even possible to decide, by Heylbut's examples at 1280 a 15 f.,1 and 1288 a 13 f.2 Those which he adduces in favour of μία άρετη 1277 a I have certainly somewhat more weight3. However I have made it a rule as regards the order of the words, so far as it is of any importance, quietly to follow everywhere the class of manuscripts which is, on the average, the better, in order to limit as much as possible the editor's own subjective leanings: but I have no objection if in the future another editor, bolder than I am, prefers to attempt a decision of each case upon its merits, so long as he only refrains from the wish to deduce theories as to the order of words in Aristotle from a text like this preserved to us by a bifurcate tradition. Otherwise the matter is without significance and not worth contesting. And lastly I fail to see what right Heylbut has to prohibit Aristotle from using two alternative forms μέναρχος and μονάρχης: one should have learnt by now to guard against the endeayour after uniformity of this sort.

In my third edition I did not, at 1278 b 22, bracket the words our florrow. my reason being the observed fact that words are more often omitted by Π^1 than added by II2 without justification. But now it appears that fr. agree with H1 in rejecting these two words; and not only so, but Heylbut has proved that they are untenable4. On the other hand, at 1278 b 31 the ve inserted after doerne by P2-3 fr. deserves perhaps to be accepted, and at 1292 b 15 I shall without hesitation replace robs in the text with P2-3 fr. Ald. Bk., as here the sense favours the article. SUSEM.

Heylbut's collation with the text of Susem.3 is as follows (words and letters in brackets being such as are illegible):

1275 a 15 ενγεγραμμενους | 19 γαρ | απλως: λ is added above the line | 21 εστιν | 22 μαλον | 24 εισιν | 26 αοριστος: ο added above the line | 33 (ο μεν) | 34 (λε)γομενους 39 (ρας...ουσας); there is only room for about 10 letters; probably the copyist omitted τὰς δὲ προτέρας

1275 b 4 (ναι...εκαστην) πολιτεί(αν διο) περ(ολεγθεις) | 5 εστιν | 7 εν omitted | 8 δικαζουσιν | 10 αλλοις αλλας | 11 της ετερας | 12 κρινουσιν | 13 (του) | 15 εστιν | alla | 16 Boulesbu with H^2 | 19 Bouleutikhs η kritishs | 20 (π pos)...21 (opt-

In favour of φαῦλοι κριταὶ, the order of II2 fr., Heylbut quotes 1282 a 16, Top. VIII. 11 § 3, 161 a 37 έπει δε φαύλος κοινωνός ὁ έμποδίζων κτλ, Nic. Eth. I. 3 § 5, 1094 b 28 άγαθδε κριτής.

For the less usual order of Π² fr.,

άρχεσθαι καὶ άρχειν, Heylbut cites 1250 b 37, 1277 b 27, 1284 a 2, 1317 b 2. Comp. 1255 b 8 with Crit. note. 3 They are 1276 b 32, 1277 a 10, b 18,

1322 a 8, a 26. 4 Heylbut points out that & Aurrow

denotes a less sum, or something less in number, time or space: e.g. #helovsέλάττους VII(VI). 3 § 3, 1318 a 26; ἐΕ ελαττόνων els έξακοσίους ήλθεν, VIII(V). 6 § 3, 1305 b 12: οξ μέν γὰρ ἐξαμήνους, οξ δὲ δι ἐλάττανος (sc. χρόνου) ποιούσι τὰς doyás VI(IV). 15 § 1, 1200 a 6: où yap Ελαττον διέστηκεν ΙV(VII). 3 § 2, 1325 α 28. Whereas the sense required in the passage in question is that invariably expressed by ony nrrow, outly nrrow, the opposite of which is πολύ ήττον=much less easily, e.g. VI(IV). II § 11, 1296 a 5.
At VIII(V). 8 § 7, 1308 a 18, ήττον is parallel to οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον. ζουται) δη | 23 επι...οιον twice over | 24 παμππους | 25 απορουσω | 27 ειρωνευομονος | 29 υπο των twice over | λαρισσαποιους, but just before λαρισαιους | 30 εστιν | 31 διορισμος | 32 και γαρ ουδε

1276 b 18 gap corrected from gass |21 reds |23 rarywarp reasorys |24 $\delta_0/\delta_0| |25$ (eagers) |26 (eagers) |23 |27 δ_0 |27 δ_0

1277 à I e(I) μ (u) μ (

1278 a 29 τουνοθουν | οις in πολλοις over an erasure | 30 αλλα | 31 ολεγ(αν...) θ συνομούς με για θ τουπ for four letters | 32 δοχλ(ον κα)τα | 34 αστων | 36 ωστων = 32 μετέςων comes after 40 συνομούς στην α Sin Pt Corr. Pt

1378 b 1 error | ex two expueses with Π^2 | 3 energe en with Π^2 | 8 error with Π^2 after rows an erasure of half a line | 9 error | 0 expose | 1.1 dera| 12 dera| 12 dera| 14 dera| 16 overerpee | 15 | 9 with Π^2 | 21 o is omitted with Π^2 22 error adopte enderate enjoyerma* | 2.4 error type | 2.5 most | 36 enough to enderate operate | 3.6 enough 2.7 enough 2.7

1279 а 2 тодотрабър | 13 те мизеч | 15 арх(осичосно)ароск | 16 архис: 23 above the line | 19 офекторо 3 above the line | 12 error | ветокумоско), |
23 acou | 25 довробносто | те подитеры with II¹ | 26 странеть...тодитеры 15 apx (mitted | (3)могт | 28 (o)mo | (4)ждой | 31 (ф) m) | 28 (ф) | 31 (турт) | 34 (стр. |
βленения...тер) де том сетим рег | 35 де еги спрадугають | 37 отновето |
85 (сдадейтия 10 (тотиры... Ведодой рег | 30 рег 10 mitted |

1279 b 2 πληθέα) γηγησται | 6 σετιν | 8 (τη) των | 14 σετιν | (ωη δε τι) | 15 ωπαληπειν | 16 σετιν | 20 ωεί(να) | 23 συμβαινη | 26 ωπειν | 28 προσαγορεινι | 34 the line ends with πο, the next begins τεω: either λ is omitted, or it was written above. There is no trace of it. | 38 δω is omitted | 39 γηντεσθα | 40 δωικασεινει

1280 a I aggreed | 10 the the thether of the thether | 15 funder forth with l^2 | 19 quadrout | 20 fulley for smithing to | squeed | 12 therefore | 19 funder over an etasure | 24 denothers: the first 4 above the lime | 25 metarouse | 29 section funder | 19 funder over | entry knot with l^2 | 31 funder energy with l^2 | 33 sette | 35 they propose | 37 sette | 35 sette | 35 they should | 35 sette |

1280 b 1 vou is omitted with Π^1 | advance: κ above the line | 4 effect with Π^1 | advanceous | 5 doperty | backenous with Π^M | 8 yyyera | 9 arable | 10 suphaxw | 11 luxoppoul | 17 polarous | boudle | 23 pou | 26 sectical | $\sigma \phi(\sigma t)$ | 28 doctors | 30 y polar out of the t | 30 y years | 35 kg | 17 | 20 den

1281 a 1 cápe is omitted | 3 cape with Π^2 | 5 meteote | τ (0.)s | 6 meteote |

περι with M⁸ Π², πολιτειαs with ΓΜ*, ούκ ελαττον omitted with Π¹.

7 (nolitiuspea)etju | unspectous | 10 leyous | 16 $\text{d} \nu$ is omitted with $P^{1}H^{2}$ | 17 kpp with H^{2} | noli | lack | lackberse | 21 toutw | 23 kpeit(ω) | 24 decainsagger with H^{2} ; ν in arrayam after the line | 26 estim | 27 narrayam with H^{2} | 28 decain with H^{2} | 35 (south H^{2}) | 36 (south H^{2}) | 37 (south H^{2}) | 38 (south H^{2}) | 39 (south H^{2}) | 30 (south H

1286 b 17 μετεβαλλον with M Π^2 | 18 αισχροκερδιαν | 21 γεγνεσθαι | 24 γεγνεμενων | 26 τουτο ραιδιον | 31 και is omitted with Π^1 | 33 φυλαξαι | 34 βασιλέα τον τοιούτου is omitted with Π^1 | 40 συρακορτους

138 γ 2 efectorses | 4 Banchaus | 5 cross | 7 cross | 9 cross | 11 cross | 11 tentral transverse uses with PITE | 160 quadrours with mile 11 depth of the productors with III | 26 efebration | 29 ribe note paired to the product product at III | 20 efebration | 29 cross because | 15 experter description at III | 30 depth (see is omitted as in III | 0 note respect with III Julian | 33 peapurous with III yellan | 33 peapurous | 36 empare | 20 electrons | 37 empared to the product | 38 empared | 20 electrons | 28 empared | 20 electr

1389 b4 o ras regions [5 pe sour [6] (setto)] fre sour [8] a sharrow [10 setto) from 17 set [11 tonespois [corp] fi] greent [syngers swith $\Pi^{\rm M}$] [6 setto) [17 afficial [10 setto)] with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] set source [24 a (Olo) fi] 25 times with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] as source [25 setto fill fill specific solved) [28 nows [29] supergrow with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] 27 source [28 nows [20] supergrow with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] 28 nows [20] supergrow with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] 28 nows [20] supergrow with $\Pi^{\rm M}$] 41 yerrat rate range decrease with

1288 2 super core with MIT | 5 e is omitted | 6 worson | 8 corey | 10 methods | 13 methods expressed as II, omitting and 5 modernous with III | 14 appendix and appear with III | 14 feet sometics distingraphy; dissipations sometics, then dissepance | 15 emopose with III | 17 (rows)/row a(c)/0 | 18 Bastro Accord | 21 err for our | 23 merry with III | 19 most people | 31 after y outpet distingraphy; row suckers y outpets | 19 mercy | 34 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 34 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 34 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 31 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 31 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 31 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 31 appearantly accordance | 35 Theorem | 30 the suckers | 31 appearantly accordance | 32 appearantly accordance | 33 appearantly accordance | 34 appearantly acc

1288 b I pairs | 3 dypostrum | po(li) pears | $\tau(p)a$ mequ(re grys) esc($\theta a \tau$) ropus | 5 dy | 9 aristoterious portures: γ : in the margin by the same hand $\overline{\Delta}$. [fol. 302° begins with this heading] | II grysomers: the second γ scratched

out | 14 kalista | $\kappa \kappa \rho \sigma \eta \mu e \nu \omega$ | 16 e $\rho \gamma \omega$ with Π^1 | $\delta \epsilon a \nu$ | 18 $\mu \eta \delta \epsilon \nu$ | 19 e $\sigma \tau \nu$ with Π^2 | 23 e $\sigma \tau \nu$ | 24 a $\rho \mu \omega \sigma \tau \omega$ with Π^2 | 26 $\tau \epsilon$ at $\kappa \omega \kappa \omega$ $\tau \eta \nu$ is omitted | 31 $\tau \omega \omega \delta \delta \delta \omega \kappa \omega$ | 3 $\tau \omega \kappa \omega$ | 36 hereover

1290 a 36 ομοιοιs: the second a above the line | ουθεις

1300 b 2 down | mallows with Π^2 | 5 down | 8 ers instead of eres | phases upon with Π^2 | 1 dopos | 12 to town | typass | 15 dopos | 0000 ms 3 Π^2 | 12 error | 15 dopos | 0000 ms 3 Π^2 | 12 error | 15 dopos | 0000 ms 3 Π^2 | 12 error | 15 dopos | 0000 ms 3 Π^2 | 15 milked 3 milked 3 milked 3 milked 3 3 milked 3 milked 3 3 milked 3 m

1291 a 4 dogogatow | 5 kai tàs sinds is omitted | 6 kathàlas | 7 ouble | estru augyretou as $\Pi^1 | 11$ fights | 13 entour tous | 18 milnow | 20 attoiblestu | 21 attributes as $\Pi^2 | 22$ tettages | 27 derivatures corrected from distributes | 27 ouble | 7 and before disapper with $\Pi^1 | 33$ and suggestion regions the solution of the | 7 and | 7 and

with Π^2 | 34 o with Π^2 , not $\delta \pi e \rho$ | order | 39 Boulevomeson with $\Pi^{2\#}$ | 41 noleun | gives δa | disases

1291 b 3 aurous: s above the line | 4 και τεχρετας twice | 12 καθισταστυ | και δοκουστυ twice | 14 ειστυ | 15 εστυ | διμοκρατεία | 17 λεγωμενών | 21 χρηματιστικού | 22 αλιεντικού: the first ε above the line | εκαστα: τα above the line | σειστα: τα above the line | σειστα: τα αδουνε the line | σειστα: τα αδουνε το μετιστικού | 23 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 24 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 25 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 26 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 25 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 25 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 25 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 26 αμιστος το μετιστικού | 27 αμιστικού | 27 αμισ

27 αμφοτερον | ετερου | 30 δημοκρατεια | εστιν | 32 υπαρχειν | 34 μαλιστεστιν | 1292 α 3 το πάσι μετίνισι] τολλομεν ειναι with $\Gamma \Gamma^{1}$ | 17 τοιακτος | δημος as Π^{2} | 22 παρ 1 is omitted | 23 δειμαγμιγος | 24 ειστιν | 29 προσκλησιν with Π^{1} | 30 αρχε | 32 εστιν | 33 εκστα Ω 1 εκσταν | 34 εστιν | 36 οιδεν

1292 b 1 μακρων with II | 3 παωαν | 5 σταν παις | 9 τολευτεια | estaques with II | 3 παωαν | 5 σταν παις | 9 τολευτεια | estaques with II | δημοκρατιαις το ταις is omitted | 10 καλουσων | 13 between κατα and τους room for 3 letters | δὲ after δια is omitted | 14 πολιτευανθαι δε δημοτικως | † 15 κατα τους νομους | 17 τουτο δε | 19 αλλα αγαπασω Σ

* Apparently $\kappa \rho \omega \sigma \tilde{\omega} \nu$ with Π^1 ; this at least is the inference to be drawn from Heylbut's silence.

† Apparently εθος with Π¹; Heylbut is silent.

‡ [It should be observed that considerable alterations have been made in Heylbut's annotation of the readings (see p. 456): also that 1280 a 29 essent/scarra is given as the reading at any rate of IP and presumably of fr. (essenyavarra Heylbut).

NOTE ON THE BASIS OF THE TEXT.

In Mr Newman's edition 1, p. VIII. f. II. p. LIV, there recurs, although in a much milder form, Heylbut's assertion already refuted by me in John. f. Philol. CXXV. p. 80: ff., and in Excursus III. above, that I seek to base the text of Aristotle's Politics primarily on III, and especially on I. Mr Newman writes:

"Susemill bases his text in the main on the first family, and especially

on I, but he frequently adopts readings from the second."

Now even in my first edition, in which as in the second I certainly too

Now even in my first edition, in which as in the second I certainly too often followed II¹, I have nevertheless already said at p. XXXII.:

"quanquam ex eo, quod dixi, satis apparet ita nobis traditum esse hoc Aristotelis opus similiter atque complura alia, ut non nisi miatam ex utraque codicum familia recensionem perficere bodie queamus, tamen in hac mixtura artis criticae regulas diligentius, quam adhuc factum sit, esse adhibendas pertiti omes concedent. Quod ut fat, ipsius veustae translationis verba... cum libris affinibus Craccis (sunt) conferenda, deinde quaerendam, ubi huius ubi alterius familiae tectiones praestant: ubicumque autem acque bonam sententiam utraeque praebent, vulgata semper recensio alteri est pasthabenda."

Here it is stated, that in my judgment any one who wished a priorit to make the recension II the basis of the text would proceed just as perversely as any one who does, or as if any one were to do, the like with III; that on the contrary in the main each case must be decided on its merits: yauervalum, with hinst wis diletrius founties lettleware presenter; and

only afterwards in all these cases in which on material grounds (I might have added "and on linguistic grounds") a decision is impossible, that family must be followed which in the greater number of determinable cases and at the same time in essential matters has more frequently preserved the true text or the traces of the true text, i.e. according to my opinion and my figures the family II. The accuracy of this computation I have already endeavoured to establish statistically against Heylbut for those passages which are contained in the Vaiston palimpses: but I will not spare myself the pains of a similar demonstration as against Newman in respect to Books I, and II which he has edited. I must however prefix one or two observations, although entering as little as possible upon a special controversy.

I gladly acknowledge, that Newman has adopted as against Bekker many readings from III. In spite of this, he cannot be wholly acquitted of a certain prejudice in favour of II2, as some examples will hereafter show, In addition to this there is a particular circumstance which disturbs his impartiality. He believes that the text of the Politics has been transmitted in an excellent condition, and has therefore a strong dislike to conjectural emendations, so that in order to avoid one he prefers to adopt explanations implicitly containing an absurdity which but for this prepossession could not possibly have escaped a man of his discernment. A truly deterrent example of this sort is to be found for instance at 1272 b 38. Hence wherever a reading in II1, however convincing on other grounds, cannot be retained without the help of a conjecture, though it may be the slightest change in the world, this is sufficient for him to condemn it. But the truth of Spengel's dictum, that the Politics has come down to us in a state legible on the whole but very corrupt in particular passages, can be shown a priori by the consideration that shoals of mistakes in II1 are corrected by means of II2 and those in II2 by means of II1; whence it follows that in each of the two families the original is preserved with but very moderate fidelity. Who can rationally assume that the original is well preserved where the two families agree, and not rather that a quantity of errors lurk in both? Further Mr Newman has allowed himself to be misled by an assertion of Dittenberger's, to me incomprehensible, into the belief that all the good readings found only in the "Vetusta translatio," or in a single codex, are mere conjectures: whereas this opinion, partially true perhaps of P1 and Ar., for the rest is certainly true only of the "deteriores" of the family Π^2 (= Π^3). I ask any one just to consider the not unimportant class of readings to be derived solely from P or from P1 and P1 (corr.), and soberly to put the question: Do these really look like Byzantine emendations made (sav) since the 11th century? And if he is not convinced by this, let him further ask himself: If the Byzantines had thus handled the text, then along with this after all but moderate number of good emendations should we not find a far greater number of attempts at emendation, i.e. of sheer corruptions, common to all our sources of the text? But yet apart from such general considerations how else is the excellence of an old manuscript to be demonstrated, unless it be one so preeminently excellent as e.g. At of the Rhatoric and Pacific, or 5 in Demosthenes, or 7 in Isocraters? Otherwise it might even be maintained, that the 70 odd passages, where K' alone presents right be maintained, that the 70 odd passages, where K' alone presents right readings in the Rhatorn excellent and the Rhatorn excellent and the Rhatorn excellent in the Rhatorn excellent and the Rhatorn excellent in the Rhatorn excellent excel

"soli Γ libro debemus praeter 1260 a 4 άρχάντων καὶ has rectas lectiones:

"soli Γ libro debemus praeter 1260 a 4 άρχάντων καὶ has rectas lectiones:

pattem veri vidil Busseus), 1276 a 33 čθονε δν. 1262 a 27 μέχοντα, 1265 a 7

αὐτοράντωρ, 1331 a 42 δια εδι, 1336 a 34 στουδαστομένων (απὶ στουδασθρομένων

quod praeter F β-5, 5 καπὶ, 1263 α 8 συντάνοιας (νιάτειτ), 5 β πλάθερ, 1300 h

γ ηλ' Τοραντέων φεχέν, 15 γῖς αὐτής φεχές, 1321 a 12 διαλτικόρι, 1303 a 24 ξγγλε

δια (α) Αγχίαθη, 1311 a δ χρήμεθηνος μεί vidid για βρίαθη, 1311 a δεχαθεί και το γίαθης 1311 a δεχαθεί και το γίαθη 1311 a δεχαθε

solis Γ P6 has: 1328 a 5 παρὰ, 1336 a 6 εἰσάγειν, 1340 a 16 δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ,

1321 b 29 τὰ om., 1322 b 36 προσευθύνας (?), 1306 b 39 καὶ om. :

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solis Γ et pr. P<sup>2</sup> 1259 b 28 δέ:
solis Γ p<sup>1</sup> 1265 a 16 παρὰ, 1272 b 39 καθ' αὐτὸ:
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Neque fas esse censeo in tali rerum condicione 1260 b 20 et 1280 a 29 codicum servatorum lectionibus οί κοινωνοί et μαθώ multo illas exquisitiores et pleniores coloris Aristotelei postponere, quas suppeditat translatio, οἰκονόμοι et ταλάταν...

E solo Pi has. .depromere licet rectas scripturas: 1237 a 40 éra@doloreu (inisi idem habiti 17, 1259 a 13 denospréens, 1258 a 5 sqq. rectum ordinem (corr.?), b 4 ederénye corr.¹ (nisi potius retinendum est aévárue), 1286 b 17 pertêploue (nisi diem habiti etiam 17), 1287 b 38 pendruden, 1283 a ferbáyene, 1335 b 20 yrospárue, 1335 b 4 spórepoe corr.², 1340 b 30 muhlien, 1299 b 24 érápoe pr. 1344 a 35 r droxeir (2).

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e solis P1 et Ar. has: 1263 b 4 τδ, 1280 b 19 είησαν:
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e solis Ar. et corr. Pl has : 1255 a 37 εκγονον, 1299 a 14 πολιτείαις :

e solis P¹ mg. P² rc. P⁸ 1284 a 37 κολούκ», quarum nonnullae...ita sunt comparatae, ut currente calamo a Demetrio Chalcondyla demum et Leonardo Aretino e suis ingeniis facile potuerint restitui, velut διαιουργάων, πρότερον, παιδίων, τό ποιείν, είρισμο, δεγουν....Solo autem M⁴ codice paene nusquam

nititur textus, item nusquam paene solo P⁸, solo P⁸ 1253 a 25 (καὶ post φύσει om.), 1270 b 38 (εἶποι), 1325 a 29 (αὐτὸ τὸ corr.¹), 1339 a 14 (εἶπειοι), quibus locis fortasse addendum est 1138 b 33 ἀπαθανωνήτους.⁸

This is exclusive of the cases, in which FM* alone or M*P1 alone or FP1 alone have preserved the true text: and to these may be added (L.c. p. XI.)

1253 b 33 6 om. M*, erased by P4 (whether they are to be followed, is certainly a matter for dispute):

1270 b 22 συμβαίνει P14:

1336 a 17 ψυχρὸν P¹P⁴ (corr.):

1342 b 33 \hbar added by P¹ and corr. of P² (here conjecture is really out of the question):

1290 a 1 8) P1 and P44 (corr.):

1290 a 2 διειλόμεν P4 (corr.), διειλόμεθα P1, διειλόμην ceteri:

1291 b 32 ὑπερέχεω P¹⁴ Ar.:

1295 a 39 & erased by corr. of P^4 , yp. kal $\chi\omega\rho$ ls $\tau\sigma\hat{v}$ & corr. in the margin of P^2 (this may be a conjecture):

1319 b 24 καὶ τὰ $P^{1.5}$ and $\gamma \rho$. in the margin of P^4 :

1309 a 40 αίρεσιν P4 (corrector):

1316 a 38 ἀναξιλάου P¹⁴.

From this also is seen, in what a very restricted sense I assert, or am entitled to assert, that the Vetwat translatio is "instar optimi codicis." That the text is to be based upon it as far as it can be based upon anything, I never once even dreamed of thinking (as the above remark in my first edition shows) even at an earlier time, when I still overrated the worth of this source of the text an earlier time, when I still overrated the worth of this source of the text an earlier time, when I still overrated the worth of this

In the first book indeed Mr Newman has adopted the readings of Π^1 only at

1252 b 28 (สีอิก FPI).

1253 a 7, 1254 a 15, 1255 b 27, 1256 b 13, 32, 1257 b 3,

1258 b 40 (Χαρητίδη Γ),

1250 a 37 (mirabile dictu, even here not without some doubt),

1250 b 28 (& I' 1st hand of P1),

1260 а 37 (дра):

and at 1253 b 37 he remarks with justice: ὑποδύεσθαι ΓΜ' possibly rightly.

But though it is true, as he mentions, that 125,3 · 2 is only added fofor δεθρωσον in MPI, yet it stands in all the manuscripts just below, at line γ. The two similar passages in the Ethics (as I have remarked on p. 456) also defend the article, which should therefore be adopted 1278 b 2 t from MPI; and all this makes for the article at 1253 a 3 also. Similarly in B. II. 1270 b 19f. Mr Newman pronounces in favour of δελ τίγγνη against νην τίγγη. Further on the strength of the well-known Aristotlain idiom Mr Newman crasses, 1255 a 35, the καὶ between σίγνην and δειθέρον with IPI; and at 1260 a 16 β before τὸ with P^{NST}. In the latter case he is right, in the former wrong: for this usage is restricted to enumerations differ of δελ μέστης especially, but also in other cases,) and at 1316 b 15

unless καὶ be inserted (which might easily have dropped out before κατατοκι-(όμενοι) the explanation must be quite different, viz. ἀσωτενόμενοι κατατοκιζόμενοι must mean "accumulating debts in consequence of their profligacy." At 1252 a 0 Mr Newman himself wavers between admitting eine or leaving it out; as however the latter is the more unusual, to me at least it seems the safer supposition that it is interpolated in II2. And while Mr Newman holds it to be almost indispensable 1257 b 7, I believe that on the contrary I have shown (Qu. crit. coll. p. 353 f.) it is quite out of place in that passage. Although II1 is more often wrong in omitting words which are found in II2, yet I hold that anyone with an appreciation of Aristotle's mosaic style must unhesitatingly admit that 1252 b 10 f he wrote ex Baggleroueron van without συνήλθον. To be sure nothing of this kind can be demonstrated. At 1252 b 14 I also have accepted δμοκάπους, but it still remains doubtful whether όμοκάπνους be not right after all (see Addenda ad loc.). At 1253 b 27 τών οἰκονομικῶν (Π2) is defended by Newman by means of a subtle interpretation. But he should say where the apodosis begins. It is certainly upon mere conjecture that b 25 & is omitted by P44O1U1L Ald., but one which is justified by the facts; for here the apodosis really begins (only it would be better to write 8h); that being so, a rational sense can only be obtained by Rassow's emendation, which I have accepted, and this admits only the reading of Π1 τω οἰκονομικώ. At 1254 a 10, whether it is more natural that δλως was explained by ἀπλώς or conversely, every one may decide for himself. I hold the latter to be much more probable; still the Byzantine gloss-writers were unaccountable people. Why I hold, at 1254 b 23, λόνω (Π1) to correspond better to the sense and grammar than λόγου (Π2), I have laid down Ou. crit. coll. p. 343, and Mr Newman says nothing about this. That at 1255 b 26 οψοποιητική and 1256a 6 κερκιδοποιητική are the genuine Aristotelian forms is unmistakeably clear from the very materials collected by Mr Newman, and how anyone can prefer, 1256 b 8, the present διδομένη to the perfect δεδομένη and conversely 1260 a 4 the perfect ὑφήγηται to the present ψφηγείται, I cannot comprehend. As to 1260a 4 <άρχόντων καί> ἀργομένων, see Addenda ad loc.

objectively seem of account the order of the words at 1253 a 7, 11, b 3, 7, 1256 for 125 by 1260 b 24, three remain, besides 1250 b 15 ((bundrant or or 1250 b) 1260 b 24, three remain, besides 1250 b 15 ((bundrant or or 1250 b) 1250 b 24, 65, 1254 b 7, 1259 a 24, 1253 a 1, 1253 a 1, 1253 a 1, 1254 b 13, 1255 b 12, 1255 a 1, 1255 a 1,

'épyréma'), 1260 a 37 (épo), of which it is true 1251 b 28, 1258 b 40 and 1260 a 37 have no decisive importance here: but in return 1253 a 33, 1254 a 10, 1256 b 1, 1258 b 1, and also perhaps 1253 b 37 (n. 463), should probably be added, to say nothing of 1260 b 20 (n. 462). On the other hand possibly the mistake at 1256 a 10 extends to M as well as FP. The glosses which have crept in (1256 b 26) are of course not to be reckoned to the disadvantage of the original recession Π^{\prime} , either here or elsewhere.

The comparison tells far more strikingly in favour of H1 in the second book, not merely numerically, but by a series of quite unique variants, whereas the mistakes for the most part concern trifles and simple errata, as e.g. φιλίτια, three times (for which moreover the archetype of this family is perhaps not responsible, see Susem. 1 p. XIV.), and the repeated φαλλέας. Each of these is properly reckoned once only in what follows, and the same with the right reading ἀνδρεῖα (ἀντρεῖα). Apart from the order of the words 1265 a 37, b 15, 17, 32, 1267 a 38, 1268 a 11 f., 1271 a 19 f., 1273 b 36, 1274 a 17, b 6, an even approximate decision is impossible 1260 b 36, 1261 a 22, 1262 b 21, 1263 a 23, b 32, 1264 a 16, 21, b 26, 31, 1265 a 4, 12, b 10, 1266 a 23, b 3, 1268 a 6, 6 f., 17, b 5, 9, 17, 32, 1269 a 11, b 21, 28, 1272 b 15 f., 28, 1273 a 16, b 27, 32, 1274 b 8, 14: one feels inclined to decide in favour of II2 at 1261 a 22, b 21, 1269 b 21, but on the other hand in favour of H1 at 1263 a 23 (xaì omitted), 1272 b 28, and 1269a 11 Mr Newman himself describes with "possibly rightly" the reading of II1. In the remaining 109 cases II1 has preserved the right reading, or the traces of it, 60 times: 1260 b 27 (see Addenda to 1260 b 20), 28, 41 (els o της Γ), 1261 a 15 twice, 27 (ελκύσει ΓΡΙ), 1261 b 2 f. five times, b 4 (see Qu. crit. coll. p. 360 f.), b 5, 1262 a 3 twice, b 13 (at the least highly probable, see Newman's crit. n.), 33, 1263 a 12, 23 (ἔθεσι), b 7 (see Qu. crit. coll. p. 366 f.), q, 11, 1265 a 33 f. four times, b 11 (αλλαις rM*), 30, 1266 b 2 (r), 24, 31, 1267 a 35, 40, b 16, 23, 26, 35, 1268 a 3, 11, 25, b 5, 12, 1269 a 21, b 6, 1270 a 13 (abris PPI), 22, 1270 b 19 (p. 463), 32 (abris affects only accent and breathing), 1271 a 15, 17, 20 (καν Γ), 37, 40, b 37, 1272 a 3, 29, b 8 f. twice, 36, 39, 1273 a 7, 9, b 1, 41, 1274 a 5, 19, 21 (at least probable), 25, 30, b 13. II1 has changed the right reading at the most only 40 times: 1261 a 18 (f omitted by M*P1, probably wrongly, whether by Γ also, cannot be known), 35 (at least M*P1), b 7 (où, it may however be right), 19, 1262 a 30, 1263 b 1, 6, 1264 a 1, b 3, 1265 a 30, 35, b 4, 21, 39 (at least M*P1), 1266 a 20, 23, 37, 39 (φαλλέας), b 6, 1267 b 40, 1268 a 26 (probably at least), b 16, 1269a 6, b 26, 1270 a 20, 21 (at least M*P1), 25, 27 (at least MeP1), 34, 1270 b 12, 1271 a 27 (dilária, cp. 1272 a 3, b 34), b 26, 28, 1272 a 1 (at least M*P1), 35, 1273 a 9, 10, b 2, 3, 1274 a 4 (unless θατέραν is here nearer to the true reading than θάτερου, θάτερο being the original). To the latter cases Newman certainly adds 1260 b 27, 1261 a 27, b 4, 1263 a 12, 23, b 7, 0, 11, 1264 a 30, 1265 a 33 f., b 11, 30, 1267 a 40, b 26, 1268 a 3, 25, b 5, 12, 1260 b 6 (but HepasBois is the right orthography), 1270 b 10, 32, 1271 a 20 (but m) gives a wrong sense), b 37, 1272 b 9, 1273 b 41 (but was it not more obvious to change τὸ δικαστήριον into the more natural and simple τὰ δικαστήρια?), 1274 a 21: yet not without himself giving expression to his

doubts in regard to 1261 a 27, 1265 b 11, 30, 1268 a 3, b 5, 1271 b 37, 1272 b

39 occasionally with some warmth.
 I must here content myself with a brief mention of most of these last mentioned passages and one or two besides.

1261 b 2f. Although Mr Newman is bound to admit that here III presents attempts at emendation as arbitrary as they are worthless, and although it is clear that in this way êr roërose has arisen from roëro, yet he seeks to save the former reading, because then rê before êr µµps need not be changed into rê; but there is no need of this with the reading roëro:

see Susem.4 crit. n. and Qu. crit. coll. p. 361.

1262 b 32. The omission of reix φόλωπε in MrP is doubtless an indication that the place of these words varied, and if the old translator renders them at the only possible place, I do not see why under these circumstances it should be improbable that he actually found them in his coder Γ at that place.

1263a 23. For êδων Mr Newman himself cites the parallel passage 1263b 39. I should think this would be sufficient for any unprejudiced person. As to 1263a 28 ft. see the Addenda ad loc. If êἰσστην προστθρείως τες (ΓΜ') is, as it seems, the true reading, this would make the 70th case in forum of IT.

atolist on in:

1:65 a 35.

1:65 a 35.

That frugality usually attends as a consequence upon a tolisome life, and liberality upon a life of husury, is what only an unreflecting person, not Aristetle, would maintain: those who live husuriously will soon find the means for liberality fail them. But the converse is perfectly true. It has therefore transmitted the right reading, and we must

make up our minds to accept the excellent emendation of the sensible Koraes, without which this reading transmitted to us cannot be maintained. 1265 b 11. How improbable it is that in any of the existing states such

regulations as those here proposed can have existed, a man so well informed as Mr Newman cannot fail to see. Nevertheless he admits πλείσταις, not αλλαις into the text.

1265 b 30. In case the reading πολιτείαν were right, τὴν could scarcely be omitted before this word or before κοινοτάτην.

1267 b 25 f. With the reading κόσμω πολυτελεί arises the absurdity, that εσθήτος εὐτελούς would depend not simply on πλήθει, but on κόσμω πολυτελεί. Of this Mr Newman says nothing.

1268 a 3. Is καταδικάζεων την δίκην in the sense of "to decide the case against the accused" Greek at all, except in the formula ἐρήμην κατα-δικάζεω?

1268 b 21. Mr Newman's statement in the critical note, that $\hbar \theta_0$ is left out by Π^1 here, is erroneous: it was omitted only by Γ and Γ^1 (1st hand). So too of his assertion, that 1271 a 15 I have taken $\tau \circ \iota \tau \circ \iota$ not as neuter, but as masculine.

1272 h 8 f. In spite of all attempts to make sense of it, της ἀκοσμίας τῶν δυνατῶν is simple nonsense: and a man of Mr Newman's intelligence cannot in reality disguise this from himself. Hence he would willingly transpose

rūn baurūn, with II¹, to follow koīnas (line 9): but unfortunately this is not possible without the conjecture—an extraordinarily slight conjecture, it is true—of Koraes, of ān (line 8) for δran. Now conjectures are once for all forbidden. There is nothing for it but to justify the order of the words in II¹, as well, or rather as ill, as possible. Again, one might have imagined that abourne (II') instead of δu-orwer (II') was sufficiently defended by the fact that the Cretan constitution is declared to be δuourreia μάλλο η δuourreia. Not so. Once for all, II' is made out to be the better recession!

1272 b 39. Here in the first place Mr Newman is mistaken in saying that nod me'n is not found in any manuscript: it is in the margin of Piquite apart from the fact that beyond all doubt it was in Γ. He is exceedingly disposed to concede that it is most appropriate to the sense and the language. One might have imagined that given this most appropriate reading nod me'n, a second nod "no's [Pi and somewhat corrupted M'), and a third north α'no' (I'D), the progress of the corruption from the first through the second to the third was at the same time given clearly enough. But it is all in vain. Again, once for all, I' is made out to be the better recession!

1273 b 6. Here on the contrary Mr Newman has rightly restored to the text elmoples from II² and O¹, in opposition to Bekker, myself, and the other editors.

I believe then that I exactly described the state of the case in relation to the recensions H1 and H2 when in my third edition p. v. I wrote: "haud raro hanc, saepius illam meliorem," Now to return with a few words to the Vatican palimpsest. According to Heylbut's account, which I have not correctly reported in the Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXV. p. 804 f., it is of the tenth century. Accordingly it furnishes a proof that even at that time, in which undoubtedly the sharp separation of these two recensions had already taken place, copies were nevertheless still made of older codices, which had arisen before this sharp separation, and thus still bore a mixed character, approximating in this case more to H2, but in the case of the codex used by Julian more to II1. If the two facts are viewed impartially side by side. no conclusion follows from them in favour of II2 any more than in favour of II1: on the contrary, the procedure which I have adopted is only justified anew. This and the confirmation of two conjectures, ἀστῶν 1278 a 34 and 1287 a 34 kgl omitted, form the total net result of this new discovery. If the codex had been preserved entire, it is probable that other isolated conjectural emendations would have been confirmed; as it is, these two cases are enough to restrain us from an exaggerated mistrust of this means for the restoration of the text.

Mr Newman thinks it possible that William of Moerbeke employed several Greek manuscripts. I see no ground for doing so much honour to the care bestowed by the worthy monk; indeed what makes this assumption very improbable is simply that all these codices must have belonged to the class IP. However if this was the case, it can remain tolerably indifferent to us, for the fact remains still the same: the Vetusta translatio is the oldest recreementaive of this family and (excepting the Vatican fracments and the citations of Greek writers) the oldest source of the text anywhere.

I should have much besides to adduce on my side against Mr Newman, but I have no intention of entering on a controversy with him and would far sooner take this opportunity to recognize with gratitude, in spite of all our differences, the very great merits of his work, which contains much both good and new. In regard to I. C. 11 lagree with him: I would not guarantee that this chapter was written by Aristotle hissnelf, but I very much doubt whether a valid proof can be adduced to show that this is not the case, or even that Aristotle inserted it in his work at a later date. In any case it is well known to be older than the so-called second book of the Ozer-omize, which had its origin somewhere between 250 and 200 a.C. SUSEM.

1388 1.5 ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν προσή-1393 α.14 κουσαν σκέψιν [περὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης τὸν μέλλοντα ποιήσα- Ι

1288 b 5 Δωίγκη...6 σκέρω joined by all previous authorities to B. III, omitted by Bk. See Comm.

δ Spengel, δη Π' P^{2,3} Q^h T⁵ fr. Ald. Bk. Susem. in the text, γδρ (with the omission of the following τδο μέλλωτα) P*4 L' Ar.

1332 a 14 [$\pi e \rho l...15$ $d \pi d \gamma \pi \gamma$] Spengel || \tilde{e}^2 added after $\pi e \mu l$ by P^2 and corrector of P^3 ; perhaps rightly, yet see futrod, p. 14 n. 3 || $\tau \tilde{\eta} s$ inserted before $d \mu l \sigma \tau \eta s$ in P^1 and in the margin of P^4 ; cp. p. 456 \tilde{f} .

B. IV(VII), i.e. the fourth book of the new order, but in the traditional order of the manuscripts the seventh, commences a sketch of the best polity which is continued through the next book, B. v(VIII), there being no break between them, and finally left unfinished at its close. Preliminary questions are discussed in cc-1-3, the external conditions (the land, the people, the agricultural class, the public buildings) in cc. 4-12; c. 13 treats of the end of the constitution and the means at the legislator's command for realizing it; the most important of which, viz. a system of state education (in the widest sense), receives a detailed exposition, beginning with c. 14 of this book and not completed at the abrupt close of the next. The two books are written in a finished style, carefully elaborated, with minute attention to the rule of the hiatus, which is seldom violated in B. IV(VII) and not at all in B. v(VIII).

1288 b 5, diváyen \$\hat{k}_{\color}\text{...6}\$ encélya] That his conclusion of \$\hat{B}\$. III, breasing off in the middle of a sentence, is only a the middle of a sentence, is only a cloth seventh book is anthrowledged by all who recognize that the proper place for the (cld) seventh book is mediately after the third. Beyond all doubt, of the two parallel vessions, that at the end of rightly decides, and it ought not to have been omitted from the text of Bekker's

book had been torn away from its connexion and transformed into the seventh book, some transition was needed; hence the clause week wokirelas... (hirnous disdr-KW was added by the redactor. Susem. The grounds for making the trans-position of the books have been already noticed: Introd. p. 16 n. (4), p. 17, p. 47 f. The main point to decide is, where in the treatise ought the description of the best polity (in the form of pure aristocracy) to come, whether before the description of the existing faulty polities or after them. The indications of B. III are unmistakeable, especially cc. 13 and 18: and upon them Spengel has rightly insisted (Ueber die Politik p. 16 f., Arist. Studien II. pp. 46 ff., 60 ff., 71). Not less convincing is the assertion in VI(IV), c. 2 that aristocracy, as well as monarchy, has been already discussed. But when the question has been decided upon these grounds, the unfinished sentence at the end of B. III certainly affords striking

octavo edition *. When the rest of this

corroborative evidence.

C. I (with C. 2 §§ I, 2). The connexion of the best constitution with the highest life.

Few chapters in the work have been

subjected to more minute examination than this. See Bernays Dialoge des Arist. pp. 69—84 and Vahlen Aristote. Not that of Oxford, 1833, but Iterum edidit. 1. Bekker, Berolini 1855; none iteratum 1878. 1323 2 15 σθαι τὴν προσήκουσαν ζήτησιν ἀνάγκη] διορίσασθαι πρότερου τίς (Ι) αίρετώτατος βίος. ἀδήλου γὰρ ὅντος τούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην άναγκαῖον ἄδηλου είναι πολιτείαν ἄριστα γὰρ πράττειν προσήκει τοὺς ἄριστα πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων § 2 αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μή τι γίνηται παράλογον. διὸ δεῖ πρώτον το όμολογείσθαι τίς ὁ πᾶσιν ώς εἰπεῖν αίρετώτατος βίος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πότερον κοινή καὶ χωρὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἡ ἔτερος. (p. 04)

νομίσαντας οὖν ίκανῶς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξω-ς τερικοίς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοίς. § 3 ώς αληθώς γαρ πρός γε μίαν διαίρεσιν οὐδείς αμφισβητή-

15 πρότερου] πρώτου P¹Π²Bk., perhaps rightly ∥ 19 παρά λόγου Γ Ar. [20 ώμολογήσθαι Susem.^{1.2}, confessum esse William | 22 [καl] Schneider, [καl τῶν] Oncken wrongly

lische Aufsätze II 'On a chapter of the Politics' (Vienna 1872; 52 pp.). §1 1323 a 16 αίρετώτατος βίος] See n. (683) with the passages there quoted.

την αρίστην πολιτείαν] i.e. the absolutely best constitution: see VI(IV). 1 § 3

πολλοις γάρ της άριστης τυγείν ίσως άδι νατον, ώστε την κρατίστην τε άπλώς και την έκ τών ύποκειμένων αρίστην ού δεί λελη-θέναι τὸν ώς άληθώς πολιτικόν, and π (1116). SUSEM. (686)

18 προσήκα] 'We should expect the citizens who live under the best constitution possible to them (ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πότοῖs to be taken closely with έριστα) to fare best,' i.e. to lead the most desirable life.

82 21 κοινή ταϊς πόλεσι, χωρίς έκάστφ. 22 τοῦς ἔξωτερικοῦς λόγοις] See Ex-cursus I. to this book. Susem. (687) 23 καὶ νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοῦς] "It is clear from passages such as De Caelo II. 13 § 18, 295 a 2 f. έπεὶ δὲ περὶ τούτων διώρισται πρότερον δσα κατά την παρούσαν οωριστα πρότερο θοα κατα την παρούσαν δύναμιν έξυρως, χρηστέσου ών διάρχουσε and διέσου: III. 2 § 12, 372 b 10 f. δετω δέ περί τοίτων ήμω τε θεωρημένου έν τοίτ περί τοὶ αιδεθέρειε δεικνιμένοιε: δε τὰ μέδα αὐτώς, that this εκρτεssion does not μέδα αὐτώς, that this εκρτεssion does not imply that an exposition given elsewhere is to be borrowed or reproduced, but that the results of some other discussion will be employed and utilized. Those who remember the tolerably frequent use of the verb χρησθαι by Herodotos e.g. in 11. 120 εί χρή τι τοίσι έποποιοίσι γρεώμενον λέγειν, corresponding to Thucydides I. 10 8 3 τη 'Ομήρου αξ ποιήσει εξ τι γρη

κάνταθθα πιστεύειν, will hardly raise any objection to our taking the word, used here and in Nic. Eth. 1. 13 8 9, 1102 8 27 in connexion with the έξωτερικοι λόγοι, but not as confined to them, in the sense of the phrase in Nic. Eth. VI. 4 § 2, 1140 a 2, πιστεύομεν δέ περί αυτών και τοῦ έξωτερικοις λόγοις. It is plain that this expression does not in any way show whether the discussion referred to is Aristotle's own or belongs to some one else, nor to what

degree or extent it is utilized" (Vahlen). SUSEM. (688) § 3 24 πρός γε μίαν διαίρεστιν ούδελς αν] The appeal to the έξωτερικοί λόγοι in this passage and in § 5 (see n. 694) thus amounts (in effect at any rate) to an appeal to public opinion, to what was at the time conceded by all, or at least by all cultivated and intelligent men. We should also notice how, as III. 12 § 1, the strictly scientific (philosophical) dis-tinctions and discussions are opposed (t) to opinion universally current, and on the other hand, (2) if not by Aristotle himself at least by his pupil Eudemos (see n. 584), to the & wrepixol λόγοι; and it is hardly possible to regard the latter as anything else but the expression of that universal opinion. Bernays sees in these words an ironical excuse on Aristotle's part in reply to the charge which was no doubt often levelled at him, of useless logical hair-splitting, when he thus expresses the hope that he may be allowed to make one division at least without opposition. But Vahlen rightly urges against this view that, in spite of the announcement of at least this one division, the emphasis is not $_{25}$ σειεν ἃν ώς οὐ τριῶν οὐσῶν μερίδων, τῶν τε ἐκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν (I)

τῷ σώματι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ γυχῆ, πάντα ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ξε τοῖς μακαρίως χοὴ. οὐδεὶς γιὰρ ἀν φαίη μακάριον τὸν μηδεν μόριον ἔχωντα ἀνδρίας μηδε ἀναφροσύνης μηδε δικαιοσύνης μηδε φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ δεδιότα μὲν τὰς παραπετομένως 30 μυίας, ἀπεχόμενον δὲ μηδενός, ἀν ἐπιθυμήση τοῦ φαγείν ἢ τοῦ πιεῖν, τῶν ἐσχάτων, ἔνκαι δὲ τεταρτημορίου διαφθείροντα τοῦς φλιτάτους φίλους, όμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περί τὴν διάνοιαν

as [60] Onchen wrongly \parallel as σ_0 omitted by FSSVV Ald. and P4 (1st hand) \parallel ay γ_0 by omitted by F115 (added in the margin of P9). & Veltotte I8k. \parallel so μ [so μ] when μ [so μ] is see on a 32 \parallel 30 to μ [Koraes, μ] μ [so μ] We for μ [so μ] Bernayl, parhaps rightly. Vet see Vahlen Aristi. Asplaine II. p. 11 [6] fit. \parallel 70 before make omitted by III FP Bik. \parallel 31 travel FP and M (1st hand) \parallel 33 [6]host] Koraes Bik. \parallel 31 travel FP and M (1st hand) \parallel 33 [6]host] Koraes Bik. \parallel 71 be delease is omitted by M (which has a lacums of 4 or 5 letters) and apparently by F1. quare citer quantations to Hackst. neque exist antisylineal typical field of the Silventinean in Arisin, for the Silventinean in Arising Arising Silventinean in Arising Silventinean in Arising Silventinean in Arising Silventinean in Arising Silventinean Sil

haid on the division, but on the inference drawn from it; that just because there are three kinds of goods, he who is to be happy cannot entirely dispense with any of the three. But I do not perceive why happy cannot entirely dispense with any of the three. But I do not perceive why any of the three. But I do not perceive why cannot be a supposed to the perceive desired to the perceive d

§ 4 28 σωφροσύνης] Comp. n. (206 b). Susem. (691)

These are the four Platonic virtues,

which Aristotle substantially retained as the basis of his more extended list.

29 διάντα. 30 μαίας! This hyperpholical description, according to Beautiful Proscription and the passage having been also point to the passage having been extravegent and drastic picture of the kind in by not means rare in Aristolic extravegent and or with a single program of the passage of the single program of the passage of the single passage of the passage or with of the single passage of the passage or in the single passage of the passage

30 For rol with the infinitive after twoward vector and the more 1. γ § 3, 11. 6 § 16; Oecon. 14 § 9. For rol wide as a substantive Plato Rep. 10. 439 B rol δεύβωτον επό δεγουτοι ώτητο θημίου έπεὶ τοὶ δεύβωτον επό την δείδωτο για τοι 1 § 30 (Vahlen). 32 τὰ παρλ την δεύδουσα) Here too.

32 τα περί την διάνοιαν] Here too φρόνησες, the virtue of the practical intellect, stands in contrast to the moral vir-

ούτως άφρονα καὶ διεψευσμένον ώσπερ τι παιδίον ή μαινό-(Ι) § 5 μενον. άλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λεγόμενα ώσπερ πάντες ἃν συγ- s 35 χωρήσειαν, διαφέρονται δ' έν τῷ ποσῷ καὶ ταις ὑπερογαίς. τής μέν γάρ άρετής έχειν ίκανδυ είναι νομίζουσιν όποσονούν, πλούτου δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης καὶ πάν-§ 6 των των τοιούτων είς άπειρου ζητούσι την ύπερβολήν. ημείς

δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ράδιον μὲν περὶ τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν 40 έργων [δια]λαμβάνειν την πίστιν, όρωντας ότι κτώνται καί φυλάττουσιν ου τὰς άρετὰς τοῦς ἐκτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ταύταις. 1221 καὶ τὸ ζῶν εὐδαιμόνως, εἴτ' ἐν τῶ ναίρειν ἐστὶν εἴτ' ἐν ἀρετῶ

34 ώσπερ] οίτω before λεγόμενα P6, [ώσπερ] Scaliger who is followed by Spengel, άπλῶς Bernays, <άπλῶς> - ὦσπερ ? Susem., a conjecture which I hold to be probable even after Vablen's defence of the text p. 14 (16). Nevertheless I concede to Vahlen that the transposition ώσπερ λέγομεν απαντες would also make good sense. Other suggestions in my critical edition: 60 mee * * * Schneider, 60 elmer Koraes 1 46 είναι omitted by P6 Sb Vb Ald. and P4 (1st hand) | 37 [καl] χρημάτων Bernays, wrongly | 40 λαμβάνειν Lambin, διαλαμβάνειν Π¹ p¹ P⁶ Ar, Bk. 1, διαβαίνειν Π¹

tues : cp. I. 13 § 8, III. 4 §§ 7, 8, 18, 11 § 2, § 6 and §§ 10, 11 below with nn. (40, 45, 112, 115, 474-476, 498, 565, 703). Su-

§ 5 34 ώσπερ πάντες] "Almost all would allow, when stated." Comp. n. (68q). SUSEM. (694) обтер партев: ов είπειν πάντες - ώσπερ ούδέν: ώς είπειν ούδέν. Vahlen compares Rhet. 1. 68 24, 1363 2 11, ώσπερ γάρ πάντες ήδη δμολογούσω = for this is now as good as an universal admission (Cope): and with the idiomatic use of the participle Plato Sympos. 199 B τάληθη λεγόμενα άκοθειν, Protag. 311 E. τί δνομα άλλο γε λεγόμενον περί Πρωταγόρου ακούομεν; and the Herodotean ταῦθ ώς άπενειχθέντα ήκουσαν.

35 διαφέρονται] Men differ as to how much of each kind of goods they should have, and to which of the three the superiority is due. The view of the multitude is that ever so small a measure of goods intellectual suffices, but the possession of goods external should be increased with-

out end.

37 Cp. 1. 9, 10, 1257 b 7 πλούτου καὶ (that is) χρημάτων (Vahlen).
38 els απειρον ζητοῦστιτὴν ὑπερβολήν]
Cp. 1. 8 § 14 f., 9 § 13 ff. with nn. (76 b,

90). Susem. (695) § 6 ήμεις δὲ αύτοις ἐροῦμεν] Here again Bernays finds a reminiscence of some dialogue. See on the other hand c. 3 § 1 n. (733), vI(IV). 2. 3, 1289 b 9 [add II. q. 12, 1270 a 10], De Anima 1. 3 § 10, 406 b 22 ήμεῖε δ' ἐρωτήσομεν; Meta. 111. 5 § 19, 1010 2 15 f. ημείε δε και ποδε τούτον τὸν λόγον ἐρούμεν (cp. § 6, 1000 a

30), Post. Anal. I. 3 § 2s. f., 72 b 18 ημές δέ φαμεν (Vahlen). SUSEM. (696) 30 διά τῶν ἔργων] Το convince one-self by means of the facts. Like γυνόμενα, φαινόμενα, συμβεβηκότα we find έργα und πράγματα used for 'facts' as distinguished from λόγοι, 'theories.' See c. 4 § 7, 1326 a 25, § 12, 1326 b 12: B. II. C. 8 § 19, 1268 b 39, c. 9 § 16; also c. 3 § 8, 1262 a 17 (λαμβάνευ τὰς πίστεις).

40 δρώντας δτι κτώνται κτλ] Cp. 11. 9 § 35 with n. (346 b) and c. 15 § 6 n.

(928) below. Susem. (697) 1323 b 1 ett év tû...2 ett év áupota] Bernays argues that to leave several possibilities open in this way is another indication that we have something borrowed from a dialogue. But if we presuppose Aristotle's own view of happiness, there is no further need of this argument, or rather it becomes useless. "Opponents however are most effectively met by a proof of the untenableness of their opinions drawn from their own point of view, or the concession of their own assumptions. The conceptions of happiness here brought together in the form of alter-natives, all of which alike make the goods of the mind its more important elements, occur elsewhere, e.g. Nic. Eth. VII. 11 § 2, 1152 b 6 ff. [yet it is doubtful if this part of the Ethics is Aristotelian]: cp. 13 τοις ἀνθρώποις εἰτ' ἐν ἀμφοῦν, ὅτι μάλλου ὑπάρχει τοις τὸ (I)

ήθος μέδι καὶ τὴν διάσειαν κεκοσμημένοις εἰς ὑπερβολήν,
περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξω κτήτειν τοὶν ἀγαθών μετριάξουτν, ἡ τοὶς
εἰκεῖαν μέν κεκτημένοις πλείω τῶν χρησιμων, ἐν δε τούτοις
ελλείπουταν τοὶ μην ἀλλλά καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγου σκοποιμένοις «
ξε εἰντύνοπτον ἐστὰν. τὰ μέν γιὰ ἐκτὸς ἔχει πέρας, ὅσπερ ὅργανών τι (τῶν γιὰρ τὸ χρήσιμών ἐστιν, οἶν τὴν ὑπερβολήν ἡ
βλάπτειν ἀνογκαῖον ἡ μηδὲν ἐφὲλος εἰκαι αὐτῶν τοἰς
τῶς χουσιν) τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν ἔκαστον ἀγαθῶν, ὅσφ περ ἀν
τπερβάλλη, τοσούτος μάλλον χρήσιμον [εἰκαὶ, εἰ δὲ καὶ τοἰ-(τ-sɔ)
τοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον.
ξεδλονς τε δίλλου γκαιομέν τὴν διάθεσεν τὴν ἀρι-

1333 b 6 $\Delta h \lambda$ omitted by M', by Γ^2 (1st hand), and possibly by Γ [8 $\gamma \lambda \rho$ Sussem, $h V \Pi \Lambda$ Ris Sussem. in the text and Bermays, who alters wise into $v d \rho \alpha \nu$ variety $|V_{\nu}| = V_{\nu} d \nu = V_{\nu} d \nu$ where $V_{\nu} d \nu = V_{\nu} d \nu$ is the probable corrections, the one is no easier than the other $|U_{\nu}| = V_{\nu} d \nu$ for $V_{\nu} d \nu$ and $V_{\nu} d \nu$ for $V_{\nu} d \nu$

\$2, 1153 b 15, ff., and 1. 8 \$6 ff. 1098 b 25, ff., and also cp. Rhd. 1. 5 \$ \$ ff." (Vahlen). Cp. also below V(VIII). \$ \$ to (Eaton) with n. (1033). SUSSM. (698) 2 5 rr. palhow... 6 Bh.drowow) Cp. Nic. Eth. IX. 8 \$ 9 f., 1179 a 3 ff. of 740 to 75 in repealsh 75 a drapest 606 4 policy...and 740 arm purplus blower' is repaired with respective follows:

Susenk. (609)

87 7 - 74 µdv ydp...5pyanóv vi.] Cp.
1. 8 815, 9 8 13 with nn. [76 b, 90,) also
De Anima 1. 3 8 55, 407 a 32 ff., rőp µdv
ydp pracucióv vodycew bern népara, wiicu vydp érfegu gydpu, Métadyh. II. (a). 9 8 12,
904 b 13 ff. [yet this is a spurious book],
Né. Edb. vii. 13 8 4, 1152 b 24 ff. rýpš
µdv ydp etődujackav ó öpsa adrífi [sc. rífi
etvyckal (Vablen). Susenk. (700)

8 πάν γὰρ κτλ] The sense required is 'whatever is useful is useful up to a certain point for has a limit to its utility, to exceed which must necessarily either do harm or confer no benefit upon its possessor.' Vahlen supposes a participial clause to have been replaced by the words ων τὴν ὑπαρβολήν. The simplest draft of the sentence would be τὰ ἐκτὸν ἐχτα πόμα.

ad irreghthlowra (i.e. do irreghthlog) η βαάττου δυτρομαίο η μηθού οφολού του εξωτευ. Then by a familiar idiom the second alternative is replaced by η μηθού δρόλος άναι αθτών (sc. τών άντό). The sentence thus becomes somewhat unsymmetrical in form, because τὴν ἀτορβολίγ, though it goes well enough with βλάττου, is less suitable as the subject of μηθού αφολού.

11 Kal τούτοις ἐπλέγκω] 'to predicate of these also, 'viz. of mental goods. So Niz. Eb. 11. 6 § 9, 1106 b to 86ω εἰσθασω ἐπλέγκω τοἰς οἰ ἔχουων ἔργοις δτι οἰδε ἀφολιῶ ἔστω οἰδε προσθεύκα, With the use of the prep. cp. the phrase ở ἐπ ὶ πολλῶν.

 στην έκάστου πράγματος πρός ἄλληλα κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, (1) 15 ἡπερ εἰληχε διάστασιν οἰν φαμεν εἶναι αὐτὰς ταὐτας διαθέσεις. ὥστ εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ τιμιότερον καὶ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἡμῦν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τηὺ διά-

15 d'Appé III Bl. (emendel by con? of Γ_P) | δ derman Ar. (apparenth) and Γ_r but before δ -rep. (defmrance) Bolone, they after the Emeny, wrongly, free, ... fac-quien? Vallen needlessly: see Comm. | ϵ avits deux & defleves radres III P B R. voiding histar Γ_r a radres | Γ_r rep. Γ_r represents III P B R., Γ_r reperties Γ_r rep. Γ_r represents Γ

runquism të rës (bërsteum e i regibile i Berëre e alen Miseum en Miseu. So L_c . § 4, and the right per reorigize per morting per derivative, and the right per reorigize per morting per derivative, and the right per reorigize per morting per section of the region of

14 A parallel to πρὸς άλληλα after έκάστου is Poet. 23 § 2, ων έκαστον ώς έτινχεν έχει πρός άλληλα. Comp. άλληλων after έκάτερον Pl. Phaedo 97 A, Aeschines I. 137, after μηδένα Ar. Lysistr. 49. Take κατά τὴν ὑπεροχὴν with what immediately precedes: the best condition of two things compared in point of superiority,' i.e. as judged by the superiority of the one relatively to the other. All this forms the subject of ἀκολουθεῶν. What is the object? Either τη διαστάσει, οτ κατά την διάστασιν (for which cp. c. 14 § 1, 1332 b 15), ήνπερ κτλ. Normally one would expect this to be changed by attraction of the relative into ήπερ είληχε διαστάσει (or καθ' ήνπερ είλ. διάστασιν). Instead of this, the antecedent is absorbed into the relative sentence and assimilated to its construction ήνπερ είληχε διάστασιν. Such absorption and assimilation may be seen in VI(IV). 4. 8, 1290 b 28, 5. 2, 1292 b 8, 12. 2, 1296 b 20, possibly (see n. ad loc.) 12. 2, 1250 D 20, possibly (see n. ad loc.) 1. 8. 13, 1256 b 29. A good example is Pl. Rep. 400 D είνηθεξα δικολουθεί, ούχ την ἀνοιαν ούσαν ὑποκορεξόμενοι καλούμεν ώς εὐήθειαν, ἀλλά την ώς άληθώς...διάνοιαν: where the construction of the relative sentence invades the resumed principal sentence. See 1323 b 34, 1324 b 13. The periphrasis of exerv c. accus. for a verb is

sometimes varied. Here elluptions bideracure beerries as PI. Tim. 38 D, Pol. 488 E Béengar bloppton: Béenden, Phil. 49 C. Tyckine elluption: Béenden, Phil. 49 C. Tyckine ellupt right mythods brit. In its simplest form the proposition states that the beryopy of the best condition of two things compared corresponds to the two things compared corresponds to the state of A: the best state of B: A: E. Allow the sould supple the best state of A: the best state of B: A: E. Allow the sould supple the best state of A: the supplementation of the superiority of derive and goldware in the states. (Yallow the sould be superiority of derive and goldware in the states (Yallow the sould be superiority of derive and goldware in the states.)

7.5 Madersarva] The order of the words in I (datatine jum quiden sertifa est guaran dicinus est iţina ta Willi mus segret that Marraus was ciqiinally a segret that Marraus was ciqiinally a segret that Marraus was ciqiinally a (Bojesen, followed by Spengla and Marbiy boo also propoed ε-αls - Marraus). But Vallen pp. 28—34 (20—36) has able for the sense, and himself admits that it is not necessary to alter to first in the service of the s

course xrs. Sussem.

airds variesay Vahlen shows that this is an instance of the idlomatic attraction of a pronominal subject (here a demonstrative, often a relative) into the number and gender of the predicate. In Plato Phil. Sg 1 radras sin Mejouse teneripas dapples jaburs? clear withis its what we especially mean by the exact sciences. Suspension in the subject is the subject to the subject is subject to the subject to the

17 scal embis scal igital Both absolutely and relatively to us. See N. Eth. 1. 4. 5, 1059 b 2: Bonitz Ind. Ar. 77 a 21 ff. where rui, êcdorq, rpls rue, rpls racticed as similarly contrasted with arbor. So III. 9, 3, 1280 a 21, μέχρι rués.

§ 9 θεσιν την αρίστην εκάστου ανάλογον τούτων έχειν. έτι δε καί (I) της ψυχης ένεκεν αίρετα πέφυκε ταῦτα και δεί πάντας αίρει-20 σθαι τούς εὖ φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν τὴν ψυχήν.

§ 10 "ότι μὲν οὖν ἐκάστφ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει τοσοῦτον ε

όσου περ άρετης και φρουήσεως και του πράττευ κατά ταύτας, έστω συνωμολογημένον ήμιν, μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ χρωμέ-

18 και omitted by P^{1.5} Π² Bk. | 19 ταῦτα πέφυκεν αίρετὰ Π² P⁵ Bk. | 20 καὶ added before roos et proposibras by I'M3

18 Take τούτων after ἐκάστου. For the use of ἀνάλογον ἔχου absolutely cp. 11. 10 § 4, 1271 b 41, 11 § 3, 1272 b 37. § 9 18 eti 8ê...20 tip yeziy] Cp. Top. III. 1 § 4, 1162 29 f. 70 & auro alperos του δι' έτερον αίρετου αίρετώτερον. " What is desirable on its own account is more desirable than that which is desirable for the sake of something else" (Bernays). Although this point of view (rómos) is closely related to the one adopted here, yet it is not identical with it. A more important point is that as the precise argument of the Topics is employed e.g. in the Ethics also, 1. 7 § 4, 1097a 30, we have no right to follow Bernays in ascribing to this chapter of the Politics a scientific character materially distinct from the method of the Ethics and only suited for popular writings (Vahlen). Moreover there is no development of the 'logical formula' for this proof, as in the former case (see n. 701); while in the passage of the Ethics this is done. Susem. (702)

The last remark because Bernays argues (p. 80) that in the dialogues the treatment must necessarily have been somewhat abstract and dialectical; and this side of the dialogue he thinks is reflected in the present chapter. The author wrote, he says, for the public at large, who, if impatient of technical terms, are nevertheless especially qualified to appreciate the tact which adapts to each branch of science its appropriate logic.

§ 10 22 αρετής και φρονήσεως] Cp. III. 4 § 7, 11 § 2, with nn. (474, 565). SUSEM. (703)

και του πράτταν κατά ταύτας] Why Aristotle was obliged to add 'activity in accordance with the virtues' we learn from N. Eth. I. 88 0, 1008 b 31 ff. διαφέρει δ' ໃσως οὐ μικρόν ἐν κτήσει ή χρήσει τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ἐν ἔξει ἢ ἐν εργεία. την μέν γάρ έξιν ένδέχεται μηδέν άγαθον αποτελείν ὑπάρχουσαν, οἶον τῷ καθεύδωντι..., την δ' ένέργειαν ούχ οδόν τε πράξει γάρ έξ ἀνάγκης, και εθ πράξει. We must agree

with Bernays that it is owing to the manifestly popular character of the style of description here followed that Aristotle new avoids the technical term evipyraa used in that passage. Cf. also § 13 with n. (γ20), and n. (γ30). SUSEM. (γ04) 23 μάρτημο τῷ θεῷ χρωμίνους Bernays wrongly endeavours to discover a solemn

religious tone in this expression. It denotes no more than 'taking the happiness of God as evidence' or 'appealing to the happiness of God,' cp. Thuc. 1. 73. 2, just as in a similar phrase the Cyrenaics and Epicureans are reproached with appealing to the lower animals, Plat. Phileb. 67 B τοὺς θηρίων ξρωτας οἴονται κυρίους είναι μάρτυρας, Cic. De Fin. II. 33 § 109 bestiis .. quibus vos de summo unusual for Aristotle in his strictly scientific writings to introduce God into the inquiry. Not only is there really not the slightest difference in this respect between c. 3 § 10 (cp. n. 746) and the passage before us, but further the very same thought is worked out rather more fully in Nic. Eth. x. 8 § 7, 1178 b 7 ff., and similar references to the deity occur e.g. Nic. Eth. VIII. 7 § 4, 1158 b 35, cp. VII. 14 § 8, 1154 b 26 ff. Lastly, the comparison here between human and divine happiness is not in the slightest degree carried beyond the proper point. According to Aristotle the activity of God is only speculative thought, and indeed even this thought is nothing but his absolutely perfect thinking upon his own nature, and it is in this that his perfect happiness consists, see Zeller op. c. 11. ii. p. 365 ff. Aristotle's aim is to prove, as against the opposite view generally current, the greater necessity for goods of the mind, in order to happiness. A reference to the happiness of God was not unsuitable for his purpose: the in-ference from this is that happiness in general does not depend upon external

goods, but is founded on mental qualities;

νοις, δς εὐδαίμων μέν ἐστι καὶ μακάριος, δι' οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν (Ι) 25 έξωτερικών ἀναθών ἀλλὰ δι' αύτὸν αὐτὸς καὶ τώ ποιός τις είναι την φύσιν, έπεὶ καὶ την εὐτυχίαν της εὐδαιμονίας διὰ ταθτ' ἀναγκαθον έτέραν είναι (τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν της ψυχης αίτιου ταὐτόματου καὶ ή τύχη, δίκαιος δὲ οὐδεὶς § 11 οὐδὲ σώφρων ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐστίν): || ἐχόμενον 30 δ' έστι και τών αὐτών λόνων δεόμενον και πόλιν εὐδαίμονα

25 αὐτὸν Mº P³ | τώ] τὸ Mº P¹ (perhaps rightly) | 27 [ἀγαθῶν] Bernays, [τῆς ψυχθε] Spengel Susem.1, but see Vahlen p. 40 (42) ff. | 29 έχόμενον...36 σώφρων a duplicate of 1324 a 4 πότερου...13 σπουδαιοτέραν first recognized by Susemihl, Spengel (following Schlosser) having previously remarked that the two passages do not go well together. See p. 86 f. where they are printed in parallel columns

and consequently that man, too, cannot find his principal happiness in external goods. On the other hand the notion that man also may be able to dispense entirely with external goods and yet attain happiness is completely excluded by the whole previous course of the argument, which began with admitting each and all of the three kinds of goods to be necessary for human happiness (see n. 689) and endeavoured to determine the relative importance of external and internal goods (Vahlen). SUSEM. (705)

For this N. E. x. 8, q, 1179 a 2, may be quoted, el μη ένδέχεται άνευ τών έκτος αγαθών μακάριον είναι: cp. I. 10. 16, 1101 a

26 καλ την εύτυχίαν της εύδαιμονίας έτέραν είναι] Many see no difference between the two: Nic. Eth. 1. 8 § 17. 1009 b 7 f. δθεν els ταύτο τάττουσιν ένισε την εὐτυχίαν τῆ εὐδαιμονία. Cp. Socrates apud Xen. Memor. III. 9 § 14 (Eaton). SUSEM. (706)

Add Phys. 11. 6 § 1, 107 b 3 orqueios 8 δτι δοκεί ήτοι ταύτον είναι τη εύδαιμονία ή εύτυχία ή έγγύς, ή δ' εύδαιμανία πράξις τις εύπραξία γάρ.

20 από τύχης οὐδέδια την τύχην] Cp. Phys. 11. 6 § 4, 197 b 18 ff. ἐν τοῦς ἀπλῶς ἔνεκά του γενομένοις, ὅταν μὴ τοῦ συμβάντος ένεκα γένηται οῦ έξω τὸ αίτιον, τότε άπο ταυτομάτου λέχομεν άπο τύχης δέ τούτων δσα άπὸ ταὐτομάτου γένεται τῶν προαιρετών τοις έχουσι προαίρεσι»: "Hence it is clear that of events, which in themselves answer a purpose, we call anything not done by design a spontaneous occurrence; whilst all such spontaneous occurrences which happen in the region of purpose and to beings possessed of

purpose are said to be by chance" (Eaton). SUSEM. (707)

Comp. the lucid comments of D. D. Heath Misconceptions of Aristotle in

Journal of Philology VII. p. 111 ff. § 11 έχόμενον δ' ἐστλ κτλ] Next there follows, without need for fresh arguments, the inference to the happiness and welfare of the best state. For welfare is impos-sible apart from well-doing. A literal version would be: closely connected and dependent upon the same arguments is the proof that the best state, too, is happy and fares well [like the best man]. It need hardly be insisted that 30 εδδαίμονα and 31 πράπτουσαν καλώς are predicates

of which The aplotte while is the subject. 30 τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων] Although this makes the essential identity of happiness in the individual and the state rest on no other grounds than those already adduced. we nevertheless get a new proof that human happiness consists mainly in virtue, and we are told (§ 12) that this applies to the state precisely in the same way as to the individual. This supplementary proof is certainly very incomplete. All human thought is largely conditioned and fettered by the language of a nation-Thus among the Greeks the verb πράττει has (1) the transitive meaning 'to do=to perform certain acts,' line 32 τὰ καλὰ πράττουσί», (2) the intransitive meaning 'to do=to be (in a certain state),' as e.g. in this present connexion καλώς πράττεω =to be doing (or faring) well, to be in a prosperous state. Hence it became easy to make the mistake of directly inferring the second meaning from the first, where we of course see only a dialectical play upon words. We do not however draw Bernays' conclusion that Aristotle would

την αρίστην είναι και πράττουσαν καλώς. αδύνατον γαρ καλώς (Ι) πράττειν τοῦς μη τα καλά πράττουσιν οὐδεν δε καλον έργον

§ 12 οὐτ' ἀνδρὸς οὐτε πόλεως χωρίς ἀρετῆς καὶ φροινήσεως ἀνδρία δὲ πόλεως καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνηστε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύ-35 ναμιν καὶ μορφήν, ὧν μετασχών ἔκαστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγεται δίκαιος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ σώφοων.]

313 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔστω πεφροιμιασμένα τῷ ο λόγῳ (οἴτε γὰρ μ) θυγγάνειν αὐτῶν δυνατόν, οὕτε πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεξελθεῦν ἐνδέχεται λόγους, ἐτέρας γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον σχο-

33 749 Bernays, & F.H.Ar. Bis. Sussem.³ in the text (defended by Vahlen p. 45, 42[7]. | 33 749 Spengel, vo. F.H. Ar. Bis. Sussem.³ in the text (defended by Vahlen belon. Cit.) | 7 pderivative with all other authorities Ar. Bis. Sussem.³ in the text (defended by Vahlen cit.) | 33 [610 pderiversed) Schniefer | 34 pK-vissem.³ Spended by Vahlen cit.) | 35 [610 pderiversed) Schniefer | 34 pK-vissem.³ Spended by Vahlen cit. | 35 [610 pderiversed) Schniefer | 34 pK-vissem.³ Spended by Vahlen cit. | 35 [610 pderiversed] Schniefer | 34 pK-vissem.³ Spended by Vahlen cit. | 35 [610 pderiversed] Spended | 35 pderiversed | 35

not have allowed himself this licence except in a dialogue. Had he looked upon it as a mere play upon words, he certainly would not have admitted it into a dialogue either; most certainly he would not have transcribed it from a dialogue into the present work. As a matter of fact not only has Plato committed the same mistake in all scientific seriousness, Gorg. 507 C [Rep. 353 E], but it is also to be found in c. 3, §§ 1, 8 (cp. nn. 732, 744) and III. 9 § 14 (cp. n. 560 h), and similarly in Nic. Eth. I. 8 § 4, 1098 b 20 ff., though Bernays vainly attempts to disprove the last case (Vahlen). But Spengel is right in thinking it strange that the question disposed of in § 11 is in c. 2 §§ 1, 2 spoken of as still requiring to be settled and is accordingly there settled. This difficulty disappears so soon as we set the two paragraphs side by side as distinct versions of the same subject, and with it another difficulty raised by Hildenbrand p. 368 ff., on which Spengel Arist. Stud. II. p. 73 (565) ff. has laid far more stress than it deserves. Hildenbrand's view is that in 111. 18 the question, whether the virtue or the happiness of the individual and of the state is identical or not, is brought forward as having already been settled by III. cc. 5, 6 (cp. nn. 471, 684), whereas in Iv(VII). I § II, 2 § 1, the question is first submitted to investigation, and that therefore III. c. 18 is a draft from Aristotle's pen which he afterwards discarded. The error in this conclusion lurks (as Böcker observes) in the words

"virtue or happiness"; for the latter term as used by Aristotle is not coincident with the former, but requires in addition a certain measure of external goods. The proof that the virtue of the state is identical with that of the individual does not therefore by itself in any way demonstrate the identity of their happi ness [or wellbeing]. In any case, if we take the one version, that contained in c. I. § 11, there is no escape from the difficulty that the previous inquiry as to the identity of the zirtue of both is also ignored. But if we replace it by the second version, c. 2 §§ 1, 2, there would be nothing to prevent Aristotle expressing himself as he does, even with the distinct presupposition of the earlier inquiry (cc. III. 5, 6) and the reference to it in III, c. 18 8 2. As to the identity of the 'virtue or excellence' manifested by the state and by the individual cp. also c. 13 §§ 9, 10 and VIII(V). 9 § 12 with n. (1642). SUSEM.

(708) § 12 33 Observe that this is the postulate of Plato in the Republic, made implicitly 11. 360 E and reasserted expressly 14 435 8, 441 D ff. On Borauw καl μορφόρ, terms cognate to είδεο, λόγος, φόσει, ορ. Bonitz Ind. Ar. 206 b 12, and n. on 1.4, 6, 1245 a 14. Apparently the antecedent of wir, if expressed, would be τ β Bouncoling and τ β βρασβους as com 1333 b

\$ 13 39 ἐτέρας...σχολής] For this forms the task of another study, a lecture of another kind. Here only in this sense,

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40 λής ταῦτα' νῦν δὲ ὑποκείσθω τοσοῦτον, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἄριστος, καὶ (I)
20 μοὶς ἐκάστου καὶ κουή ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὁ μετ' ἀρετής κεχο-(α.9)
214 ξεων, πρὸς δὲ τοὸν ἀμφισβητούτας, ἐσασιτας ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν
μεθόδου, διασκεπτέον ὕστερον, εἴ τις τοῖς εἰρημένοις τυγχά2 νει μ) πειθόμενος): ‖ πότερου δὲ τὴν εὐδαμωνίαν τὴν ΙΙ
2 καὶ μὴν εἰναι φατέον ἐνός τε ἐκάστου τὰν ἀνβοφάτων

καὶ πόλεως ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν, λοιπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. πάντες γὰρ ἀν ὁμολογήσεων εἰξεραι τὴν αὐτήν. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν πλοίτις τὸ ζὴν εὐ τίθειται ἐψ΄ ἐνός, οὐτοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, ἐἀν ἢ πλοισία, το μακαρίζουσιν' ὅσοι τε τὸν τυραννικὸν βίον μάλιστα τιμόσιν, οὐτοι καὶ πόλιν τὴν πλείστων ἄρχουσαν εὐδαμονεστίτην εἰναι φαῖεν ἀν εἰ τὲ τις τὸν ἔνα δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀποδέχεται, ξε καὶ πόλιν εὐδαμονεστίραι ψήσει τὴν σπουδαυτόραι. | [ἄλλὸ]

40 καl χωρέε έκάστου omitted by P*V° Ald. and the first hand of P*S° (added in the margin of S° by the same hand, in the margin of P* by a later hand and ágain expunged) | | 41 έκάστω P*A. (?) Bk. and apparently a later hand in the margin of P* | | κεχορηγαμέσο P*A! γ Ald.

13248 4 πότερον...13 σπουδαιοτέραν a duplicate of 1323b 29—36. See p. 86 10 μακαρέσουσεν or μακαρούσων Ar. Spengel \parallel 12 åν before είναι Π^2 Bk. and Γ^0 (in the margin, omitted by the 1st hand) \parallel 13 [$\Delta\lambda\lambda\lambda$...1325 b 34 πρότερον] Susem. ^{2,3}

Lat. disciplina, course of study or instruction: in all other passages of Aristode expod=lessure. What is meant is of course ethical science or instruction, only a portion of politics in the wider sense, if the sense of the politics in the wider sense, if the sense is piece of the sense of

to Diogenes need very careful sifting be-

fore they can pass as historical (Susemihl).

41 ὁ μετ' ἀρετῆς...1324 a 1 πράξεωγ] Here also, as well as in § 10, what is said in n. (704) is applicable. Cp. also n. (736). Susem. (710)

1324 a 3 Suarvervior Serveou! Spengel rightly observes, *Uder die Pol.* p. 46, that this is not the way in which Aristotle usually speaks. But the mode of expression is very like that of a lecturer who invites his hearers to mention, and discuss with him afterwards, any difficulties they may still have. Cp. Excursus I. SUSEM. (711)

c. 2 § 2 9 ἐφ ἐνόs] Cp. Plato
 Theactet. 157 A ἐπὶ ἐνὸs νοῆραι.
 c. 2 § 3—c. 4 § 1 (τεθεύρηται πρότε-

60%). A subsidiary question: is the virtuous life, which is most desirable, a life of active participation in civic duties, or a life of study and philosophic retirement? A life of war and external conquest, or of paceable rule over freemen and of internal

§ 3 13 alla tart fiby bio The close

ταθτ' ήδη δύο έστιν α δείται σκέψεως, εν μεν πότερος αίρε-(ΙΙ) 15 τώτερος βίος, ὁ διὰ τοῦ συμπολιτεύεσθαι καὶ κοινωνείν πόλεως ή μάλλον ὁ ξενικός καὶ της πολιτικής κοινωνίας απο-

λελυμένος, έτι δὲ τίνα πολιτείαν θετέον καὶ ποίαν διάθεσιν πόλεως άριστην, είτε πάσιν όντος άιρετου κοινωνείν πόλεως § 4 είτε καὶ τισὶ μέν μή τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆς 20 διανοίας καὶ θεωρίας τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον αίρετου, ήμεις δὲ ταύτην νῦν προηρήμεθα την σκέψιν, ἐκείνο

μέν [[γὰρ]] πάρεργον ἄν εἴη τοῦτο δ' ἔργον τῆς μεθόδου ταύτης. ότι μέν ούν άναγκαῖον είναι πολιτείαν άρίστην ταύτην 3 See Comm. 111. 712-717, 725, 729, 736, 738, 741, 743, 745, 747-9 1 14 πότερον

Γ M° (?) P6 Sb Ar. (M° has π6) || 18 αίρετοῦ <τοῦ> Koraes || 19 ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπεὶ διὰ Mo, τὸ δὲ περισσών is a gloss of po in the margin; γὰρ Spengel, quite wrongly

21 νίν after προηρήμεθα II2 P6 Bk. | 22 γάρ omitted by Γ P4-6 L* Bk., rightly sequence of cc. 2, 3 upon c. 1 leaves us only two alternatives: either cc. 2, 3 have exactly the same origin as c. 1, although in no way distinguished by the same excellences of style, or else the editor who inserted c. 1 has further added to it from his own materials cc. 2, 3, except of course c. 2 §§ 1, 2 (see n. 708). Even setting aside the difference of style, the second alternative is forced upon us by the numerous difficulties, some slight, others very considerable, which present themselves in this section, see nn. (713-717, 725, 729, 736, 738, 741, 743, 745, 747—749), with which the few points in c. 1 and c. 2 §§ 1, 2 that might raise doubts as to the genuineness of that portion (see nn. 690, 709, 711) should be more closely compared. Read Ed.

that later on in c. .3 \$\ 3, 4 the inquiry of c. 1, and so too a little further on

in c. 13 § 8 ff. the inquiry pursued in cc. 2,

3. though in a slightly altered form, is commenced over again, in each case without the slightest sign that they have been already adequately discussed, whereas the interpolator does not fail to refer by

anticipation to this later section, c. 3 § 1 (cp. n. 731). Susem. (712)

14 εν μεν—22 μεθόδου ταύτης] The transition to the best constitution took place as far back as III. c. 18, and in IV (VII). 1 it was stated that we must first examine the best life; now after having concluded this examination and after having stated that the result holds good for the state as well as for the individual, it seems very awkward to say that there are two questions requiring to be investigated, (r) whether the best life for the individual is one of scientific leisure or of political Müller's exhaustive examination in his activity, and (2) which is the best constitu-tion. The first question is violently thrust History of the theory of art among the an-cients II. pp. 366-373, Breslau, 1837, in, and, as it stands, cannot properly be allowed to take even a secondary rank as a work universally neglected, which ought to have led subsequent inquirers to a a question of politics, which the author at once declares is all that he himself renewed consideration of these chapters. What a deal of pains he takes to reclaims for it; it has nothing whatever to do with the science of politics, as Schlosser long since observed. It would be a difmove the difficulties in them, and all in vain. Although my view differs consi-derably from his, in many respects it is most intimately connected with his expoferent thing if it were preceded by, and then taken up and treated as co-ordinate to, the inquiry whether the end of the state is peaceful activity or war, which in sition. This is not the place to enter into a more detailed examination of his argument, but see n. (743). Only one difficulty is common to the two portions c. I (with c. 2 §§ 1, 2) and c. 2 § 3—c. 4 § 1: viz.

§ 5 is treated as a co-ordinate question. Susem. (713) § δ 23 ότι μέν ούν ..φανερόν έστίν]
'It is plain then that the [absolutely] best polity is that system under which any one of the citizens whatever would fare

καθ' ην τάξιν κᾶν όστισοῦν ἄριστα πράττοι καὶ ζώη μα- (ΙΙ) 25 καρίως, φανερον έστίν αμφισβητείται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν όμολογούντων του μετ' άρετης είναι βίου αίρετώτατου, πότερου ό πολιτικός καὶ πρακτικός βίος αίρετὸς ή μάλλου ό πάντων των έκτὸς ἀπολελυμένος, οἶον θεωρητικός τις, ὃν § 6 μόνον τινές φασιν είναι φιλόσοφον. σχεδον γάρ τούτους τούς 30 δύο βίους των ανθρώπων οι φιλοτιμότατοι πρός αρετήν φαίνονται προαιρούμενοι, καὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῶν νῦν λέγω δὲ δύο τόν τε πολιτικόν καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον. διαφέρει δὲ οὐ ε μικρου ποτέρως έγει το άληθές ανάγκη γαρ του γε εὐ (ν. 97) 34 Φρονούντα πρός του βελτίω σκοπου συντάττεσθαι καὶ τών § 7 ανθρώπων έκάστω καὶ κοινή τη πολιτεία, νομίζουσι δ' οί μέν τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν δεσποτικῶς μέν γινόμενον μετ' άδικίας τινός είναι της μεγίστης, πολιτικώς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄδικον

24 % Ar. apparently, [τάξω] Spengel. The former probably right: yet see Vahlen p. 35 (37) | 69 Mo, 60 P1 (1st hand, emended by corr.1) | 28 715 < 60 > 7 Koracs. [rss] would be a more obvious change, yet doubtless none is needed | 20 φιλόσοφοι . [sc. αίρετόν] Jackson | 30 τούτους after τοὺς δύο Mº Pl | φιλοτιμώτατοι Mº Pl-6 Ald. | 31 πρότερου Koraes (needlessly) and P³ (1st hand, corrected by a later hand) | 33 γε Spengel, τε M* P¹ II² Bk, Susem,¹ in the text, omitted by P⁵, perhaps rightly, [τε] Congreve | 35 έκαστον Π2 P5 Ar. Bk. Spengel, γρ. έκαστον P1 (corr. in the margin), perhaps rightly | The wolk Ma, The molerelase (molerelase 1st hand of Pa) II2 Ar. Bk. (γρ. την πολιτείαν corr. in the margin of P1), perhaps rightly; την πόλιν Spengel, needlessly # 37 7498 omitted by H1

best and live in the enjoyment of happiness ' Cp. c. 1 § 1 and n. (685). SusEM.

29 TIMES 'Some' only? We should expect 'all.' But this may be explained as due to Aristotle's minimizing style of expression. Cp. n. (401). SUSEM. (715) § 6 σχεδόν γdp ... 32 φιλόσοφον]
The two sections §§ 5, 6 are unusually diffuse. Susem. (716)

No account is here taken of the view that honour is the aim of the political life, N.E. I. v. 4, 1095 b 23. Whereas in N.E. x. 7-7, 1177 b 19 ff. al κατά τὰs πράξεις άρεταl are sharply distinguished from ή τοῦ νοῦ ἐνέργεια (θεωρητική), here the object seems to be to represent the the object seems to be to represent the political and contemplative life as skin, though the latter is in both discussions regarded as abrorabis (Newman).

34 Kol Trib arboares kelorus kelorus kelorus Trib modure(a) But granting that the

speculative (i.e. studious) life is the better end for the individual, the state is in no way concerned in this, beyond rendering such a life possible to the few fitted for it, provided that the rest consent to take active part in the administration: for otherwise the state would itself come to an end. The author is in error (cp. n. 736") in supposing that the question, whether scientific or political activity ranks highest for the individual, corresponds exactly to the question which arises with regard to the state, whether it

should pursue a policy of peace or of war. Cp. 118. (743, 745). SUSEM. (717) § 7 35 of µ4y] The advocates of a peace policy think that while despotic rule over others is never without a certain injustice of the deepest dve, even rule as exercised under a free government, though devoid of injustice, yet tends to disturb our own easy prosperity. The conjunction of το άρχειν and γινόμενου = ή άρχη γυνομένη is harsh, but can be paralleled. On δεσποτικώς (properly as slaves) see 1277 a 33 n.

οὐκ ἔγειν, ἐμπόδιον δὲ ἔγειν τῆ περὶ αὐτὸν εὐημερία τούτων (ΙΙ) δ΄ ώσπερ εξ εναντίας ετεροι τυγχάνουσι δοξάζοντες. μόνον 40 γαρ ανδρός του πρακτικου είναι βίου καὶ πολιτικου εφ' έκάστης γαρ άρετης οὐκ είναι πράξεις μάλλον τοῖς ἰδιώταις \$8 ή τοις τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι καὶ πολιτευομένοις. ** οι μεν οι ν ούτως ύπολαμβάνουσιν, οι δε του δεσποτικόν και τυραννικόν τρόπου της πολιτείας είναι μόνου εὐδαίμουα φασίυ. παρ' 4 ένίοις δ' ούτος καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας όρος, ὅπως δε-§ 9 σπόζωσι τῶν πέλας. διὸ καὶ τῶν πλείστων νομίμων χύδην ώς είπειν κειμένων παρά τοις πλείστοις, όμως εί πού τι πρός εν οι νόμοι βλέπουσι, τοῦ κρατείν στοχάζονται πάντες, ώσπερ έν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτη πρός τοὺς πολέμους συντέτακται § 10 σχεδον ή τε παιδεία καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων πλήθος ἔτι δ' ἐν το τοις έθνεσι πάσι τοις δυναμένοις πλεονεκτείν ή τοιαύτη τετίμηται δύναμις, οΐον ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ Θραξί καὶ Κελτοίς. ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσι παροξύνον-6 τες πρός την άρετην ταύτην, καθάπερ έν Καργηδόνι φασί 14 του έκ των κρίκων κόσμου λαμβάνειν όσας αν στρατεύσων-§ 11 ται στρατείας· ήν δέ ποτε καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν νόμος τὸν

38 αύτὸν Γ, perhaps rightly, αὐτῶν Vettori®, αὐτοῦς Schneider.

1324 b 1 * * of Susem. and Böcker, < όμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀμφισβητείται. of μέν γὰρ * *> of or something similar ? Susem. | 4 δ'...δρος] δ' οδτος και τῆς πολιτείας όρος των νόμων P1, δέ και της πολιτείας ούτος των νόμων P4-6. δέ και της πολιτείας οῦτος δρος (και added by Congreve) τῶν νόμων all other codices and editors except Susem. | 8 πολεμίους Π1 | 14 τών | τοσούτων ? Koraes, but see Vahlen p. 34 (36) on 1323 b 15

4τ οὐ μᾶλλον] not so much. § 8 Secuta est uberior expositio senten-

tiae eorum qui vitam optimam esse contendunt civitatibus quae καθ' αὐτὰς Ιδρυμέναι sint, cf. 1325 b 23—27. SUSEM.
1324 b 1 πολιτευομένοις * *] Το complete the connexion we require words to the following effect:-"and there is the same difference of opinion with regard to states. For some think that those states lead the best and happiest existence which devote themselves purely to domestic politics and have nothing

to do with any policy of war. For, they say, etc." "This then is one view, but others (of δè) etc." SUSEM. (718) § 9 7 ώσπερ έν Λακεδαίμονι-πλή-00s] Cp. II. 9 § 34, IV(VII). 14 § 15 ff., V(VIII). 4 §§ 1—6, with un. (344, 910, 1005). Susem. (719)

\$ 10 9 & rots 89,ers] cp. 1. 2 § 6, and n. (19 b). Sueze. (1700)
11 καί Háporas] cp. Hát. vii. 2, 1X.
122 (Eaton). SUSSM. (721)
12 καί Κάντοξι cp. 11. 9 § 7, and n. (287) p. 334 f. and below c. 17 § 3 and n. (257) p. 334 f. and pelow c. 17 § 3 and n. (1953). SUSSM. (722)
14 (Nov & rôv rapteur κόσμον) Does
14 (Nov & rôv rapteur κόσμον) Does this throw any light on the real significance of Hannibal's sending by Mago the rings of the Roman equites, as told by

Livy XXIII. 12? (Ridgeway). § 11 15 καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν] Here we see the Macedonians expressly reckoned among barbarian peoples. And even if this is pronounced the interpolation of a pupil, yet the more closely the earlier Peripatetics were attached to the Macedonian cause, the more probable it becomes that the pupil is here reproducing

μηθένα ἀπεκταγκίτα πολέμων ἄνδρα περιεξώτθαι τὴν φορ-(II) βειών ἐ δὲ Σκίθαις οὐν ἐξῆν πίνευ ἐν ἐορτῷ τινι ακόφου περιφερόμενου τῷ μηθένα ἀπεκταγκότι πολέμων ἐν δὲ τοῖς "Ίβηραν, ἐθνει πολεμικῷ, τοσύτοις τὰν ἀριθμὸν ἀβκλίσκους ο καταπηγίνουσι περ τὸν τάφου δουνς ἀν ἐικφθείρη τὰν 812 πολεμίων καὶ ἔτερα δὴ παρ' ἐτέροις ἔστι τοιαῦτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν νόμοις καταλημιένα τὰ δὲ ἐθεσιν.

καίτοι δόξειεν ἃυ ἄγαν ἄτοπον Γοως εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις (κ.)

πακκοπείν, εἰ τοῖτ ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, τὸ δύνασθαι (κ.)

15 θεορεῦν ὅπος ἄρχης καὶ δεσπέζη τῶν πλησιόν καὶ Βουλομένουκ καὶ

813 μ) βουλομένουν. πῶς γὰρ ἀν εἶη τοῦτο πολιτικοῦν ἡ νομοθετικόν,

δ γε μηδὲ νόμιμον ἐστὶν; οῦ νόμιμου δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον δικαίως

δλλὰ καὶ δόἰκος ἀρονει κρατεῖν ἕ δετι καὶ μὸ δικαίως.

f. δ descreption P^{1.6}, descreption P² (1st hand, corrected in the margin by a later hand, but the correction was afferwards expunged), descreption P² (Act, demarks M² | 17 endplow repdoporation 2 Schneider || 18 descreption M² | 19, definitions of exposures and the property of the proper

unaltered his master's view. SUSEM. (723). Cp. Introd. p. 46 n. (3)

17 iv δι Σκύθαις] Comp. Herod. iv. 66. SUSEM. (724)

18 tv St τοις 'Ιβηρσιν'] The only mention of the Iberians, or Spaniards, in the genuine works of Aristotle. They are mentioned in the spurious De Mirabilibus 46, 85, 87, 88, 833 b 15, 837 a 8,

24. ff. SUSBA. (729)
19 qBAGravasy What this word means, is not so easy to decide. The usual translation 'obdisids' or 'stone pillars' in quite reconcileable with the practice of rows of stores are found commentorating the number of enemies killed and eather in former wars. "Mr Ridgeway writing to the Anademy of Aug. 29, 1885, sagests that this Derian practice accounts for the stone pillars actually placed around have been provided to the provided provi

ing note.

"δβελίσκουν means, not 'obelisks' as the commentators suppose, but literally 'spits.' Originally the spits carried the heads of the slain: when the custom of affixing the heads fell into disuse, the

spits, which should have borne the actual trophies, continued to be planted fower as beachedup raw reduction; i.e. the trophy was converted into a badge. On trophy taking, and its connection with 'militancy', of which Aristotle is quite aware, see Spencer's Cerewond Institutions

per operaci s Cereminal Institutions (h. ji., p. 49 with pr. 165. do 1. ji., p. 49 with pr. 165. do 1. ji., p. 49 with pr. 165. do 1. ji., p. 40 with pr. 1

ελαβον.
25 τῶν πλησίον] but § 8, a 5 τῶν

πθ.es. § 13 Hampke compares with this the discussion upon slavery 1. 6 § 1 – 2; one phrase of which, dλλλ ar με/ τοῦ δααίου μόνον είναι τὴν ἐμφικηθήτησιν, is certainly echoed by the protest 9.7; 6 ον θεμικού δὲ «τλ. "to rule at all hazards, whether justly or unjustly, is not lawful, and a victory may be won even by unjust means."

άλλα μὴν οἱδ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τοῦνο ὁρῶμεν: οὐτε ε
50 γὰρ τοῦ Ιατροῦ οὐτε τοῦ κιβεμνήτου ἔργων ἐστὶ τὸ [[τ̄̄̄̄]] πέσαι ἤ
τὸ βιάπασθαι τοῦ μέν νοῦν θερωπευμένως τοῦ ἐλ τοὺς πλατῆ514 ρας. ἀλλὶ ἐοἰκασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν δεσποτικὴν πολιτικὴν οἱεσθαι
εἰναι, καὶ ὁπερ αἰντοῦς ἐκαστι οἱ φασιν εἰναι δίκαιων οἰκοῦς
συμφέρον, τοῦν οἰκ αἰσχύνονται πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦντες
53 αἰντοὶ μὲν γὰρ παρ αἰντοῦς τὸ δικαίως ἀρχειν ζυτοῦς, πρὸς
510 ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοις οἰδείν μέλει τὰν δικαίων. ἀρχειν ζυτοῦς, πρὸς
510 ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοις οἰδείν μέλει τὰν δικαίων ἀρχειν ἀνπονο ἐξ εἰ μὴ ο
φύσει τὸ μὲν δεσποστών ἐστι τὸ ἐξ οἰ δεσποστόν, ἀστε εἰπερ
ἔχει τὸν ρέων τοῦντοι, οἱ ἐδὶ πόντων περάσδα δεστόρα,
ἀλλαὶ τῶν δεσποστῶν, ἄσπερ οἰδὲ θηρείεν ἐπὶ θοίνην ἡ θυ40 σίαν ἀνθρόπουκ, ἀλλαὶ τὸ πρὸς τοῦνο θερειτίν ἔστι ἐδ θηρειν
510 τὸν ὁ ἐν ἄηριον ἡ ἐδεστὸν ζῶρο. ἀλλαὶ μὴν εἰη γ' ἀν καὶ
1515 καθ ἐκιπρὶ μὸξεκτοι πόλιο οἰκείσθαί που καθὶ ἐκιπρὶ νόκαλιδις, ἐπερ ἐνδὲξενται πόλιο οἰκείσθαί που καθὶ ἐκιπρὶ νό-

ag $\Delta M \Delta$. Φρόμαν contrict by Π^1 (supplied in the margin of Π^0) \parallel go $\bar{\eta}$ before when instruct by Π^0 PS Π^1 . If $M = M \Omega$ PS PS Π^1 M $M = M \Omega$ PS PS PS Π^1 M $M = M \Omega$ PS Π^2 M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ PS $M = M \Omega$ M $M = M \Omega$ M M = M

29 The appeal to the other rats and esciences 'is strictly on Scoratic and Platonic lines, and Dr Jackson points exceed to the strictly of the strictly of

οὖτε γὰρ τοῦ Ιατροῦ οὖτε κτλ] Comp. Plat. Gorg. 456 B (Eaton): also c. 13 § 2 n. (870), and above 111. 6 § 7 n. (531). 15 § 4 n. (638), 16 §§ 6—8: 11. 8 § 18 n. (270). SUSEM. (726) § 14 35 αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς] at home, in their own political affairs.

an after own pointed sub-enversely Des.

B. 1. c. 4 § A. C. c. 5. SUSBA. (172)

30 Payeines Art Bodowy of Bordan Jit.

Earth Alexand. 72 obersy bet Phipses and

enveryteme delipherous (190), et al. 78 Euro

allow of war for the capture of slaves, which Aristotle disallows (1. 8 § 12 m. 65, 75) as a branch of $\theta\eta\rho\nu\nu\tau\kappa\dot{\eta}$. Susem. (728)

μοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ής τής πολιτείας ή σύνταξις ου (II) πρὸς πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων η μηδὲν γιὰρ ὑπαργέτω τοιοῦτον.

§11 δήλου άρα ότι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμου ἐπιμελείας καλάς 10 μὲυ θετέου, οὐχ ώς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατου, ἀλλά ἐκείνου χάριν ταὐτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθου χάριν ταὐτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθου γπόλιν καὶ γπένος ἀνθρόπων καὶ πάσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωής ἀγα-ξ18 θής πώς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῦς εὐδαιμονίας. δι-

οίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια νομίμων καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἐστιν ἱδεῖν, ἐἐν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα πρὸς (ν. 9) ποίως ἀσκητέον ἡ πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἐκάστους χρηστέον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κὰν ὕστερον τίγοι τῆς προσηκούσης

ις σκέγεως, πρός τί τόλος δεί την άρίστην πολιτείων συντεύεων 3 πρός δε τούς όμολογούντας μέν τον μετ' άρετής είναι Βίων ΙΙΙ αίρετώτατου, διαφερομένως δε περί τής χρήσεως αίτοῦ, λε κτέω ήμίν πρός αμφοτέρους αίτούς (δι μέν γάρ ἀποδοκιμάζουσι τός πολιτικός αίγες, νομίζοντες τόν τε τού διαθέρου

1325 a 6 $\delta \rho \alpha$ after δr_1 M* $P^{1,2,3}$ Sb Vb \parallel 8 rob before $\sigma \pi \omega \delta a loo$ omitted by M* P^1 \parallel 18 $\alpha l...23$ rab rob This whole parenthesis is transposed in $P^{2,3}$ to follow 24 $\delta \rho \delta G_2$, by means of the letters a loo written above the line \parallel 10 $[r_1]$ Spengel

them.

8 16 125 a 3 § 16 75 roburtiael We may well believe that such conceptions, though foreign to Pericles, and new even to Iscorates, had become familiar enough in the Athens of Phocion, specially amongst these who lived to compare the Brilliant peace administration of Demetrics of the active policy which had led to Charrones and Crannon. Comp. Bernays Polotiom pp. 3 (ff., 58 ff. and Newman I.

Process pp. 31 π., 55 π. and Newman 1.

p. 311.

5 μηθέν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιούτον] But this is only true with the proviso that such a state is not attacked by offensive wars, for which it must by its constitution

be prepared, as indeed the writer himself explains, § 18. SUSEM, (729) § 17. 6 5/how don...to elfoaquovica] § 17. 6 5/how don...to elfoaquovica] Precisely the same statement as in these two sentences is made by Plato Laws t. 68. D: is dustries the and purk robuses elfoa-quovine s' and librarious bouncoiquesco offer are strength of the strength of t

§ 18 12 táv rws...yurvuñvres] So already 11. 6 §§ 7, 8. The state must have a foreign policy, if it be only a policy of non-intervention and self-defence.

14 KÅV ŰTTEPOV] C. 14 §§ 7—11. See nn. (712)—this reference may of course be interpolated—and (906). Su-

course be interpolated—and (906). SU-SEM. (731) c. 3 The best life for the individual is practical activity in the service of a free

city. Yet intellectual activity is also practical and is a higher life still. § 1 17 περί τῆς χρήσεως] How it is to be enjoyed.

Martine (1984) πρα alμοντίρου (Comp. 16, 166) στι 18.6 Substat. (1983) 19 'π' interdum ei vocabulo additur, quod utrique membro commune est: φόest τε -γλρ- δρχαθν πατής είδα και το -γλρ- δρχαθν πατής είδα και το -γλρ- δρχαθν πατής είδα και το -γλρ- δρχαθν πατής είδα και - () M. E. VIII. 15 (ε. λι. 21), 16 τα 18' Βοπία Ind. 4π. γλρ θα 4π. το δραθέρου) για διακλυμέναν, untraumelled by office and by civic oldumatter and the complex control of the control of the complex control of the control of th

20 βίου ἔτερόν τινα εἶναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πάντων αἰρετώτατον, (ΙΙΙ) οί δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηδὲν πράττοντα πράττειν εθ, την δ' εθπραγίαν καλ την εθδαιμονίαν είναι ταὐτόν), ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν ὀρθώς τὰ δὲ οὐκ 24 ορθώς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἀμείνων. \$2 τούτο γάρ άληθές· οὐδὲν γάρ τό γε δούλω, ή δούλος, χρήσθαι σεμνόν ή γάρ ἐπίταξις ή περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν πάσαν ἀρχὴν είναι δε-2 σποτείαν ουκ ορθόν ου γάρ έλαττον διέστηκεν ή των έλευθέρων άρχη της των δούλων η αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει έλεύθερον τοῦ φύσει δού-30 λου. διώρισται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. \$ 8 τὸ δὲ μάλλον ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ άληθές ή γὰο εὐδαιμονία πράξις ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ πολλών καὶ κα-

22 είναι before καὶ M* P1 | 25 τό | τῶ M* P1.2-4, τῷ Ald. | 27 δεσποτείαν P3 (1st hand, corrected by a later hand), δεσποτική» P1 and perhaps Γ, so that this may be right | 29 αὐτὸ τὸ P⁶ (corr.1), αῦ τὸ Γ P1.4-5, αὐτὸ M⁶ Ald., αὐτῶ P⁸ S⁵ V⁵ and P⁶ (1st hand)

21 άδύνατον γάρ...23 ταύτόν] Comp. n. (708). Susem. (732) § 2 25 σύδὲν γὰρ...σεμνόν] Comp. 1. 7 § 5 n. (64) and below c. 14 § 19 n.

(913). SUSEM. (734) 26 êmiraţis] See note (124) on êmiτάξει χρησθαι Ι. 13 § 14-

27 νομίζειν πάσαν άρχην δεσποτείαν] See n. (58). Yet Plato was free from this error when he classified the forms of rule, Laws III. 690 A ff. On the other hand he makes πολιτική=βασιλική, Euthyd. 202 C, a passage which should be added to Polit. 258 E, as quoted on 1.

20 η αύτο ... δούλου] How great that difference may be, we learn from 1. 5 § 8 n. (47).

30 έν τοῦς πρώτους λόγους] Β. Ι. cc. 4—7. Susem. (735) § 3 31 οὐκ ἀληθές] is not right, haud

32 ή γάρ εὐδαιμονία πράξις] This is certainly a genuine Aristotelian doctrine. See c. 1 §§ 10-13, nn. (704, 710); Nic. Eth. 1. cc. 7—9: VI. 2§ 5, 1139 23, VI. 5 § 4, 1140 b 7, X. 6 § 2, 1176 2 33; Phys. II. 6 § 1, 197 b 5; Pact. 6 § 12, 1450 a 17; Rhet. 1. 5 § 3, 1360 b 14; comp. Zeller II. ii p. 612. But still it is so provided only that under mpages is included not merely practical, but also theoretical or mental activity, and that consequently the term is understood in the wider sense: for otherwise this doctrine would not be

true of the highest felicity of pure thought, as it pertains to God alone (n. 705), to which however the author himself appeals \$ 10, n. (746). And of human well-being, too, scientific perfection in active operation is the higher element, moral perfec-tion only the lower element, according to the genuine Aristotelian doctrine. "It must be granted, that then it would be hard to say how the happiness of the indivi-dual and of the whole state can be one and the same" (Schlosser). Here Schlosser endeayours to explain the mistake pointed out in nn. (717, 745) by assuming that 'Aristotle subordinated the idea of internal activity to that of contemplation. This thought is quite just; but does this unhappy attempt to mend matters by such a confusion look more like the master or a pupil? Granted that this subordination is intended here (and from § 8 this cannot be doubtful-see n. 743), still of those who prefer the scientific life to the practical life it cannot possibly be maintained with truth that they prefer inactivity to activity, nor can Aristotle himself have written anything so inconsistent. SUSEM. (736)

έτι δὲ πολλών κτλ] "The actions done by the just and temperate contain a realization of many noble ends." This is certainly in the spirit of Aristotle himself. Further comp. for σωφρόνων n.

(206 b), II. 6 § Q. SUSEM, (737)

λών τέλος έχουσιν αἱ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σωφρόνων πράξεις. (ΙΙΙ) καίτοι τάχ' αν ύπολάβοι τις τούτων ούτω διωρισμένων ε 35 ότι τὸ κύριον είναι πάντων ἄριστον ούτω γὰρ ἄν πλεί-

§ 4 στων καὶ καλλίστων κύριος είη πράξεων. ώστε οὐ δείν τὸν δυνάμενον ἄρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον άφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παΐδας πατρός μήθ όλως φίλου φίλου μηδένα ύπολογίζειν μηδέ πρός 40 τούτο Φροντίζειν το γάρ άριστον αίρετώτατον, το δ εὐ πράττειν άριστου. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν άληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν, εἴπερ ὑπάρ-4 1325 Ε Εί τοις αποστερούσι και βιαζομένοις το των όντων αίρετώ-

§ 5 τατον· άλλ' ἴσως οὐχ οἶόν τε ὑπάρχειν, άλλ' ὑποτίθενται (ν. 100) τούτο ψεύδος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις ἐνδέχεται είναι τώ μη διαφέρουτι τοσούτον όσον ανήρ γυναικός ή πατήρ 5 τέκνων ή δεσπότης δούλων ώστε ο παραβαίνων ούδεν αν τηλικούτον κατορθώσειεν ύστερον όσον ήδη παρεκβέβηκε της άρετης. τοις γάρ όμοιοις τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῶ

§ 6 < έν> μέρει, τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσον καὶ ὅμοιον· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἴσον τοῖς ἴσοις 36 δείν Susem., δεί II Bk. Susem. in the text | 39 ύπολογίζειν Bas.3, ύπολογείν Sb Bk.. ὑπολογιεῶν M* P1-2-2-4-5 Vb Ald. Susem. 1 in the text, ὑπόλογ < ον ἔχ> εω or ὑπόλογον ποιείσθαι Madvig | Kornes proposed either (1) to bracket μηδέ πρὸς τοῦτο

φραντίζειν, or to alter to (2) μηθέν, οτ (3) μηδέν πρό τούτου φραντίζειν | 1325 b 3 ψείδος untranslated by William, [ψεύδος] Susem.1, ψευδώς? Casaubon [8 < év > Thurot

34 ταχ' ἄν ύπολάβοι τις] 'Some one might imagine that, if these conclusions are laid down, universal sovereignty is the highest good.' This further inference is not at all easy to justify: it is fairly dragged in by force. SUSEM. (738)

§ 4 Development of this extreme view, that, as the practical life implies the possession of power, the more power the

37 παριέναι = to surrender, sc. τδ αρχειν, III. 14 § 13. αφαιρεῖσθαι = to deprive another (state or ruler) of empire, Dem. VIII. De Chers. § 42, p. 100, 7, Exert

άφελέσθαι. 38 πατέρα παίδων κτλ] Plutarch, Demetrios c. 3, p. 890 B, complains that the Diadochi sacrificed every natural tie to

1 bindochi security in the control of their lust for empire.

30 ὑπολογίζαν] This verb, if indeed it be right, is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον in Aristotle, though found in Plato and Demosthenes. 41 forus] 'perhaps,' conforming to Aristotle's own dictum Rhet. II. 13 § 2,

1380 b 18 αμφισβητούντες προστιθέασιν del ro lows sal raya. But in b 2 it con-

ceals a very positive opinion under a cautious formula.

§ 5 1325 b 3 τὰς πράξεις] The actions of one who has obtained power by violence (ἀποστερών και βιαζόμενος).

4 δσον άνηρ...5 δούλων] These three species of domestic relations, and of household rule based upon them, are taken as the prototypes of all rule, except where it is government of equals by equals and so alternates with obedience. See I. 12 § 1 f. and Nic. Eth. vIII.

c. 11 (Eaton). Susem. (739) 5 δ παραβαίνων] An Archelaos or a Napoleon.

6 κατορθώσεων] would perform a right action: rectum faciat. This use of the verh, as opposed to παρεκβαίνειν, may be easily understood from Nic. Eth. II. 5 § 12, 1106 b 26, ή μèν ὑπερβολή ἀμαρτάνεται τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐπαινεῖται καὶ κατορθοῦται, and in its turn led up to the Stoic use of κατόρθωμα as a technical term.

§ 6 8 το δε μη Ισον...παρά φύσιν] Ср. III. 16 §§ 2—4 п. (672), П. 2 § 6 п.

(134 b). SUSEM. (740)

καὶ τὸ μὴ ὅμοιον τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν (ΙΙΙ) το παρά φύσεν καλόν. διὸ κάν άλλος τις ή κρείττων κατ άρετην καὶ κατά δύναμων την πρακτικήν των άρίστων, τούτω § τ καλὸν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τούτω πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνου άρετην άλλα και δύναμιν υπάρχειν, καθ ήν έσται πρακτικός. άλλ' εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλώς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τ 15 εὐπραγίαν θετέου, καὶ κοινῆ πάσης πόλεως αν εἴη καὶ καθ' §8 εκαστον άριστος βίος ὁ πρακτικός. αλλά τὸν πρακτικὸν οὐκ άναγκαῖον είναι πρὸς έτέρους, καθάπερ οἴονταί τινες, οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας είναι μόνας ταύτας πρακτικάς τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γινομένας έκ τοῦ πράττειν, άλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλ-

20 λου τας αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἔνεκεν θεωρίας καὶ δια-18 είναι after μόνας P1, after ταύτας Γ | 20 αθτών Vettori, αύτών ΓΠ | διανοήσεις...21 μάλιστα] Should this be διανοήσεις ή...πράξις τίς. μάλιστα?

το διὸ κῶν ἄλλος τις] Το the genuine Aristotle this proposition holds provided only that the one great citizen is superior in virtue to all combined, not (as is here expressed) to each individual: see III. 13

§§ 13—25, c. 17. SUSEM. (741) § 7 12 δεί δ' ου μόνον κτλ] "He must have not only the virtue but the force to develope his activity fully " (without transgressing virtue). This is only possible in the best state : see III. 13 \$\infty\$ 24, 25; also n. (677) and Introd. p. 44-Susem. (742)

14 raura] That while the life of freedom is preferable to that of rule over unwilling subjects, βίος δεσποτικός, § 1, yet the life of action is preferable to that

of inaction § 3 (which however does not imply that conquest or grasping at sovereignty is unconditionally desirable §§ 4

16 δ πρακτικός] So far as the individual is concerned, comp. Nic. Eth. x. 8 § 8, 1178 b 32, εξη αν ή εύδαιμονία θεωρία τις, 7 § 9, 1178 a 7, οδτος άρα (sc. ό κατά τον νοῦν βίος) καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος δευτέρως δ' ο κατά την άλλην άρετην. But the

qualifications introduced in § 8 seriously

impair the comparison.

§ 8 "But the practical life need not mean a life in relation to others, as some suppose, nor those intellectual acts alone be practical which are done for the sake of certain external results of the action: on the contrary the self-contained speculations and processes of the intellect are far more truly practical." By rues we should naturally understand Plate: but the cap better fits Aristotle himself, Nic.

Eth. x. 7 § 4, 1177 a 30, ὁ μὲν δίκαιος δείται πρός ούς δικαιοπραγήσει και μεθ' ών, § 7, αδται, sc αί πολιτικαί πράξεις, άσχολοι και τέλους τινός έφιενται και οὐ δι' αὐτάς αίρεται είσιν. Eaton compares Rep. IV 443 D where justice is expounded to be harmonious activity of all the parts of man, and therefore internal, wepl the evros ώς άληθώς περί έαυτον και τὰ έαυτοῦ $[\pi \rho \hat{a} \{\omega\}]$

20 τας αύτοτελείς...διανοήσεις] This can only mean theoretical or purely scientific thinking; Ed. Müller's uncertainty on this point is the chief defect in his whole exposition, which hinders him from arriving at any really tenable result and is the cause of many errors. Cp. Nic. Eth. X.7 § 5, 1177 b 1 οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, sc. τῆς θεωρητικής, γίνεται παρά τό θεωρήσαι, άπὸ δὲ των πρακτικών ή πλείου ή Ελαττον περιποι-ούμεθα παρά την πράξεν. Upon Aristotle's view two things must be distinguished in every activity, the end and the means; theoretical activity differs from practical and creative activity (see n. 34) in this respect, that in the former internal activity is a self-contained end, while in practical activity the end lies in the act produced by it, which affects some external person, and in the creative activity of art the end is the work or result produced. 'See De Cado II. 12 89, 292 b 6, ή πράξες έστιν άει έν δυσίν, δταν και οδ ένεκα ή, και τὸ τούτου ένεκα, Nic. Eth. VI. cc. 2-5, De Anima III. c. 9' (Eaton): Zeller op. c. II. ii. p. 177 f. If al auroreheis bewolau kal biavohous are the most truly practical, the supporters of the

view that the intellectual life is to be

νοήσεις. ή γάρ εὐπραξία τέλος, ώστε καὶ πράξίς τις μά- (ΙΙΙ) λιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν ε 9 πράξεων τους ταις διανοίαις αργιτέκτονας, άλλα μην ουδ' άπρακτείν αναγκαίου τὰς καθ' αύτὰς πόλεις ίδουμένας καὶ 25 ζην ούτω προηρημένας ενδέχεται γάρ κατά μέρη καὶ τοῦτο 6 συμβαίνειν· πολλαί γάρ κοινωνίαι πρός άλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι

§ 10 της πόλεως εἰσίν. ομοίως δὲ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ἐνὸς ότουοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχολή γὰρ ἀν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καί πας ο κόσμος, οίς ούκ είσιν έξωτερικαί πράξεις παρά 30 τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν.

21 μάλιστα...23 ἀρχιτέκτονας cited by Julian ep. ad Themist. p. 263 D || 22 καὶ

preferred to that of the statesman are unconditionally right, nor can we see how far the writer thinks he is mediating between them and their opponents. He would have done so in orthodox Aristotelian fashion only by adding that man must exercise not only his intellectual, but also his moral, powers: that he is an integral part of the whole formed by the state, and not a god, I. 2 §§ 11, 12. That consequently, although it is life in the state which alone renders possible an assured scientific activity itself, yet it may well be permitted to individual men to be active for science primarily, and for the state only secon-darily and in the fulfilment of the most general duties of a citizen. That at the same time there must be others who find their real satisfaction in the activity of the statesman and consequently adopt the opposite procedure: while a symmetrical combination of excellence in both will be the highest, and for that reason certainly the least common. See c. 14 §§ 7-11, n. (906), also nn. (717, 1024) and Introd.

p. 48, p. 50 ff. SUSEM. (743) 21 ή γάρ εὐπραξία τέλος] Comp. c. 1. § 11 n. (708). SUSEM. (744)

§ 9 23 άλλα μήν...28 ότουοῦν τῶν ἀν-θρώπων] 'However even for states placed by themselves and determined upon an isolated life there is no necessity for inaction: activity is still possible to them in sections. for the various sections of the city have many ways of associating. And in the same way this is true of each individual man.' What was recalled to mind in n. (717) is true here also. The comparison is not suitable; for neither is the internal administration of the state a theoretical activity, but rather it is practical or partly practical, partly creative (see nn. 34, 743); while in the case of the individual man every activity (except the theoretical) is always finally directed to others. Even on the doctrine of Plato (Zeller Plato p. 451 ff. Eng. tr.), no less than of Aristotle, the individual's moral virtue is primarily a mutual relation of the parts of his soul, the rational soul and that which has to be subjected to the guidance of reason (see nn. 41, 112). Yet its active exercise is for the most part possible only in intercourse with others. Susem. (745)

28 6 8eds] Sec n. (705) on c. 1 § 10,

n. (736). Susem. (746)

29 πας 6 κόσμος] An activity and happiness of the universe cannot, strictly speaking, be in question on the orthodox doctrine of Aristotle, as he combats the Platonic assumption of a World-soul. The world as a whole is only passively affected, i.e. God causes it to revolve round the earth, which is at rest, in 24 hours: or precisely stated, this passive affection belongs to the rest of the universe, the earth alone being exempt. All other motions and activities, affections and changes, belong to the several beings inside the universe. See Zeller II. ii. pp. 374 ff. 450, 462 ff. And though comprehending all this in its harmonious arrangement we may call it, in a metaphorical sense, the activity of the universe, or even say that the world has its wellbeing in this harmoniously ordered activity, yet considered as an analogy to the internal administration of the state this is more halting than the last (n. 745). For it is intended to prove that the highest happiness of the individual man lies in purely internal or theoretical

ότι μέν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἄριστον (ΙΙΙ) 32 εκάστω τε των ανθρώπων καὶ κοινή ταις πόλεσι καὶ τοις ανθρώ-4 ποις, φανερον έστίν έπει δε πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα περί ΙΥ αυτών και περί τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμιν τεθεώρηται πρό- (ρ. 101)

34 [καl...πρότερον] Spengel Bk. 2 Susem. 1 See on 1324 a 13

activity: hence the whole analogy has no meaning unless the wellbeing of the universe (ἔχειν καλῶs) is exactly idenuniverse (exer karas) is exactly inter-tical with its happiness (eibaquarea). Yet happiness can only be predicated of a single thinking self-conscious subject, so that if the collective personality of the state may be said to be happy, a world without a world can. without a world-soul scarcely can. At least, this can hardly be without extraordinary misuse of the term, which I cannot bring myself to attribute to Aristotle. Susem. (747)

32 και τοις ανθρώποις] This somewhat objectionable phrase I once believed, as others have done, to be a later addition. Now however I simply set it down to the interpolator of the entire section, cc. 2, 3, as one more proof of inter-

polation. Susem. (748) c. 4 § 1 34 καλ περίτας άλλας πολι-τείας] By "other forms of government" were formerly understood all others except the perfect one, and the context which here gives the exact transition to the discussion of the latter, would scarcely permit of any other interpretation. Indeed if we assume that Aristotle himself wrote this as well as all the rest of the chapter, from dρχή τῶν λαιπῶν onwards, the "other forms of government" can scarcely be understood except as in direct antithesis to the "state to be constituted according to an ideal," τῆς μελλούσης κατ' εύχην συνεστάναι πόλεως (cp. Diebitsch's excellent remarks, p. 8 f., in opposition to Teichmüller). But then these words would prove that the tra-ditional order of the books is the correct one. Yet the whole of \$\mathbb{S}\$ 1, 2 is merely a recapitulation of the contents of the first three chapters, and it is only as such that it has any meaning and connexion, as Spengel, *Utber die Politik* p. 26 f., has incontrovertibly proved. The only sensible explanation is this: "After disposing of the necessary introductory questions regarding the best state, we must discuss this best state itself, and must treat first of its external and then

32 [καὶ τοῖε ἀνθρώποις] Κοταes followed by Spengel Bk.2 Susem.1, but see Comm. n. (739) | 33 [περὶ αὐτῶν] Schneider, περὶ τούτων ? Nickes, perhaps rightly |

> of its internal requirements." Thus the intermediate reference to other forms of government (whether the discussion of them has preceded or not) is out of place here and breaks the connexion. Therefore Spengel pronounced the words in question και περί τὰς άλλας...πρότερον to be an interpolation, and he was followed among others by Susemihl.* But when Hildenbrand p. 363 f. and Teichmüller (*Philologus* XVI. p. 164 ff.) pronounced "the other forms of government" to refer rather to the other model polities or at least those which are claimed as such, which have been already criticised in the Second Book, as distinguished from the true Aristotelian model state, Spengel gave his adhesion to this view. Yet even if the reference back to these is less injurious to the proposed connexion, still it is an inadmissible interruption, and would have to be set aside as an interpolation by another hand, besides that for the reasons previously stated it is only the former explanation of them, as referring to all other states except the perfect state, which appears possible. But the case is entirely different, if cc. 2, 3 are the work of an interpolator, who must then also be the author of c. 4 § 1 as far as πρότερον. We need then only add this new piece of awkwardness to the rest of his sins, and we shall have after all to decide in favour of the latter interpretation, that the words do refer to B. II., since the interpolator has tacked his composition on to the first chapter, the first sentence of which is immediately connected with the end of Book III., so that, as we have already stated, Introd. p. 48, he either found or made a redaction, which contained the books in the right order. At any rate this is the simplest explanation; we should otherwise have to assume that these words had been afterwards interpolated into his interpolation by a third person, who must already have been acquainted with the order of the

> > * In Fahrl. f. Philol. Ct. 1870, p. 350.

35 τερου,] άρχη των λοιπών είπειν πρώτον ποίας τινάς δεί τάς ύπο- (IV) θέσεις είναι περί της μελλούσης κατ' εύγην συνεστάναι πόλεως.

ε 2 ου γάρ οδόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι την αρίστην άνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλὰ προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ 30 εὐχομένους, είναι μέντοι μηδέν τούτων ἀδύνατον. λέγω δέ 8 3 οίου περί τε πλήθους πολιτών καὶ χώρας. ώσπερ γὰρ καὶ 2 1326 2 τοις άλλοις δημιουργοίς, οίον ύφάντη και ναυπηγώ, δεί την ύλην υπάργειν επιτηδείαν ουσαν πρός την εργασίαν (όσω γάρ αν αύτη τυγγάνη παρεσκευασμένη βέλτιον, ανάγκη καὶ τὸ γενόμε-

νον ύπὸ τῆς τέχνης είναι κάλλιον), ούτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ 5 τῶ νομοθέτη δεῖ τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσαν. έστι δὲ πολιτικής χορηγίας πρώτον τό τε πλήθος τών αν-

θρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὑπάρχειν δεῖ φύσει, καὶ κατὰ την χώραν ώσαύτως, πόσην τε είναι καὶ ποίαν τινά ταύτην.

οίονται μέν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι προσήκειν μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν 3 10 εὐδαίμονα πόλιν εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές, ἀγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ 35 [τῶν λοιπῶν] Spengel. See Comm. n. (749). If these words take up the sen-

tence 1323 b 37 άλλά γάρ ταῦτα μέν...1324 a 4 παθόμενος, we should expect ἀργὰ <δέ> τῶν λοιπῶν | 36 περὶ omitted by M*, [περί] Susem.1.2, perhaps rightly | 37 γενήσεσθαι Susem. 1-2, fore William, γίνεσθαι ? Susem. | 38 προϋποτίθεσθαι Sylburg Susem.1-8, praesupponi William, probably right, unless we should write 30 evyouévois, as Sylburg suggested

1326 a 3 αὐτὴ Π2P6 Bk. | 4 κάλλιον] βέλτιον Μ* | 7 [κατὰ] Spengel, <τὰ> κατά? Schmidt correctly, if any change is needed | 8 πόσην Sylburg, δσην Π Bk.1

Susem.1 in the text books, in which they have come down to us. If we omit c. 2-c. 4 § 1, άρχη τῶν λοιπών κτλ naturally follows upon c. 1. But if it be objected that even c. 1 in its present form could hardly have made part of this work in Aristotle's own intention (see nn. 687, 712), we must observe that it is easy to give to what follows, άρχη τῶν λοιπῶν κτλ, a place immediately after the end of Book III. without the slightest disturbance or deficiency of meaning, if only we give the last un-finished sentence of B. III. to B. IV(VII). -as has been done-and then get rid of it with the rest of c. I. of B. IV(VII). and at the same time treat the words run λοιπών in § 1 as the interpolator's addition. We should then translate here: "Our beginning is a statement of the necessary external conditions &c." Susem. (749) Ćp. II. I § 2, I260 b 36, άρχην δὲ πρώτου ποιητέου, η περ πέφικευ άρχη ταύτης της σκέψεως.

c. 4 \$\frac{1}{2} 2-14, cc. 5-7: περί τε πλή-θους πολιτών καλ χώρας. With this compare generally Plato Laur IV. \$ 2 38 xopnyias] See n. on 1. 6

3, 1255 α 14. διό δεῖ πολλά κτλ] Cp. 11. 6 § 7 n. (202): also II. I § I, n. (128) and the references there collected. SUSEM. (760) § 3 40 ώσπερ γάρ κτλ] The analogy was used I. 10 §§ 1, 2.

§ 4 Under the external means required for a city comes first the mass of the population: how many ought they to be? and of what natural character? So likewise in regard to the territory; how large

and of what nature ought this to be? The proper number of the inhabitants is discussed in §§ 4-14: their race and mental characteristics in c. 7.

The size of the ideal city: c. 4 §§ 4—14-1326 a 10 ποία μεγάλη] With §§ 4—6 6 compare Pl. Rep. IV. 423 Β: ἔως ἀν ἡ πόλις σοι οἰκῆ σωφράνως ὡς ἄρτι ἐτάχθη,

8 ποια μικρά πόλικ. κατ ἀριθμού γὰρ πλήθος τῶν ἐνοικούντον κρί-(IV) νουστ τὴν μεγάλην, δεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον μη ἐξι τὸ πλήθος εἰς δὲ δύναμν ἀποβλέπειν. ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργικ, ἄστι τὴν δυναμν ἀποβλέπειν. ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργικ, ἄστι τὴν δυναμμένην τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀποτελείν, ταίτην οἰντέον ἐίναι μεγίστην, το slow Ἰπποκράτην οἰν ἀθροπου ἀλλί ἰπτρὸυ ἐνοια μείξω φήσειξε εν ἀν τις τοῦ διαφέρουντος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σύματος. οὐ α μηλι ἀλλά καὶ εἰ δὲ ερίνειν πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἀποβλέποντας, οἱ κατὰ τὸ τυχὸυ πλήθος τοῦτο οἰντέου (ἀσυγκαίου γὰρ ἴσος ἐν ταῖς πόλεων ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμού πόλλοῦν οκαὶ μετοκου καὶ ἐξινών), ἀλλί ἀσοι μέρος ἐσὶ πόλεως καὶ ἐξί ἐν συνίσταται πόλες οἰκείων μερών ἡ γιὸρ τούτων ὑπεροχη τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως σημείου, ἐξί ἢς δὲ βάναυσοι μέν ἐξέρχονται πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμού ἀπλέται δὲ δλέγος, ξι ποι ταίτην ἀδύνατον εἰναι μεγάλην. οἱ γαρ ταίτην μεγάλη τε ξε πόλεος, οἱ μηλ λόλ καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐκ τῶν s

11 who added by Γ Mr Ar., omitted by all other authorities and Bit. || 1 at δ δ ||
δ Mr fer preferred by Thurot, but such variations should be noted without correction.

The passage supports R. Schöll's conjecture at 1252 a 2s, <slor> c forms || 1 s, δ dyregion omitted by Π', (σθγενία) Susem.', perhaps rightly || 18 resyrter Camerarius Bit', βραντίαν β Schmitt || I teru after τ γ νθεων Π' P Bit. || 10 set μέραν τίθενα spaparently Γ, νόλια ένα μέραν Πέρα Βit' β Bit. || 11 μέραν πέραν αφορά μέρα δ β Bit. || 11 μέραν Πέρα Βit' β Bit. || 12 κρί μέρα δ β Bit. || 11 μέραν Π' P Bit. || 11 μέρα

26 έργων φανερον ότι χαλεπόν, ίσως δ' αδύνατον εύνομεῖσθαι

nephy ferm, or 'ψ oblowagin' Nya, ΔiV, or 'd vybo' nepher, or die niew 'ğ χλlus' vin 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto iko 'd vin 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto 'd vin 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto 'd vin 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto 'd vin 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pinto 'y newlogade'ne (Editol). Pint

86. I ols ent sauge et 'Anobegoene M'.

15 'Throughdrup! We have no certain information concerning the life of this most renowned of Greek physicians, who flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Of the numerous works bearing his name that have been handed down to us, the only genuine ones are the excellent descriptions of diseases, which

constitute the first and third books of the 'Epidemics,' the no less excellent little work 'On the influence of air, water and locality,' and perhaps 'On the origin and cure of diseases,' and the fragment 'On wounds in the head.' Still these are enough to prove the ability of the man, who is rightly called the Father of Medicine. Sutsem. (752)

CINE. SUSEM. (1992)
§6 18 kard τό τυχόν πλήθος] 'We must not estimate it by the mass of any and every sort of people.' Comp. c. 8 §8 n. (804) and vIII(V). 3 § 11 ώστερ γλο οδό & κε νοῦ τοῦς στο πλήθου πόλια γίμεται οῦται στὸῦ ὁ τηῦ τυχόντι χρόνφ n. (1531 b). SUSEM. (1993)

20 όσοι μέρος...21 μερών] 'but only count those who form an integral part of a city or the parts of which it properly consists': see cc. 8, 9. SUSEM. (754)
21 τούτων depends on πλήθως.

21 τοντων depends on πλήθους.
23 δπλίται] Of course the soldiers are here mentioned only to exemplify the organic members of the city generally.

SUSEM. (755) § 7 26 χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ' άδύνατον] τήν λίαν τολινάνθρωπου. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν πολιτεύεσθαι (IV) καλῶς οὐδεμιν ρῶμεν οὐσαν ἀνειμένην πρὸς το πλήθος.
§8 τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον καὶ ἐα τὴς τῶν λόγων πίστεκς. ὅ τε γὰρ
30 νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι, καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἰταξίαν
εἶναι, ὁ δὲ λίαν ὑπερβάλλων ἀριθμὸς οὐ δύναται μετέχειν
τάξεως θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυναμέως ἐργου, ἦτις καὶ τόδε
στυέχει τὸ πῶν. ἐκὰ τὸ γε καλὰν ἐν κλήθι καὶ μηθία
9 ἀκὸ ἡνοκθα. δὰ καὶ πόλιν ἢς μετὰ μεγέθους ὁ λεχθείς
35 ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλύστην ἀναγκαῖον, <ἐπὲ τὸ γε
<παλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι.» ἀλλ. ἔστι 6
5τι καὶ πόλεως μετροι, ἀστερ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων πάν-
\$10 του, ζώων φυτῶν ὀργάνων καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἔκαστον οὕτε λίαν
μικρὸν οὐτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλου ἔξει τὴν αὐτοῦ δύνα-
μικ, ἀλλ. ὁτὲ μὲῦ δῶκς ἐστερημέκον ἔστα τῆς ψόσεως ὁτὰ

γελος τὸτ ἡμὲ δῶκς ἐστερημέκον ἔστα τῆς ψόσεως ὁτὰ

γελος τὸτ ἡμὲν δῶκς ἐστερημέκον ἔστα τῆς ψόσεως ὁτὰ

καλος τὸτ
καλος ἐνερθικον ἔτα της ψόσεως ὁτὰ

καλος ἐνερθικον ἐνα

καλος ἐνερθικον ἐνερθος ὑπὸς

καλος ἐνερθικον ἐνερθος ὑπος

καλος

καλος ἐνερθικος

καλος

καλος

29 r omitted by M°Fl, very likely by T, penhaps rightly, [rq] Sussm. 1 g 3 tent.

3. 4 sheefast transposed by Röcker to follow g 4 separation. See, 9.5; Schneider,
who first saw the difficulty, proposed to transpose the whole clause or to bracket &
who first saw the difficulty, proposed to transpose the whole clause or to bracket &
white and 1 nd 7-40 d nd and g 160 K forces 1 g a. 7 mcDay ribar P1 H and P² first
hand) 1 f Koness, most likely right 1 g 5 whore IP P² Bic, civitati Ar. 1 g 8
emin F P² a create B F IP

Sparta and the small Cretan cities were the typical instances of osequie. Synacsas, and to a less degree Athens, of the opposite. Yet Carthage is praised for opposite, but Carthage is praised for 11 § 17, a. The most populous cities of the Hellenie word in the fourth century were the two already named. Syracus was have had in its territory Socono, the numbers given for Acragas Dieg. The companies of the contract of the contrac

§ 8 30 vópos rafge rus] And mohréda = rátis rus ή repl rãs épciés, so that this vague notion of system or arrangement does not tell us much. Editors compare Pl. Gorg. 503 E fl. esp. 504 D rais δέ δη τῆς ψυχῆς τάξεσι καὶ κοσμήσεσι (δυομα) σήμιου τε καὶ τόμοσ:

32 blas yap...33 rð mæl) "for this is a task for divine power, such as holds this whole world tegether." And this although Aristotle makes the whole activity of the deity consist in pure thought, reviewer rönges, thought thinking upon itself. For God is not only the highest and ultimate

formal and final cause, but also the highest and ultimate moving cause: see sep. Meta. XII. (Δ) 7 8, 6, 1072 b 13 &π τουπίτης δρα φόσεων ήμητηται ὁ οἰροιὰν καὶ ἡ ψόσεις 8 8 19, 1074 b 3 παρα δέδοται παρά τῶν ἀρχαίων ὅτι...περάχει τὸ δεῶν τὴν ὁλην φόσων. SUSEM. (Τῶν δεῶν τὴν ὁλην φόσων. SUSEM.) (Τῶν δεῶν τὴν ὁλην φόσων. SUSEM.) (Τῶν δεῶν τὴν οἰροιὰνοῦς του δεῶν τὸν οἰροιὰνοῦς του δεῶν τὸν οἰκοιὰνοῦς του δεῶν τὸν οἰροιὰνοῦς του δεῶν του δεῶν οἰροιὰνοῦς του δεῶν του δεῶν

σεσσται παρα των αρχαίων στι...περιέχει το θεώσε την δλην φόντυ. SUSEM. (766) § 9 34 ής μετά μεγέθους κτλ] 'which has the definition here given, 'i.e. εὐταξία, 'combined with a certain size,' ἐπὶ τό γε καλὸν κτλ 'since beauty is usually found

to despend on number and magnitude. Comp. Pater, T 88, S_1 , 1540 b 34 fer δ Comp. Pater, T 88, S_1 , 1540 b 34 fer δ Comp. Pater, T 80 fer δ 15 fer δ 16 fer

Plato Phileb. 64 D, μετριότης γάρ καὶ

ξυμμετρία κάλλος δήποτε. § 10 39 ἐστερημένον κτλ] 'robbed of its true nature,' i.e. deprayed, like the 40 δὲ φαίλως ἔχου, οἶου πλοῖου σπιθαμιαῖου μὰν οὐκ ἔσται (IV)
πλοῖου ὅλος, οιδὲ δυοῖι σταδίου, εἰς δὲ τὶ μέγεθος ἐλθω ἀτὰ
κεὸ μὰν διὰ σμικρότητα φαίλην ποιήσει τὴν ναυτιλίαν, ότὲ δὲ
811 διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολην ὁμοῖος δὲ καὶ πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐξ ὀλιγωντ
λίαν οὐκ αντάρκης (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐταρκης, ἡ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀγαν ἐν μὰν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις αὐτάρκης, ἀστερ ἔθνος, ἀλλ'
5 οὐ πόλις πολιπείαν γὰρ οἱ ῥάδιου ὑπάρχεων τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλουτος πλήθοις, ἡ τῖς κῆρυξ μὴ
Σταντόρειος; διὰ πρώτην μὰν εἶναι πόλιν ἀναγκαΐου τὴν ἐκ
τοσούτου πλήθους ὁ πρώτον πλήθος αὐταρκες πρὸς τὸ ζῆν
εὐ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίων ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ τὴν
το ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλήθος κίναι [μείζο] πόλιν,
812 ἀλλὰ τοῦτ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄσπερ εἶπομεν, ἀόριστου. τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ
τῆς ὑπερβάλλης δρος, ἐκ τῶν ἐργων ιδεῦν μόδιου. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἰ
πράξεις τῆς πόλικος τῶν μὲν ἀργαστων τῶν ἀ ἀργονένων,

15 περί των δικαίων και προς το τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ 1306 b 3 h δε πόλιε αίτπρικει omitted by P^{1,5} II⁵ Ar. || 4 μtr after του P^{2,5,4} S³ V. Bk. || αίττάριτη, <αίττάριτη δε ώστερ εθνω or αίττάριτη, άστερ <δε > εθνω Jack-

son, perhaps rightly || 5 πολιτιθαν| πολ. Po^{2,3}, πολίτην S⁵V⁵ || 8 ξήν after 9 e²
Π³ P⁵Bk. || 10 [μαξω] Schneider Bk.² Schnidt would transpose thus: μαξω ταύτηι
<πα!>. Presumably μαξω is a variant or gloss upon ψτερβάλλουταν κατά πλήθος

διεφθαρμένα of I. 5 § 5 (cp. I. 2 § 13 n. 28),
'or stunted,' in poor condition.

40 πλοίον σπιθαμιαίον | A boat a span

long.

4 oikl kusiv staklau) nor yet a doat
two furlongs long: comp. Foet. 7 § 9,
14,51 2, 30e et pupins stakins eth zione.
§ 11 1376 b 2 spolus kl kal milus
7 star 1 1376 b 2 spolus kl kal milus
7 star 1 tuftyon kal solució trificos.

i star 1 tuftyon kal solució trificos.

autoporte prácescy ofer 7 ple to klea sipémus ylvor' ks toka, oby' st. člea pupinčou tr. máx stor star (con 1).

(758)
3 αὐταρκες] Sec I. 2 § 12 n. (21),
also n. (136), III. I § 12 (447), 9 § 14
(560), IV(VII). 5 § I (764), 8 § 8 (804).
SUSEM. (759)

4 αὐτάρκης, ώσπερ ἔθνος, ἀλλ' οὐ πάλις] See n. (11) and H. 2 § 3 n. (132). SUSEM. (760)

5 οδ βάδιον] The larger the city or canton state becomes, the more difficult is the working of the constitution. Babylon, like all Peloponnesus (II. 6 § 6, III.

3 § s), has passed the limits within which civic unity is possible. Such an overgrown city or cannon-state must be treated as an elver: or possibly that is what he contemplates in III. 14 § 1 (who as an elver or possibly that is what he seemed almost insoluble was solved by events, as the federal system became developed; the Achacan league, an élver, included for a while all Peloponnessus in included for a while all Peloponnessus in

mentice in white an ecoponic as an political unity, Polyb. It. 37. II.

7 πρώτην] primitive, earliest as h 8 πρώτον. The term is applied to okea, κόμω 1. 2 § 5. So in the definition De Anima II. 1 § 6, 412 b 5, πρώτη ἐντελέ-

χεια σόματος φιστικοῦ δέγνατικοῦ. \$12 14 ἐπτίταξε καὶ κρίστε] Cp. VI(V), 15 \$4, μόλατα δ΄ δερχὰ Νεκτάν ταίτας δοια ἀποδόδοται βουδοτίσποδα το περὶ τοῦν καὶ ερίνει καὶ ἐπτιτέξεια, καὶ μόλατα τοῦν τὸ τὸρ ἐπτίτατικ δρχοιότατον ἐπτίν, τι. (1340 b). SUSEM. (761) Similarly Pl. Politicus σὸ σρ. συμπότην τῆς γραστικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐπτιακτικόν μέρος, τὸ ἐξ κατικός.

πραζεις της πολεως των μεν αρχουτών των ο αρχομένων, § 13 άρχουτος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις ἔργον πρὸς δὲ τὸ κρίνειν (P. 103)

αξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γρωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς (IV) πολίτας, ἀς ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίμεσθαι ἡ φαίλως κότορης γίμεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις. 19 περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν 814 τῆ πολιουθροπία τῆ λίαν ὑπάρχει φαικρῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις κ καὶ μετοίκοις ῥάδιον μεταλιμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας οὐ γὰρ χαλεπὸν τὸ λαυθάνειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβαλὴν τοῦ πλήθους. ὅῆλον τοίντι ἀς οὐτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος ἀριστος, ἡ μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολλη πόρο ἀντάρκεια ζώης ἐσὐτονοπος.

5 περὶ μὲν οὖν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω τον τρόπου τοῦν το τον παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περὶ V μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλου ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πᾶς τις ἀν ἐπαινέσειεν (τοιαίτην δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἰναι τὴν παυτοφόρου τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχεω καὶ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς σο ἀνταρκες) πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτην ὥστε δύνασθαι τοὶς οἰκοῦντας δὴν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἤμα καὶ σω-

on robustfourtie [7] robustfourtie Sussen, jour saide multiroum hominum William I a 3 (reflexed) Springel, fon \sim 17 m privrys Schneider, toth unnecessarily 1 as free a clipstifyre IP (corr.) and P0 is late hand), a gloss from 1327a 3 | 3 for a omitted by P2 for 3 m privred P3. Springel, robe < 6 file are P3 privred < 6.75 Springel, robe < 6 file are P3 privred < 6.75 Scalinger, that the file are P3 privred < 6.75 Scalinger, that the P3 privred < 6.75 Scalinger, that < 6 file < 7 m privred < 6.75 Scalinger, that < 6 m instrint

§ 13 17 ως όπου...18 κρίσεις] τοθτο= το γνωρίζειν άλλήλους. A genuine Athenian sentiment; not only does Plato's judgment agree with this (Laws V. 738 E, δπως άν φιλοφοριώνται άλλήλους μετά θυσιών καί γνωρίζωσιν, ου μείζον ούδεν πόλει άγαθόν, ή γνωρίμους αύτους αυτοίς είναι. Επου γάρ μή φως άλληλοις έστιν άλληλων έν τοις τροποις άλλα σκότος, ούτ' αν τιμής τής άξιας ούτ' άρχῶν οθτεδίκης ποτέ τις ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης δρθώς τυγχάνοι), but Thucydides also remarks, VIII. 66 § 3, that during the reign of terror under the Four Hundred people were afraid to communicate their suspicions to one another διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως και την άλληλων άννωσίαν (Eaton). SUSEM. (762)

10 οδ δίκαιον αὐτοσχιδιάζεω) "it is not fair to pronounce off-hand." Knowing the ground of his objection to overpopalous cities, we can argue (as in a similar case previously, see on 111.5 § 5) that his own principles require him to withdraw it where increased facilities of communication have enabled men to sur-

mount this difficulty.

§ 14 23 1 µcylotty...24 εὐσύνοπτος]

"the largest excess of population which will promote independence of life and yet can be taken in at one view." The closely corresponds with the decision prenounced by Aristotle as to the proper length of a poem, and the size of a work of art generally, Piet. c. 7 § 10, 1451 a 3 2 8 3 1459 a 20f. 12 8 5, 1459 b 17 II. (Easton). Also c. 5 8 3 below with m. (768). SUSEM. (788)

c. 5 deals with the territory. It should be sufficient for the support of the inhabitants without external supplies, §§ 1, 2; compact and easily defensible, § 3; and with direct access to the sea, § 4.

§ 1 30 αὐταρκες] 'Independence' implies that the soil produces all the necessaries of life. See 1. 2 § 12 n. (21), and the references in n. (759). SUSEM. (764)

πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει] 'in extent and magnitude'; muchness and greatness are here nearly synonymous.

31 ξήν σχολάζοντας Cp. χώρας δεήσει τοϊς τοσούτοις έξ ής άργοι θρέψονται, II. 6 § 6 n. (201): δοκεί τε ή εὐδαιμονία έν τή § 2 φρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς λέγο- (V) μεν, υστερου επισκεπτέου ακριβέστερου, όταν όλως περί κτήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνη ποιείσθαι 35 μνείαν, πώς δεί καὶ τίνα τρόπου έγειν πρός την γρησιν

αὐτήν πολλαὶ γὸρ περὶ τὴν σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμφισβητήσεις διὰ τοὺς έλκοντας ἐφ' ἐκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τους μέν ἐπὶ τὴν γλισχρότητα τους δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυφήν.

τὸ δ' είδος τῆς χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν (δεῖ δ' ἔνια ε 40 πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις), ὅτι χρή μέν τοις πολεμίοις είναι δυσέμβολον αυτοις δ' ευέξοδον. 1327 1 έτι δ' ώσπερ τὸ πλήθος τὸ τών ἀνθρώπων έφαμεν εὐσύνο-

πτον είναι δείν, ούτω καὶ τὴν χώραν τὸ δ' εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐβοήθητου είναι την χώραν ἐστίν.

της δὲ πόλεως την θέσιν εἰ χρη ποιεῖν κατ' εὐχήν, πρός τε 5 την θάλατταν προσήκει κείσθαι καλώς πρός τε την χώραν. (p. 104) § 4 είς μεν ο λεχθείς όρος (δεί γάρ πρός τὰς ἐκβοηθείας κοινην είναι τών τόπων απάντων) ό δε λοιπός πρός τάς τών

32 τοῦτο L. Ar. Ald. | τον όρον omitted by H2 Ar. (supplied by corr. 3 in P2) | 38 την before γλισχρότητα omitted by P1.5 H3 | 41 μέν τοίς | τοίς μέν ? Susem. (cp. v. l. 1326 b 4)

of it.

1327 a 1 έφαμεν after εὐσύνοπτον Π⁹ P⁵Bk. | 6 μèν < οὖν > Schneider

σχολή είναι ασχολούμεθα γάρ ίνα σχολάζωμεν, Nic. Eth. x. 7. 6.

έλευθερίως αμα και σωφρόνως] "at once with liberality and temperance": cp. II. 6 § 8 n. (206), § q nn. (206 b, 207); also II. 7 § 7 n. (237 b), and VI(IV). 11 §§ 3, 4 n. (1290 b). SUSEM. (765)

§ 2 33 vortepov] An unfulfilled pros 2 33 vorters of the treatment of political economy. See Introd. p. 49 n. (4), 53 n. (6). Susem. (766) 36 αμφισβητήστας] 'For there are

many controversies on this subject; because of those who urge us to one or the other extreme in life, to parsimony on the one hand and to luxury on the other. Presumably written works are intended. 37 ὑπερβολήν] excess, extreme, as in

c. 1 § 5, 1323 a 38, VI(IV). 11 § 10 τὰs έναντίας ὑπερβολάς. Cp. c. 1 § 7, 1323 b 11, 11. 9 § 24 (ή δίαιτα ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν) and N. E. IV. 1 § 30, 1121 b 27 (ώνδμασται δ' άπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ μηδέν αν δούναι). § 3 41 τοις πολεμίοις...ενέξοδον] '2

difficult country for the enemy to invade, but easy for the citizens to quit.' Comp. C. 11 § 3 n. (848). SUSEM. (767)

1327 α 1 έφαμεν εύσύνοπτον είναι] See c. 4 § 14 n. (763). SUSEM. (768)

"We say of the territory, as we said of the population, that it should be such as can be taken in at one view; meaning thereby that reinforcements can easily be marched for the defence of every part

4 κατ εὐχήν] 'If we are to fix upon an ideal site': comp. n. (128): 'a position favourable for access to the sea and for communications by land is imperative. SUSEM. (769)

§ 4 6 els μεν ο λεχθελς όρος] "One defining principle," see n. on III. 0 § 1 "is that just mentioned": τὸ εἰβοήθητον εἶναι: "the city must be equally in communication with all parts of the country for defensive purposes." This is expanded c. 6 § 3, a 21-23. κοινήν είναι= facilem aditum habere ad omnes locos Bonitz Ind. Ar. s. v.

7 δ δὲ λοιπὸς] " And the other is that it should be easy of access (70 etrapaκόμιστον είναι την χώραν) for the conveyance of the produce of the soil as well as of material like timber, or any other similar material in which the country may

γινομένων καρπών παραπομπάς, ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ξύλα (V) ύλης, κάν εξ τινα άλλην εργασίαν ή χώρα τυγχάνοι 6 κεκτημένη τοιαύτην εύπαρακόμιστον. περί δὲ τῆς τι πρός την θάλατταν κοινωνίας, πότερον ώφέλιμος ταίς ε εθνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ή βλαβερά, πολλοί τυγχάνουσιν άμφισβητούντες τό τε γάρ ἐπιξενούσθαί τινας ἐν άλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορόν φασιν είναι πρός 15 την εύνομίαν, και την πολυανθρωπίαν γίνεσθαι μέν γάρ έκ του χρήσθαι τη θαλόσση διαπέμποντας και δενομένους έμπόρων πλήθος, ύπεναντίαν δ' είναι πρός το πολιτεύεσθαι § 2 καλώς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ 4 πρός ασφάλειαν και πρός ευπορίαν των αναγκαίων μετέγειν 20 την πόλιν καὶ της χώρας <καὶ> της θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον, ξ3 καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ράον φέρειν τοὺς πολέμους εὐβοηθήτους είναι δεί κατ' αμφότερα τούς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατά νῆν

8 The punctuation (a comma after παραπομπάs instead of a period, and no comma after 10 τοιαύτην) Jackson followed by Welldon | 0 τινγάνη Pl. τυγγάνει Pt St | 10 τοιαύτην before κεκτημένη M*P1, before ή χώρα Γ | [περλ...1327 b 18 τοῦτον] Broughton: see Comm. | 12 πολλοί Camerarius and possibly M5 P1 (1st hand); for

Ma has πολλ, i.e. πολλά or πολλοι and Pi has πολλ (with a written very small and apparently an erasure after it), πολλά ΓΠ2 P6 Bk. 1 P1 (corr.) and perhaps M6 1 14 είναι φασι Π2 PS Bk. | 17 ύπ' έναντίαν Με, ύπεναντίου P2 Ce | 20 την πόλιο omitted by Γ Mo | της χώρας < καl> Bojesen (see c. 5 § 3, c. 11 § 1), την χώραν ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem. in the text | 21 πολέμους Sylburg, πολεμίους ΓΠ Ar. Susem. 1 in the text

trade" (Welldon), κεκτήσθαι ξονασίαν τιpos = to have acquired a trade in any staple commodity. c. 6 The advantage and disadvantage

of proximity to the sea.

Comp. A. Lang Introductory Essays p. 71. Broughton maintains that c. 6 is not by Aristotle, but is wholly the work of some Peripatetic, which Apellikon or Andronikos first inserted in this place.

Andronikos inst inserted in ins place. Comp. n. (790), and on the other side nn. (881, 932). Susem. § 1 12 πολλοί τυγχάνουστε άμφισ-βητούτες] See Plato Lazor IV. 705 A. 706 ff.; cp. XII. 950. But in Aristotle's account of the opinions held by representatives of this view there are some things not to be found in Plato: accordingly it would seem that he has other writers also in view. At a later time Cicero 'is wholly in agreement' with such opinions, De Repub. II. c. 3 f. 'Aristotle looks at the question more impartially' (Oncken)

and really goes as far as it was possible for him to go with his narrow theories upon Political Economy. But of course even he was greatly hampered by them. See nn. (772, 774). SUSEM. (770) 13—18. Objections: (1) the con-

tinued residence of aliens brought up tunued residence of alients brought up under alien laws, and (s) the populousness of seaport-towns, are prejudicial to good government. See Laws 11., 700, 10.

15 sell rhy mohane/fourlar sc. deduption of the result of their traffic by sea. The participles of their traffic by sea. The participles are seen, as subject of griphen.

from these results. 20 "that the city should communi-cate both with the land and the sea." This sense seems certain from 25 dudo-

τέρων μετέχουσαν. § 3 21 depen To resist, bear the brunt of an attack.

καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τους ἐπιτιθεμέ-(V) 24 νους, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξαξει μάλλον αμφοτέρων μετέγουσιν. όσα τ' αν μη τυγγάνη παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γινομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν. γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οί δὲ παρέχουτες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πᾶσιν ἀγορὰν προσόδου ε 30 χάριν ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἡν δὲ μὴ δεῖ πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτήσθαι τοιοῦτον. § δ έπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχον<τα> καὶ χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν επίνεια καὶ λιμένας εὐφυώς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ώστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μήτε πόρρω λίαν, 35 άλλὰ κρατείσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις άλλοις ἐρύμασι, φανερου ώς εί μεν άγαθου τι συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι διά της κοινωνίας αὐτών, ὑπάρξει τῆ πόλει τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ (p. 105)

24 αλλ' εί II3, άλλά γε Schneider | 30 fp P2.2.4 Vb Ald. and apparently Ar. | 32 έπει δέ] έπειδή Π2 Ar., έπει δή Göttling | υπάρχοντα και Welldon, ὑπάρχοντα αὐτὸ τὸ Γ Ar. Susem.1.2, αὐτὸ τὸ after a lacuna P6 (1st hand), τὸ αὐτὸ (αὐτὰν P4) νέμειν other authorities and P5 (later hand). Either may be correct. Cp. Busse

23 και πρός το βλάψαι CD. c. 11 § 11 n. (855). Susem. (771) Also II. 6

24 κατά θάτερου] 'in one of the two ways, if both are at their command." (μετέχουσω dative plur, of the participle.) § 4 27 των άναγκαίων ἐστίν] Partitive genitive: 'is one amongst necessary conditions': so II. 11 § 10, 1273 a 33. This periphrasis enables Aristotle to avoid

the hiatus of ἐκπέμψασθαι ἀναγκαῖου. αύτή γαρ εμπορικήν κτλ] 'For it ought to carry on trade in its own interests exclusively and not for the advantage of others.' This dictum strikes at the root of free-trade legislation (Eaton). SUSEM.

Thirty years ago our other English

commentator Congreve uncompromisingly denonneed this dictum: "Any theory like this of Aristotle's-such as the mercantile and protective system of later times.—which aims at exclusiveness, is to be condemned as a direct attack on the real interests of mankind." Even now how large a part of civilized mankind is in Aristotle's position and fails to discern its real interests in this matter. H.

29 πασιν αγοράν] 'a universal mart.' This exactly describes the situation of Athens as the sole mart e.g. of corn from the Black Sea. Cp. Xen. De Vect. 3. 31 ούδ' ἐμπόριον] The ideal city is not

itself to be such a place of trade, nor is it to have a commercial seaport of this kind. § 5 32 ἐπὰ δὲ...33 ἐπίνεια] "This was the situation of Peiraeeus, Cenchreae,

Lechaion, Notion [cp. VIII(v). 3 § 15 ". 1541l. Nisaca, Pegae, Patrae, Argos" (Eaton). Susem. (773) 35 refxers] As the long walls con-

necting Peiraceus with Athens, Lechaion with Corinth, and Nisaea with Megara. 37 εί δέ τι βλαβερόν] "while any harm they may cause it is easy to guard against by prescribing and defining in the laws who are, and who are not, to enjoy mutual intercourse." Here then even Aristotle adopts the principles of Plato's policy in regard to the treatment of foreigners, Lana XII 950 ff., esp. 952 D-953 E (Eaton). SUSEM. (774) would exercise a strict surveillance on all who enter or leave the country; comp. n.

32

τι βλαβερόν, φυλάξασθαι ράδιον τοῖς νόμοις φράζοντας (V) 30 καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καὶ τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς § 6 άλλήλους. περί δὲ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, ὅτι μὲν 8

βέλτιστου υπάρχειν μέχρι τινός πλήθους, ουκ άδηλου (οὐ γὰρ 1227 δ μόνον αύτοις άλλα και των πλησίον τισι δεί και φοβερούς είναι καὶ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν, ώσπερ κατὰ γῆν, καὶ κατὰ § 7 θάλατταν): περί δὲ πλήθους ήδη καὶ μεγέθους τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης πρός του βίου αποσκεπτέου της πόλεως. εί μεν γάρ 5 ήγεμονικόν καὶ πολιτικόν ζήσεται βίου, αναγκαΐου καὶ ταύτην την δύναμιν υπάργειν πρός τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. την δέ πολυαυθοωπίαν την γινομένην περί τον ναυτικόν? όχλον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν. οὐδὲν γὰρ § 8 αὐτοὺς μέρος εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβατιτο κὸν ελεύθερον καὶ τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, δ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ κρατεί της ναυτιλίας πλήθους δὲ υπάρχοντος περιοίκων καὶ τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργούντων, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ναυτών, δρώμεν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάργον τισίν,

οίου τη πόλει των Ήρακλεωτών πολλάς γάρ έκπληρούσι 15 τριήρεις κεκτημένοι τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν ἐτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν. 1327 b. 1 airoit Ma P2-3-4 Ald. | Thurston P2-4 | Kal cooles alvas transposed to follow 2 βοηθείν by Camerarius and Lambin, perhaps rightly | 5 πολεμικών Schneider (in the translation) Bk.2. < uh μόνον > πολιτικόν ? Schneider, which may also be right. His proposal to bracket καὶ πολιτικὸν is not commendable | 8 ἄρχαιν

? Schlosser (wrongly) | σίθεν Π² Bk., σίδε Γ M* | q μέρος omitted by L*C° Ald. Wb | 13 και added after δέ by Π*Bk. | 14 ήρακλειωτών P4.5 Sb Vb | 15 ένδεεστέραν Sepulveda, and Γ apparently had κεκτισμένης πόλεως τῶ μεγέθει έτέρων

Avossartous (aedificata civitate magnitudine aliis contractione)

§ 6 A naval force is essential within due limits. Epaminondas shared this opinion apparently; see Grote c. 79 § 7 1327 b 4 el μèν γαρ...βίον] "For if the city is to have a career of supremacy. One would have thought that in his ideal of a state Aristotle would have attended to the domestic activity of the citizens and not to external power and rule: 14 § 21. Nor is this really inconsistent with the present remark, which is very general in its tenor. Proximity to the sea, he says, and a naval force is an advantage to every state: a warlike, conquering state (which on Aristotle's principles therefore is not the best) needs of course a stronger naval force: the best state can do with a smaller fleet. See however n. (917) and Introd. p. 55. Susem. (776) 5 πολυτικον] Schneider well remarks:

quasi reliquae civitates πολετικόν βίον nou colant. Conservative critics defend the word as meaning "a true political life" by reference to 11. 6 § 7, 1v(v11). 2 § 3. § 8 9 το μιν γαρ ἐπιβατικον κτλ] "For only the marines are free men and form part of the land army; and it is

they who are supreme (on board ship) and control the crew. 10 και των πεζευόντων At Athens too the soldiers for the fleet were sometimes taken from the actual citizen army, the heavy-armed infantry (cf. n. 1510), Thuc. III. 98 § 4, VIII. 24 § 2; but generally (n. 1453) from the Thetes or fourth class in the census, Thuc. VI. 43 (Eaton). Cp. Boeckh Staatsh. 18, 583 f.,

1² 649 f. p. 500 Eng. tr. Susem. (776) 14 τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν] Xenophon also speaks of the large naval force of the §9 περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ πόλεως καὶ λιμένων καὶ (V) θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν VI

7 δρου ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἴπομεν, ποίοις δε τινας τὴν το φίσιν εἰναι δεῖ, νῶν λέγωμεν. σχεδῶν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις τοῦτό γε, βλέγως ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς διείλη-

16 καὶ πόλεων καὶ λημένων Susem., καὶ λημένων καὶ πόλεων Γ Π Ar. Ek.^1 Susem. 14 in the text, καὶ πόλεων λημένων Welklon wrongly, καὶ λημένων καὶ πόλεων Congreve. In place of πόλεων Koraes conjectued êtverlus, Schmidt 1 kreakes, Broughton περεπολίων, Jowett πλοίων. Conting followed by Ek.^2 bracketed καὶ πόλεων

|| 17 διωρισμένου L* P^{8.6} Ald. Bk.² and P⁴ (corr.), διορισμένου P⁴, διωρισμένους S^b V^b || 21 τds πόλαις omitted by P^{4.6} L* Ald. W^b

Herakleiots, Anab. v. 6 § 10 (Giphanius). He also calls Herakleia in Pontus a colony from Megara, settled in the land of the Mariandynians (Anab. v. 10 8 rt. We know from other sources that there were also Boeotians (from Tanagra) along with the Megarian colonists, and that the colony was founded about 550. Strabo XII. 549 is wrong in designating it a Milesian settlement. The colonists had converted the Mariandynians whom they had conquered into subjects or vassals, in virtue of a compact similar to that made by the Thessalians with the Penestae (cp. n. 280) and by the Spartans with the Helots, containing a special proviso that they should not be sold out of the country. Indeed the Herakleiots did not call them their property or their slaves, but their spear-bearers (δορυφόρος). See Posidonius Frag. 16 in Ath. vi. 263 c, Strab. XII. 542, Plato Laws VI 776 D (J. G. Schneider). Comp. also Pseudo-Arist. Occon. II. 9 8 1, 1347 b 3 ff. (Eaton). Susem. (777)

15 7 pc profiles ... hypolareriposy 'A city of but moderate size, as compared with others." We do not anywhere else reposition of the probable size of Heraldesis; but extracts from the work of its native historian on to its power and history (T. G. Schreiter, and the profiles give us information as to its power and history (T. G. Schreiter, and the profiles give us information as to its power and history (T. G. Schreiter, and the profiles give and history of G. Schreiter, and the profiles give an internal history of Heraldesis (T. H.). P. S. F. T. Heraldesis (T. H.). Schreiter, (T. H.). S. G. (1976), 8 12 (1956). Stemac (T. H.). P. G. T. H. B. C. Grotte, c. 95, vol. 2.11.

p. 022 π. 18 περλ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους... 19 πρότερον] "As to the strength of the citizen body, and what limit should be set to it, we spoke above (c. 4 §§ 4—

c. 7 The natural characteristics of the citizens: they should be of Greek race, uniting intelligence with a spirited temper, \$\mathbb{S} = 4\$. Criticism of Plate: \$\mathbb{S} = -8\$. \$\mathbb{S} = 28\$. \$\

vided amongst different races. So διαλαβεῶν els δύο πώντας VI(IV). II § 17. 1296 a II; els διαφοράς De Part. Animal. I. 3 § 3, 642 b 30; διαρθεμήτασθει καί διαλαβεῶν els elδη Rhet. I. 4 § 4, 1359 b 3. § 2.3 Compare the remark made by

Plato Rep. IV. 435 E, that among the Thracians, Scythians and other northern nations courage predominates; among the Phoenicians and Egyptians love of gain; among the Greeks reason. Hippocrates in his work de aère, aquis, locis alluded to above in n. (752), p. 547 ff. Kühn, compares in detail the natural differences between Europeans and Asiatics, and describes the happy mean of the Greeks. Herod. IX. 122 makes Cyrus say that fertile countries make effeminate people, since the same soil is not capable of producing rare fruits and warlike men; and in III. 106, he says that Hellas enjoys by far the best climate. Plato Tim. 24 C commends in particular the happy blending of the seasons in Attica, and the combination of warlike excellence and love of knowledge resulting from this influence. In the Aristotelian Problems XIV. 8, 16, there is a discussion of the question why the inhabitants of warm countries are as a rule cowardly, and those of cold countries . brave (Eaton). Cp. also n. (641). SUSEM.

§ 2 πται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη (VI) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην θυμοῦ μέν ἐστι πλήρη, διανοίας 25 δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης, διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ

μάλλον, ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ την ψυχήν, ἄθυμα δέ, διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα (» 106)

83 διατελεί: τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ 30 τούς τόπους, ούτως αμφοίν μετέχει. και γαρ ένθυμον και διανοητικόν έστίν διόπερ έλεύθερόν τε διατελεί καλ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μιας § 4 τυγγάνου πολιτείας. την αυτήν δ' έγει διαφοράν καὶ τὰ 2

24 [καl] τὰ Spengel Susem.2 Or better καl [τὰ] with explicative sense? Cp. Bonitz Ind. Ar. 357 b 13 ff., Vahlen Beit, zu Poet, II, p. 88. | 28 ubv inserted after άρχόμενα by Π1 | 31 μάλιστα Γ (apparently) Susem.1-2

§ 2 23 τὰ μὶν γὰρ κτλ] "The nations which live in cold countries, and those which live in Europe," I. G. Schneider tried to explain the text as though Europe were here used in its oldest sense of the country between Peloponnesus and Thrace (Hom. Hymn to Apollo 251). Not only is this interpretation in itself improbable, but the contrast shows that it is not Greek but only non-Greek natives that are here alluded to; and as immediately afterwards Asia is opposed to Europe, the latter must refer to the whole continent just as much as the former. Similarly c. 10 § 3 n. (823). It is necessary therefore to bracket either καl or τά. In the latter case καl will be epexegetic: "those who live in the cold countries, i.e. in Europe." Susem. (779) 26 ἀπολίτεντα] Without organized

government; and, in consequence, incapable of common action for aggression. Probably on the analogy of the individual φύσει ἄρχων Aristotle considers that the race, like the city, ought to be capable of

ruling over the φύσει αρχόμενος.
28 διόπερ αρχόμενα ... 29 διατελεί]
Comp. III. 14 § 6 n. (621) and n. (54).

SUSEM. (780)

§ 3 30 ἔνθυμον] spirited, courageous. 31 διόπερ ἐλείθερόν... 33 πολιτείας] " For which reason the Greek race is and always has been" [lit. continues to be] "free and best governed and capable of ruling all mankind, if it happened to be under a single government. Herod. IX. 2 makes the Thebans say to Mardonios that so long as the Greeks keep united (as formerly had been the case) the whole world could scarcely subdue them : κατὰ μὰν γὰρ τὸ Ισχυρὸν Έλληνας δμοφρο-νέοντας, οἶπερ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκο, χαλεπά είναι περεγίνεσθαι και άπασι άνθρώ-ποισι (Eaton). See further Introd. p. 46.

SUSEM. (782)

This is the passage on which Oncken 18 ff. 11. p. 273 relies for his interpreta-tion of Aristotle's attitude to Alexander and to Greek politics. He compares Isocrates' repeated appeals to the Greek nation to cherish ομόνοια (Panegyric, De Pace, Philippos, cp. Ep. 3). According to Oncken the μία πολιτεία was already realized de facto in the protectorate over Greece exercised by Philip, and after him by Alexander: the terms of which he infers from the contemporary speech (falsely attributed to Demosthenes) week τών ποὸς 'Αλέξανδρον συνθηκών. But that the arrangement of 336 E.C. was an al-liance of ostensibly free and independent powers, in short a confederation (συμμαχία βοηθείας χάριν) and not a πολιτεία (IL 2 § 3) is proved most conclusively by the wording of the first article; by the orator's argument that Macedon having broken the treaty. Athens has the right to appeal to arms; and by the terms σινθήκαι and κοινή είρηνη themselves (cp. Rhet. II. 23 § 18, 1399 b 12 ότι τὸ διδόναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεύειν [ἐστίν], και το μετέχειν της κοινής εξρήνης ποιείν τό προσταττόμενου). Some however are not content to find in the words of the text, as in those of Herodotos, a sudden thought or passing hint. It remains then to inquire: what precisely was the constitution which Aristotle had in mind, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνη [καὶ] πρὸς ἄλληλα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει (VI)

35 την φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ εὖ [τε] κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας. φανερον τοίνυν ὅτι δεῖ διανοητικούς τε είναι καὶ θυμοειδείς τὴν φύσιν τοὺς μέλλοντας § 5 εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν. ὅπερ γάρ φασί τινες δείν ὑπάρχειν τοις φύλαξι, τὸ φιλητικούς μέν 40 είναι των γνωρίμων πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀγνώτας ἀγρίους, ὁ θυμός έστιν ό ποιών τὸ φιλητικόν. αὕτη γάρ έστιν ή τῆς ψυχῆς

34 καl inserted by M*II2Bk. | 35 τε omitted by II1Bk.2 Spengel approves the omission unless και be inserted after τε | 38 των νομοθέτην P4, των νομοθετών Γ apparently

under which he thought united Hellas could rule the world? The answer expected is either (1) an absolute monarchy, or (2) a federal state (Buudesstaat). Vet neither satisfies the conditions of a possible answer as given rather in the whole character and tendency of the work than in any single passage. That by constitution' Aristofle means the constitution of a city-state and not a race or nation or tribe, is a fundamental postulate, although nowhere expressly laid down. Nations other than the Greek are occasionally mentioned as monarchically and 'despotically' governed, and so far as oriental despotism is one variety of Baguhela. they may be said to have a constitution. But the very words in which this variety is described (see n. on III. 12 § 8) exclude its application to the Greeks: it is because Asiatics are of more servile temper than Europeans, and barbarians generally than Greeks, that they quietly endure the yoke, absence of any detailed treatment of the interpolitical relations of the Greek cities. From the silence of our author it would be rash to affirm that theoretically the absolute king who may arise in a single city (III. 13 §§ 13, 14, 24, 25; 14 § 1, § 15; 17 §§ 5—8) has a counterpart in an absolute king over the whole Greek race. The slight evidence there is points to Aristotle's discerning in the hegemony of Macedon (which was nominally all that Philip or Alexander asked and the Congress of Corinth granted) a fact analogous to the old hegemonies of Sparta, Athens, Thebes: see VI(IV). 11 § 18 f., and Frag 81, 1489 b 26, Plutarch De Alexandri virtute 1 c. 6 ώs 'Αριστοτέλης συνεβούλευεν αύτω τοις μέν "Ελλησιν ήγεμονικώς τοις δέ βαρβάροις δεσποτικώς χρώμενος. Το us Chaeronea, or Crannon, may mark the

end of Greek history. Such was not the feeling of contemporary Greeks-whether they sided with Demosthenes or with Phocion.

§ 4 34 The Dorian, Ionian, Thes-salian, Arcadian, Acarnanian, Aetolian tθνη, occur as examples of Greek tribal populations

35 μονόκωλον] one-sided. The Actolians approximated to the hardy peoples of the north: the Asiatic Ionians to the

softer Asiatics.

50 38 δπερ γάρ φασί τινκ] Plato in Repub. II. 375 c ff. Comp. n. (1006) on V(VIII). 45 2. SUSEM. (783) 39 τοίς φάλαξε] See n. (140) on II. 3 5. SUSEM. (784) φλλητικούς] The word itself is not

used by Plato, but in substance his meaning is not essentially different (δεί γε πρὸς μέν τοὺς οἰκείους πράους αὐτοὺς εἶναι), 50 that it is difficult to see why Schneider should believe that Aristotle does him injustice. See however n. (780). Susem.

40 ο θυμός έστιν...φιλούμεν] 'It is passion or temper which makes us friendly: for that is the faculty of soul with which we love.' The logic reads faulty in the translation because we can scarcely render by the same word θυμός=courage, θυμός = affection, although we too speak of the heart as the seat of both. See u. (641) on III. 16 § 5. Comp. Topics II. 7 § 6, 113 a 35 ff., olov el το μίσος ξπεσθαι όργη έφησεν, εξη άν το μίσος έν τῷ θυμο-ειδεῖ έκεῖ γὰρ ἡ όργή, and Τορ. IV. 5 88 5. 6. 126 2 8 ff.: n μέν γάρ αίσγύνη έν τῷ λογιστικῷ, ὁ δὲ φόβος ἐν τῷ θυμοειδεί, και ή μέν λύπη έν τψ έπιθυμητικώ ή δὲ όργη ἐν τῷ θυμοειδεί, where fear and anger are hypothetically assigned to 'spibut love (φιλία) to the ἐπιθυμητικον or impulsive principle of the soul (J. G.

(V)
1338-3 δύναμις ή φιλούμεν. σημείον δέ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις s
καὶ φίλους ὁ θυμὸς αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώτας,

§6 όλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας. διὸ καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος προσηκόντως τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν.

σύ γὰρ δή παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεοι.

καὶ τὸ ἄρχου δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερου ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης ἔτ ὑπάρχει πὰσιν ἀρχικὸυ γὰρ καὶ ἀήτιτητου ὁ θυμός, οὐ καλῶς δ΄ ἔχει λέγειν χαλεπούς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας: πρὸς οὐδὲνα γὰρ εἶναι χρή τοιοῦτου, οὐδὲ εἰσὶν οἱ μεγαλόψιγχο

1338.5 of Bergk, following Schneider, of F II Ar. Bk. Susem. in the text \parallel \$6 Mr. untranslated by William \parallel \$\pi_{20}\text{ FP}^2 Ar. Bergk, \$\pi_{20}\$ with all other authorities Bk. \parallel \$\pi_{20}\$ refryence M* and apparently F (a loncal perforationa William), drinyne 12^{-6} L' Add. Bk. Bergk, \$\pi_{20}\$ refryere P*, \$\pi_{20}\$ refryes S* V* and perhaps Ar. (loncal transform 12^{-6}).

Schneider). Just because this is only hypothetically expressed, there is no contradiction between it and the present passage. "Theognis, too, 109 ff., ascribes love and harted to 'spirit' or \$\theta_{\text{typh}}\epsilon' (Camerarius). Further comp. Mr. (Typo. 182, 839, 935). SUSEM. (T86)

41 a urij Not robro, see c. 1 § 8...

182, 839, 936). SUSEM. (786)
41 autra] Not rödro, sec. 1 § 8 π.
1328 a 1 πρός γέρ τούς συνήθες]
Eaton compares Airle 11. 2 § 15, 1379
b 2, καὶ τοῦς φίλου [βρήθεντα] μάλλου η
τοῦς μὴ φίλους οἰσνται γὰρ προσήκευ μάλλου πάσχου εὖ ὑτὶ ἀτὰῶν ἢ μὴ. SUSEM.
(787)

2 αζρεται] rises viz. in indignation. § 6 3 'Αρχίλοχος] Frag. 67. Archilochus of Paros, who flourished about 680 or somewhat earlier, was the true father of Greek lyrical poetry. Before his time the vouos belonging to religious poetry had received its artistic development only from Terpander and Klonas ment only from respancer and klobas (see n. 17 to my edition of the Poetics). The invention of elegiac poetry was disputed between him and Kallinos. But his claim to be the inventor of iambic verse is undisputed, and also to he the first who made a regular arrangement of secular poetry. He seems also to have composed in regular fashion sacred songs for choruses; there is however a doubt as to the genuineness of the là Báxxe attributed to him (Frag. 120), but none as to the hymn to Herakles (Frag. 110). Whether he also wrote dithyrambs and paeans cannot be certainly inferred from Frag. 76, 77. He was the first to introduce the iambic and trochaic metre into poetry and into vocal music constructed according to the rules of art, and he supplied it with a series of struples composed of short dataylic struples composed of short dataylic in which dataylic rules are structured in which dataylic oranapasets and troches or insulics were combined. See West-phal Greek Metric II. p. 350 ff., 436, 457, 479, 498, 551 ff. The fragment of verse here quoted is a trock of the structure of the s

§ 7 7 οὐ καλώς κτλ] Here clearly Aristotle is taking Plato's statements much too literally, and in a much cruder and stricter sense than they are meant. SU-

SEM. (789) ο ούδέ εἰσὶν οί μεγαλόψυχοι κτλ] Plato also Rep. IV. 440 C designates indignation at injuries received as a main element of buids, and indeed, as already noticed in n. (641), he refers ambition to θυμός. But Aristotle also mentions Post. Anal. II. 12 § 22, 07 b 15 ff. as one of the chief characteristics of the μεγαλόψυχοι, that they will not brook insult. On the other hand Nic. Eth. IV. 3 § 30, 1125 a 31 ff. that they are not revengeful, but know how to forgive and forget (Eaton). It is not easy however to reconcile what is here stated with the description given there § 24, 1124 b 9 ff., according to which the high-minded man is ready to confer benefits, but is ashamed of receiving them, and always requites services done το την φύσιν άγριοι, πλην πρός τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλ- (VI) λον ἔτι πρός τοὺς συνήθεις πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται πρότερον,

§8 αν άδικεῖσθαι νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον παρ' 4 οἶς γὰρ ὀφείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβάνονσι, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν ὄθεν εἴρηται

καὶ

16.

χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀδελφῶν

οἴ τοι πέραν στέρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πέραν
μισούσιν.

8 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτενομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν 18 δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν Φρίσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν (οὐ γὰρ τὴν (α.ν.) 20 αἰτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῦν διά τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γινο-8 μένων διά τῆς αἰσθότεκος) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν VII

13 doil de M., de apparently P^1 (us hand, corrected by P^1), h_2^2 Kornes, William leaves it untranslated, $[h_2^2]$ Schnied's Sussen, 1 perhaps rightly $1 \cdots N^2$ Kornes 1 irrelated from P^1 and very likely $\Gamma = 1 + 1 + 2$ $[h_2^2]h_2^2$ $\Gamma = 1 + 1$ $[h_2^2]h_2^2$ $\Gamma = 1$ $[h_2^2]h_2^2$

him by greater services in return, so that he may not be under obligation to others, but rather others to him (Broughton). Cp. also n. (878). SUSEM. (790)

§ 8 'And this is a result to be expected; for they imagine themselves to be robbed as well as slighted by those from whom they believe a kindness ought to be due to them.' area repetedus (ier' exclusor) req' ofs—by those in whose act there ought to be an obligation to a service to themselves.

"Cp. Rhet. 11. 2 § 15, 1379 b 2 ff. (Eaton, Congreve)." SUSEM. (791) 14 δθεν είρηται] This is a line of

14 δθεν εξρηται] This is a line of Euripides, from what play is not known, Frag. 965 (Nauck). SUSEM. (792) 16 οξ τοι πέραν κτλ] We know

16 of τοι πέραν κτλ] We know neither the sutbor nor the play from which this is quoted (Frag. adesp. 53 Nauck) Susem. (793)

§ 9 19 ov vdp...21 alarbjarews] Comp. c. 12 § 9 n. [868]. SUSEM. [798] Also Nic. Eth. 1. 7 § 8 i. 19, 1098 a 26 ff. and De Anima 1. 1 ad init. 422 a 2, with Wallace's note on deeplea. Also 1.5 § 1, 1354 a 20, IV(VII). 1 § 6, 1323 a 39 with the

cc. 8-12 contain the social conditions of the best city, which differ but slightly from those laid down by Plato (more especially in the Laws B. v., v.i.) and would command the assent of most reflecting Greeks as at least theoretically desirable. c. 8. Distinction of the citizens proper, who are an essential part of the city, from the rast of the population, which is but an

indispensable adjunct.
This idea is already familiar to the reader of B. III. c. 5, c. 13 § 13: see n. on 1284 a 9.

\$1.21 Serray via Albaej Thus for instance the things without which happiness cannot exist are not all parts of happiness. Evaluate 26th 1: 28 2-5. 1714 b 1: -37 [Editon]. Some of these results of the service of the s

τών κατά φύσιν συνεστώτων] Natural wholes made up of organic parts, as in 1. 5. 3, 1254 a 29, with which πδωτ was ranked III. 1. 2, 1274 b 39 n. (434). They are frequently mentioned in the zoological treatises.

κατὰ φύσιν συνεστώτων οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συ-(VII) στάσεως ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ὅλον οὐκ ἄν εἰη, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ πό-24 λεως μέρη θετέον ὄσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν

23 raurd M° P³, rairà Blc.¹, rairè P³, πίστα ? Wyse \parallel 25 $\xi\xi\bar{\eta}$ P° V° and pethaps P¹ (1st hand), since in that ms. $\xi\xi^*$ $\eta\bar{\eta}$ is over an erasure, $[\xi\xi]$ $\eta\bar{\eta}$ and $\tau\ell\lambda\sigma\tau$ for $\gamma\ell\nu\sigma\tau$? Postgate \parallel $[\tau\delta]$ $\gamma\ell\nu\sigma\tau$? Koraes

meanings: (1) the patting together—construction, (2) the thing together—construction, (2) the things oconstructed of surferrare, this duplicating rå sarå φέων εννεστ., τρ. 139 a 35. It is angely used in the biological words for structure or organism at 30 abov 1(1). 11, 8, 139, 5 b 3. On the latent analogy between organism and start, implied in this term and in θyse=functions, but the term and in θyse=functions, but the term and in θyse=functions, but The term of the Particular Assistant. 1. The view of the Particular Assistant. 1. The view of the Particular Assistant. 1.

The view of De Particus Amendal. 1. §
8 12—16, 04,5 b 14—20, is that every part (μόριον) of the body, like an instrument (δργανον), is for an end: this end is a function (πράξι» τπ). The parts are nose, eyes, face, etc.; the functions, more or less specific, γάνεστε, αθέγανε, δανος, πορεία, πτλ.

The transposition of the clause 27 eleceire τροφή... 28 έστω appears inevitable, because 'food' and a 'quantum of territory' would otherwise be adduced as instances of by re courbe role nonwork, for which purpose they are clearly inapporate. The common object of the society, which gives the city its unity, is its ethical end, the conviction of the members that they are considered to realize a notice of the control of the contro

cult culture is the convenient of the true of any other association which is to form a unity of kind" (and not merely of mass, γέσν is advertial accus.): i.e. which is to have a true organic unity, not merely the collective unity of an aggregate or heap. After 25 θr π there is no need to insert έσται, for γστήσεται (or έσται) can easily be un-

derstood. SUSEM. (796) § 2 For the real members of the society must have some one identical common interest, though they need not all share in it equally. Hace mih videtur esse sententia: nunm aliquid idenque sociis commune necesse est (Susemihl).

25 A generic unity, or natural composite whole, I. 5. 3, 1254 a 29 n., but not a κράσις, μίξις, or σύμφυσις in which the mingled elements vanish and give birth to a new product: for the citizens continue to exist as parts of the whole I. 2. 14, 1253 a 26. The difference between the mere heap and the organic whole is explained Meta. Z. 17. 8, 1041 b 18 ff. (examples: a syllable, flesh; each something apart from its constituents). See also Meta. H. 6. 1, 1045 a 8, δσα πλείω μέρη έγει και μή έστιν οίον σωρός το πάν, άλλ' έστι τὸ όλον παρὰ τὰ μόρια. For a parallel to the language see Phys. v. 3. 7, 227 a 14, ès roirois êgri rè giveyés. et ών έν τι πέφικε γίνεσθαι κατά την σύναψιν.

The notion of Unity is analysed Meta.

Δ. 6, I. 1: τὰ πρώτως λεγόμερα ἔν are ὧν ἡ
οὐσία μία ἡ συνεγεία (sometimes τὸ ὅλον is

τι [καὶ] κοινὸν είναι δεί καὶ ταὐτὸ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, ἄν τε ἴσον (VII) αν τε ανισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν (οδον είτε τροφή τοῦτό έστιν

§ 3 είτε χώρας πλήθος είτ' άλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν). ὅταν 2 δ' η τὸ μὲν τούτου ἔνεκεν τὸ δὲ οὖ ἔνεκεν, οὐδὲν ἔν γε τούτοις 30 κοινον άλλ' ή τῷ μὲν ποιήσαι τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν λέγω δ' οἷον οργάνω τε παυτί πρός το γινόμενου έργου καί τοις δημιουργοίς.

οίκία γάρ πρός οίκοδόμου οὐδέυ ἐστιν δ γίνεται κοινόν, άλλ' § 4 έστι τής οἰκίας χάριν ή τῶν οἰκοδόμων τέχνη. διὸ κτήσεως μέν δεί ταίς πόλεσιν, οὐδέν δ' ἐστίν ή κτήσις μέρος τής 35 πόλεως. πολλά δ' εμψυχα μέρη της κτήσεως έστίν. ή δὲ

26 τι] τοι Mo Pas, [τι] Koraes | [καί] Susem. | δεί ΠΙ P4 Ar., δή Pas Sb Vb Ald. | ταὐτὸ] τοῦτο Π¹ || 27 οἶον...28 ἐστίν transposed by Bojesen to follow 24 ύπάρχειν, cp. Introd. p. 87 | 27 έστιν erased by a later hand in P3, perhaps rightly | 38 ôrav...35 êoriv transposed to follow 1328 b 1 molireias Susem. See Comm. and cp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 401 f. | 29 8' 1 8h II', 8è Ar. | wolly oubè ΓM* | & M' and apparently Pl | 30 λαβεῖν] παθεῖν Postgate, perhaps rightly 32 [δ γίνεται] Schneider | 33 δεῖ μὸν κτήσεως Susem. 1-2, δεῖ κτήσεως (without μέν) ΓΜ' | 34 ούδεν δ' ή κτήσις μέρος της πόλεως έστί (έστι P1) Μ' P1, ή δε κτήσις ουδέν μέρος έστι της πόλεως Γ apparently | 35 κτίσεως P3 V6

added to τὸ συνεχές) ή είδει ή λόγω, 1016 b 8. The last two together = ων αν ὁ λόγος

els y, 1052 a 29. § 3 There is no such "common interest' in the case of the means to an end and the end itself, the tools and the craftsman, architecture (the builder's art) and the house. §4 Hence property may be necessary to cities, but nevertheless

does not form part of a city. 28 . όταν δ' ή.....35 έστίν] This passage is closely connected with § 6 b 2 έπισκεπτέον δέ κτλ. No one would suspect any loss if the intervening passage \$\$ 4, 5, 1328 a 35-b 2 were removed. In fact this intervening passage must be regarded as a parenthesis, suggested by a 26 av TE ίσον αν τε άνισου μεταλαμβάνωσιν, apparently inserted in the wrong place: Quacst. crit. coll. p. 401. In confirmation of this view may be cited Dr Postgate's remark (Notes p. 9): "the same sense can be got out of the text by making & yap Ti ... μεταλαμβάνωσι, § 2, parenthetical, and ή δέ πόλις κτλ, § 4, a resumption of it: thus οίον...έστιν will refer to όσα ταῖς πόλεσω ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν." That is, though his own remedies are different (see Crit. n.), he agrees as to the end in view; viz. the reference of 27 olov KTA to 24 don rais

πόλεσιν άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, and the resumption of 15 έν γάρ τι...27 μεταλαμβά-

νωσιν at 35 ή δέ πόλις κτλ. 28 Stay 8'1 'When one thing is the means and another the end, in this case at least there is nothing in common, except that the latter receives the activity of the former.' A very doubtful use of $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$ instead of $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$, said of the thing acted upon: by no means established, as Prof. Ridgeway thinks, by Pl. Αφοί. 25 ε, where των μοχθηρόν ποιήσω τῶν ξυνόντων is followed by κακόν τι λαβείν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Dr Postgate's παθείν brings out the exact shade of meaning: "the one acts and the other is acted upon; the builder makes and the house

30 οίον ὀργάνω] Nic. Eth. VIII. 11. 6, 1161 a 32 ff. The same incompatibility exists between the tyrant and his subjects as between soul and body, workman and tool, master and slave. Cp. E. E. VIII. 9. 2, 1241 b 17-19. (Could λαβείν = be the recipient of services, ποιήσαι=to render them?)

§ 4 33 That property is no 'part' of the state, but merely an indispensable condition, must weigh with us in deciding whether κτητική is a branch of οίκονομική, I. 4. 1, n. (32), from the constant parallel of household and state 1.8 § 13, § 15, 1256 b 30, 37 f.; 11 § 13, 1259 a 33 ff. 35 πολλά δ' ἔμινχα κτλ] Under

πόλις κοινωνία τίς έστι των όμοίων, ένεκεν δὲ ζωής τής ἐνδε- (VII) ε 5 χομένης αρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία τὸ ἄριστον, αὕτη δὲ ε άρετης ενέργεια καὶ γρησίς τις τέλειος, συμβέβηκε δὲ οὕτως ώστε τοὺς μὲν ἐνδέγεσθαι μετέγειν αὐτῆς τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἡ μηδέν,

10 δήλου ώς τουτ' αίτιου τω γίνεσθαι πόλεως είδη και διαφοράς και πολιτείας πλείους. άλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι' άλλων εκαστοι τοῦτο 1328 1 θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους έτέρους ποιούνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας.

8 6 ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ αν είη· καὶ γὰρ α λέγομεν είναι μέρη πόλεως, ἐν τούτοις 4 αν είη. διὸ * * ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον τοίνυν τῶν 4 67 έργων τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δήλον, πρώτον

30 αὐτῆς <πάντως> ? Spengel, needlessly | 40 τω 170 Π2 P6 Bk.

1328 b 2 ταῦτ' Schneider Bk.*, ταῦτα Bas.8 | 4 διδ omitted by II2 P5 Ar. Bk. and Vettori, who detected the lacuna. But Bk. ignored it, and Welldon is content to punctuate 3 ein (kal vao.... ein) did deurkalor undores

the head of 'animate property' are included slaves as well as domestic animals: see I .. 4, c. 5 § 8 ff., c. 8 § 6 ff., c. 11 §§ 1, 2, c. 13 §§ 1, 2. Comp. also

n. (37). Susem (801)

η δὶ πόλις κτλ] "Now the city is a society of like members": comp. t. 7 § 1, έλευθέρων καὶ ίσων, VI(IV). 11 § 8 low και ομοίων, with notes (58 b, 1203). See also n. (133) and the passages there cited. On the other hand defouror duolους είναι πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, III. I & 5.

see n. (471). Susem. (797) 36 ένεκεν δὲ ζωῆς κτλ] It is therefore this 'best life realizable' which is the 'one identical common interest' in question, n. (21) and the passages there cited.

SUSEM. (798) § 5 37 αύτη δὶ κτλ] No reference is made to a previous discussion or to the Ethics. Comp. the Excursus L. Susem.

38 αρετής ενέργεια και χρήσες τις τέλειος] A fair paraphrase of the definition of Nic. Eth., as may be seen from E. E. 11. 1, 1210 a 16, των δ' ή χρήσις έργου, 1219 b 2, ων έκαστον χρήσις έστι και ένέργεια, και ή ζωή και ή πράξις.

39 αστε Apparently redundant, as in 11. 2 § 5 n.

40 τω γίνεσθαι πόλεως είδη και δια-φοράς και πολιτείας πλείους] This supplements the statement of III. 1 \$8 8, q. An imperfect constitution exists because it is the natural outcome of a given social condition. Either the subordinate ends, which fall short of man's true develop-

ment, are raised into ultimate ends; or the true end is sought, but not for all' the true end is sought, but not for all (A.C. Bradley). Cp. c. 9 § 2, 1328 b 31. 41 αλλον γάρ τρόπον κτλ) Cp. n. (466) on HI. 3. 9. Susem. (800) 1328 b 1 Cp. 1. 8. 4 ff. § 6. 2 The recognition of the 'parts'

or Members proper will be facilitated by an enumeration of social functions (fova), i.e. 'occupations' (b 20 έργασίας) requisite to the independent existence of the community, which serves roughly to classify the inhabitants working at these occupations: food implies farmers, handicrafts workmen, etc. New terms are introduced in the parallel lists VII(VI). 7. 1, 1321 2 4 ff. (βαναυσικόν, άγοραΐον) and VI(IV). 4. 9, 1290 b 40 ff. (βάναισον, άγοραΐου, δικαστικόν, δημιουργικόν, βουλευσόmayor): but here reveres must include βάναυσοι, while τὸ εθπορον or 'capital' probably furnishes the wealthier merchants (dyopalor), so far as these are citizens, and the comprehensive κριταί τών δικαίων και συμφεράντων corresponds in the main to three classes (judicial. official, deliberative) of VI(IV). c. 4. "Both lists reflect the imperfect industrial and professional development of Greek society" (Newman).

3 All the real members, or parts (μέρη), of a city will be indispensable, though not all things indispensable will be members.

4 διδ " *] There are so many conceivable possibilities for filling up this lacuna that any definite attempt of this kind becomes idle. SUSEM. (802)

μεν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τροφήν, ἔπειτα τέχνας (πολλών γὰρ (VII) οργάνων δείται το ζην), τρίτον δε όπλα (τους γάρ κοινωνούντας άναγκαίον [καί] έν αύτοις έγειν όπλα πρός τε την άρχήν, των ἀπειθούντων γάριν, και προς τους έξωθεν άδι- (μ. 108) 10 κείν ἐπιχειρούντας), ἔτι χρημάτων τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὐτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς <τὰς> πολεμικάς, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ πρώτον τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἡν καλούσιν ιερατείαν, έκτον δε τον δριθμον και πάντων άναγκαιότατον κρίσιν περί τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων

ις τών πρὸς άλλήλους. ε ε τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις ὡς ε είπειν (ή γάρ πόλις πλήθός έστιν οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ζωήν αυταρκες, ώς φαμέν, έὰν δέ τι τούτων τυγγάνη 10 εκλείπου, άδύνατον άπλως αὐτάρκη την κοινωνίαν είναι § 9 ταύτην· ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι πόλιν δεί άρα γεωργών τ' είναι πλήθος, οἱ παρασκευάζουσι τήν τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας, καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὔπορον, καὶ ίερεις, καὶ κριτάς τῶν δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων): 9 διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων λοιπὸν σκέψασθαι πότερον πᾶσι κοι- VIII

8 [καί] Koraes, for which [τe] Welldon, wrongly | αὐτοῦς Γ⁵ (?), αὐτοῦς Γ and the rest of our authorities | 11 < τ is> Schneider Bk. 1 | 12 [καὶ ποῶτον] Spengel 16 ων] α Ma P1 18 τούτων after τυγχάνη (τυγχάνει P4) Π2 P6 Bk., thus avoiding histor | 20 συρεστάναι Mº Pl | 21 παρασκευάσουσι P2-5-5 Bk. | 23 δικαίων Lambin, ἀναγκαίων Γ H Ar. Bk. 1 Susem. 1 in the text

§ 7 An enumeration of functions necessary in a city, to some extent parallel, is attempted in Plato Rep. 11. 381, cp. Phaedr. 248 D, E.

§ 7 8 πρός τι την άρχην κτλ] Το these two legitimate ends of warfare is added a third c. 14 § 21, 1334 a 2 n. (918).

12 πρώτον] First in importance. 14 κρίσιν] Under κρίσις τῶν συμφε-ρόντων is here included everything besides the administration of justice which belongs to the government of a state. Thus it includes the making of laws and the common action of the consultative and

executive councils as well as of the officers of state. Susem. (803) § 8 18 ως φαμέν] III. 1 § 12, cp. n. (+47);

1v(vII). 4 § 11 n. (759); also n. (21) with the passages there quoted. The present has preceded, not only here but c. 10 § 9, n. (831), c. 13 § 4 n. (872), 14 § 8 n. (902). Any multitude of men taken at random does not constitute a state; a remark which was made c. 4 \$6 m. (753) and repeated VII(v). 3. 11 n. (1531 b). SUSEM. (804)

§ 9 20 κατά τὰς ἐργασίας] must be organized in accordance with these occu-

21 Cp. 11. 8. 10, 1268 a 32 f.

23 Kpirds] So above, § 7, b 14, kplow. c. o Exclusion from the franchise of the producing classes: artizans, traders, husbandmen. Those who remain will have different functions, according to age, military, governmental, and judicial duties. This close body of citizens will own the land: when superannuated, to become priests.

This exclusion of the 'necessary appendages' from full civic rights was foreshadowed in the criticism of Plato's Republic, 11. c. 5 §§ 18-28, and of Hippodamus, c. 8 \$\$ 8-12: it was laid down distinctly III. c. 5: see u. (504).

25 νωνητέον πάντων τούτων (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄπαν-(VIII) τας είναι καὶ γεωργούς καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τούς βουλευομένους καὶ δικάζουτας), ή καθ' ἔκαστου ἔργου τῶυ εἰρημένωυ ἄλλους ύποθετέου, ή τὰ μὲν ίδια τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ε 2 εστίν. οὐκ εν πάση δε ταὐτο πολιτεία. καθάπερ γάρ εἶπομεν, 30 ένδένεται καλ πάντας κοινωνείν πάντων καλ μη πάντας πάντων άλλὰ τινὰς τινών. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας έτέρας εν μεν γάρ ταις δημοκρατίαις μετέχουσι ξ 3 πάντες πάντων, εν δε ταις ολιγαρχίαις τοὐναντίον. επεί δε 2 τυγχάνομεν σκοπούντες περί της άρίστης πολιτείας, αύτη 35 δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἢν ἡ πόλις ἄν εἶη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν ὅτι χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν εἴρηται πρότερου, φανερου έκ τούτων ώς έν τη κάλλιστα πολιτευομένη πόλει και τη κεκτημένη δικαίους άνδρας άπλώς, άλλά μη πρός την υπόθεσιν, ούτε βάναυσον βίον ούτ' αγοραίον 40 δεί ζην τους πολίτας (άγεννης γάρ ο τοιούτος βίος καὶ πρός (p. 10)

ε 4 την άρετην ύπεναντίος), οὐδε δεί νεωργούς είναι τοὺς μέλ-20 ταὐτὸ Susem., τοῦτο ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text | 32 μὲν omitted by Π¹, [μἐν] Susem.¹, perhaps rightly | 37 κάλιστα 1³, κάλλίστη Π¹ | 40 ζῆν] ζητεῖν Γ P⁶ | 41 τhe omitted by H² P³ Ar. Bk. | δεῖ δὴ H² P⁵ Ar. Bk.

§ 1 25 τους αυτούς απαντας] This would be the case in democracies. § 2 29 καθάπερ γαρ εξπομεν] Just before, § 1, b 25 ενδέχεται γαρ κτλ. SUSEM. (805)

33 πάντων sc. έργων. § 3 34 αντη... 35 ενδαίμων] Comp. c. 1 § 3 n. (686), c. 13 § 4 n. (872): also 11. 9. 5 n. (284) and n. (21). For the wide range of πολιτεία, see n. (466). SUSEM. (806)

36 είρηται πρότερον] It was observed in Excursus 1., n. (687), that this can be referred to c. 8 § 5, 1328 a 37, and does not therefore compel us to infer that cc. 1-3 originally formed an integral part of this treatise. Nay more: had the reference been to c. 1, the more appropriate term would have been amodédeseras, proved,' rather than εἴρηται 'stated. Comp. further n. (872). Susem. (807) 38 dπλωs] In contrast to the partial

justice of oligarchy and democracy: III. 9.
39 πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] Relatively to
the constitution of the time being: under its conditions, taking its principle or spe-cial idea (δροτ) for the standard. See III. 4. 3, 1276 b 30, VI(IV). 7. 2, 1293 b 3 ff.

τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ύπόθεσι» τινα άγαθων άνδρων, with n. (1233). Comp. also II. 9. 1 n. Susem. (808) Add VI(IV). c. 11 s. fin. 1296 b 9 άν μή πρὸς ὑπόθεσαν κρίνη τις, but c. 16 § 1, 1300 b 14, κατά την αὐτην ὑπόθεσω, and Meta. XIII. (M) c. 7 § 30 1082 b 32 πρός μέν την ύπόθεσιν όρθως λέγουσιν, άπλῶς δ' οὐκ δρθῶς. Bonitz Ind. Ar. 706 b 48 remarks that ὑπόθεσες does not differ much from τέλος or δρος. Apparently the meaning is the same here as a 22 ὑποθέσεως or II. 2. 1, 1261 a 16, λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύταν ὑπόθεσαν.

40 ayenris] See III. c. 5, esp. notes (506, 509, 511). Cp. also n. (103) Susem. (809)

On the construction imevavries mode cp. II. q. I, 126q a 32, § 18, 1270 a 40-For the thought Spengel has the parallel Demosth. Olynth. III § 32, p. 37, 10: ξστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικον φρόνημα λαβείν μικρά καὶ φαϋλα πράστον-τας όποι άττα γάρ ἄν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύμαν-τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ, τοκοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρίνημ' ἔχειν. Cp. Burke: Great empires

and little minds go ill together. § 4 1320 a 1 δεί γὰρ σχολής] 'Lei-

1200 2 λουτας ἔσεσθαι (δεί γὰρ σχολής καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τής (VII άρετης και πρός τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ : πολεμικόν καὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ κρίνου περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐνυπάρχει καὶ μέρη φαίνεται τῆς 5 πόλεως μάλιστα όντα, πότερον έτερα <έτέροις> καὶ ταῦτα θε-§ 5 τέον η τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον ἄμφω: Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. διότι τρόπου μέν τινα τοις αὐτοις τρόπου δέ τινα καὶ ἐτέροις. ή μέν γὰρ ἐτέρας ἀκμῆς ἐκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δείται φρονήσεως το δε δυνάμεως, ετέροις ή δε των άδυτο νάτων έστὶ τοὺς δυναμένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ύπομένειν αργομένους αεί, ταύτη δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς, οἱ γὰρ τῶν δπλων κύριοι καὶ μένειν ή μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν. § 6 λείπεται τοίνυν τοις αὐτοις μέν αμφοτέροις αποδιδόναι την 4

1320 a 1 moltrus added after forestas by P4 L* Ar. Ald. Wb. [moltrus] Susem. 1 5 < έτέροις > Koraes Bk.2; previously Schneider wrote έτέροις for έτερα | 6 δε] δη Π1 | 11 δè untranslated by William, δεί? Göttling | τοῦς αὐτοῦς Camerarius Bk.2 perhaps even Ar., role abrole PH Bk. Susem. in the text | 12 7 kal PAld. Wb | 13 αμφότερα? Susem, followed by Welldon, who nevertheless retains 14 ταύτην

sure is needed if virtue is to be forthcoming, as well as for the conduct of state affairs. Contempt for labour goes side by side with exaltation of leisure: n. (93). .The artizan, the farmer even, is too busy to cultivate virtue. Cp. Aelian V. H. x. 16, ή άργια άδελφή της έλευθερίας έστι. From the Greeks this estimate passed to the Jews: see Ecclesiasticus c. 38, 24-34 (Newman). 3 βουλευόμενον...και κρίνον] From άμφω, a 6, it is clear that a single class

is meant: a body which deliberates on questions of policy and decides questions of justice. Cp. § 9, a 31, τό τε δπλιτικόν και τό βουλευτικόν. 4 ένυπάρχει] 'are contained in the

city as members in the fullest sense' not merely indispensable adjuncts. 6 αμφω = the functions (1) of the

military class, (2) of the deliberative and judicial class. § 5 7 διότι=that (after φανερου): as

1253 a 7 and often.

8 ἐτέρας ἀκμῆς] sc. ἐστί: belongs to a different time of life.

9 φρονήσεως] Cp. III. 4. 17 π. (497): also nn. (45, 112, 115, 474-476). SUSEM.

η δὲ κτλ] This is said to be στάσεως afrior, 11. 5. 25, 1264 b 8. With the par-titive genitive τῶν ἀδυνάτων cp. c. 6 § 4, 1327 a 27: in full es re rûs dousáres C. 14 § 4, 1332 b 32. 11 ταύτη δὶ] Resumptive of the δὲ in a q: 'in as far as it is impossible...in so far they must be the same.' When & has preceded with the relative, it may for emphasis be repeated with the demonstrative. The idiom is found in Herod, (e.g. II. 50), Thuc. (II. 46), Xenophon, Isocrates (Panegyr. § 98, § 176), Plato (Lach. 104 D ταθτα άγαθός έστιν έκαστος ήμων, απερ σοφός, α δὲ άμαθής, ταῦτα δὲ κακός) and Demosthenes (c. Mid. § 100, see Buttmann's Exc. XII.). Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 166 b 58—167 a 12, and Studien II. III. pp. 124—129, has disposed of the view formerly held (by Zell, Göttling, etc.) that Aristotle in some cases used & where other Greek prose writers introduce the apodosis without any particle. The only valid instances are (1) after a conditional particle (1287 b 12 n.), (2) as άλλά occa-

sionally far on in the sentence. οί γαρ τῶν ὅπλων κτλ] Hence one of the favourite measures of tyrants was to forbid the use of arms VIII(v), 10 \$ 11. and 11 § 22 nn. (1667, 1742 b). See moreover Xen. Cyr. VII. 5. 79, Thuc. III. 27, the Demos in Mytilene obtained arms: ἐπειδή ελαβον ὅπλα οδτε ήκροῶντο έτι τῶν ἀρχόντων (Eaton). SUSEM. (811) § 6 13 την πολιτείαν ταύτην] 'hanc

partem rei publicae administrandae Bonitz Ind. Ar. a. v. "It only remains to

πολιτείαν ταύτην, μὴ ἄμα δέ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πέφυκεν ἡ μὲν (VIII) 13 δύναμις έν νεωτέροις, ή δὲ φρόνησις έν πρεσβυτέροις έστίν· οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἀμφοῖν νενεμῆσθαι συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιου §τ[είναι]· έγει γὰρ αὕτη ή διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ: μήν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις δεῖ <είναι> περὶ τούτους. ἀναγκαίον γάρ εὐπορίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολίται δὲ οὖτοι. τὸ 20 γάρ βάναυσον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν μέρος δ μη της άρετης δημιουργόν έστίν, τούτο δέ δήλον έκ της ύποθέσεως τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ της άρετης, εὐδαίμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαν-§ 8 τας δεί λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. Φα-25 νερον δὲ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις είναι τούτων, εἴπερ ἀναγκαΐον είναι τούς γεωργούς δούλους ή βαρβάρους [ή] περιοίκους. λοιπον δ' έκ των καταριθμηθέντων το των ίερέων γένος σ ε 9 φανερά δὲ καὶ ή τούτων τάξις. οὕτε γάρ γεωργόν οὕτε Βάναυσον ίερέα καταστατέον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει

14 [ταύτην] Thurot (unless the word be transposed to follow 16 αμφούν), την αύτην Ueherweg, ταῦτα Susem. Cp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 402 f. | μὲν <γάρ> Vettori in his translation | 16 corts | clear (from l. 17) Lambin | 17 clear was transposed to follow 18 τούτους by Camerarius, to follow 18 δεί by Susem. 2-8; εΐναι δοκεί Γ P⁵ Ar., elvaι [δοκεί] Susem.1 in the text, έστίν Lambin followed by Welldon | 18 < είναι> added by P6 Bk., and so William Ar, translate | 20 mipos 7600 H2 P6 Ar. Bk. which is just as good || 25 δτι-είπερ] είπερ-δτι Hayduck || 26 [ή] Susem., cp. 1330 a 29 and Quaest. crit. coll. p. 403 | 27 leptur F Po L. Ar. Ald., lepur the other authorities | 20 lepla omitted by P1 (1st hand), wolfrap supplied by p1 in the margin

entrust this whole side of political life to both who are the same persons" (a lame conclusion): as if agriculture, trade, etc. were the other side, contrary to the teaching of cc. 8, 9. If however we adopt αμφότερα and ταθτα (see Crit. notes), then την πολιτείαν becomes the subject, not the object, of the verb ἀποδιδόναι. Susem. 17 (xa...de(av) "This division recognizes desert." See c. 14 § 4, 1332 b

present passage; n. (896). SUSEM. (812) § 7 18 < είναι > περί τούτους] Cp. § 8, α 25, είναι τούτων, § 9, α 33, τ' ἀνάπαυσιν έχειν περί αύτούς. 'περί c. αυς. rem significat ad quam aliqua actio referatur Bonitz Ind. Ar., who cites Topics 11. 7. 5, 113 a 31, cp. 579 b 43 διά γὰρ τῆς περί τὴν δψιν αἰσθήσεως = the sensa-tion of sight. "The landed property must be in their hands."

19 Civic rights are not for the artizans, nor for any other class which is not employed upon the 'manufacture' of virtue.

21 έκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως! We need not refer this to c. 1, it can be regarded as a reference to c. 8 § 5, 1328 a 37 ff., as was explained in n. (807). Susem. (813) 23 εὐδαίμονα δὶ πόλιν] 'When we call a city happy, we have in view all the citizens and not merely a particular class.

Cp. II. 5. 27 n. (184). SUSEM. (814) § 8 φανφόν δὶ κτλ] It is certainly not a direct inference, that the soil should be cultivated by slaves or barbarians. But it follows indirectly if we mentally supply two propositions: (1) Aristotle's decision that the Greeks in general are not slaves by nature, so that they cannot be treated as serfs or half-free, n. (54); (2) his remarks, II. Q. 2 ff., 126Q a 36 ff., on the evil consequences attending the employment of serfs of Greek descent, Penestae, Helots, etc. nn. (280, 284). Further comp. c. 10 § 13 n. (830) and Exc. 'On the Cretan meplouses' p. 336 SUSEM. (815)

§ 9 33 mepla vrois must be mepl rois

- 30 τιμάσθαι τούς θεούς)· ἐπεὶ δὲ διήρηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο (VIII) μέρη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν, πρέπει (p. 110) δὲ τήν τε θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῦς θεοῦς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν έχειν περί αὐτούς τούς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας, τούτοις αν είη τὰς ἱερωσύνας ἀποδοτέον.
- ών μέν τοίνυν άνευ πόλις οὐ συνίσταται καὶ ὅσα μέρη 36 πόλεως, είρηται (γεωργοί μέν γάρ καὶ τεγνίται καὶ πᾶν τὸ θητικόν αναγκαίου ύπάρχειν ταις πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς .πόλεως τό τε όπλιτικου καὶ βουλευτικόυ, καὶ κεχώ-30 ρισται δή τούτων έκαστον, τὸ μέν ἀεὶ τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος) 10 [ξοικε δε οὐ νῦν οὐδε νεωστὶ τοῦτ' είναι γνώριμον τοῖς περὶ ΙΧ

22 aurods ? Susem. I roorous P Po (1st hand, for on is written over an erasure) and Bk. | 34 ταs lepworipus Ar. and Bas.3, ταιs lepworipus Γ II Bk. | 36 yeupyobs-reyptras? Scaliger | 27 [indayou] Spengel: the text can hardly be sound | 30 δε Schneider, δη ΓΠ Bk. Susem. 1 in the text | 40 [fourc... 1329 b 39 χώραν] Susem., [b 3 74 74...25 Zegworptos] Chandler, [b 5 doyala...25 Zegworptos] Bojesen: see Comm. and Ougest, crit, coll. p. 404 ff.

θεούs: in their service (Welldon). But

see Quaest. crit. coll. p. 404.
τους διά του χρόνου άπειρηκότας] Those who are superannuated: upon the principle stated IL 9. 25, see n. (330). This is the solution of an apparent inconsistency; that in this, the only genuine aristocracy, n. (530), all citizens have equal rights, see n. (930), and yet aristocracy is the rule of a minority: III. 7 §§ 1-3, 15 §§ 8-10 n. (648), cf. III. 18. 1. For if the citizens of the ideal state must complete military service before admission, at the age of 35, into the popular assembly (c. 16 8 9 1335 a 30 ff., Exc. II.), and are not eligible to the Council or the offices of state (military commands excepted) till they are about fifty, while later on they are again released from all civic duties and lose all civic rights by becoming priests, it follows that it is only from his fiftieth to about his seventieth year that each citizen can have a share in the entire government and administration, as indeed was remarked Introd. p. 51, p. 54. For these twenty years only is he actually a full citizen, in the active exer-cise of his rights. This being so, the ruling body of full citizens will always remain, beyond all doubt, a minority of the civic body in the wider sense, including the soldiers and superannuated old men, even if the boys and youths are excluded. Comp. c. 13 § 9, 1332 a 34 n. (885), c. 14 §§ 4, 5. On the position which the priests hold in relation to the magistrates proper see VI(IV). 15. 2 n. (1344), VII(VI). 8. 21 n. (1478). SUSEM.

(816, 817) 35 ff. 'Thus we have given (1) the indispensable adjuncts and (2) the integral. parts of a city: i.e. cultivators, artizans, and the whole class of labourers are adjuncts indispensable to cities, while the integral parts are the defensive force and the deliberative body. These elements are severally distinct, the distinction between integral parts and adjuncts being permanent, that between the army and the deliberative body only temporary. A valuable summary of results.

c. 10 [Historical digression: §§ 1-9.] Particulars respecting the division and cultivation of the land: §§ 9-14.

The historical digression is apparently an interpolation by a well-informed Peripatetic, At all events the suspicion under which it labours (see Crit. notes) has not been dispelled by Spengel's fond admira-tion of this "beautiful passage" (Arist. Stud. III. p. 3 n.), or by Newman's dis-passionate survey, Vol. I. p. 573 f. §1 40 ov vov ov68 vecord] Possibly

this is directed against Plato, and intended to prove that he was by no means the inventor of the particular classifica-tion wherein Aristotle here follows him. E. Curtius History of Greece 1,6 p. 162 (I. p. 181 Eng. tr.) even goes so far as to suppose that all the three 'orders' of the

πολιτείας φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διηρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ γένη (ΙΧ) 1399 Ετήν πόλιν καὶ τό τε μάχιμον έτερον είναι καὶ τὸ γεωργούν, ἐν Αἰγύπτω τε γὰρ ἔγει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔτι καὶ νῦν, τά τε περὶ τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Αἴγυπτον 4 Σεσώστριος, ως φασίν, οθτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ

1329 b 2 76 omitted by P2-5 Sb Vb, perhaps by F | 700700 after 700 rpbnov H2 P2 Bk. and γρ. P1 (corr. in the margin) | δè added after ετι by H1 (but corr. in the margin of P1 marks it for omission vo.) | 4 utow T Me

Platonic state had actually existed in Crete:-an opinion which few people will accept. See II. 5. 16 n. (167). SUSEM. (818) Hippodamos (see II. 8. 2) also adopted this division between the military and agricultural population, which was always one of the main features of the Spartan state, II. 5. 17, 1264 a 10 note. A later historian finds a parallel to Plato's republic in the Indian state: Holm Griech. Gesch. III. p. 185-

41 γένη] Classes, castes. Seven in Egypt are enumerated by Herod. Π. 164: lepes (ib. cc. 37, 143), μάχιμοι (c. 165), βοικόλοι (c. 65), συβώται (c. 47), κάπηλοι, κυβερυήται, έρμηνέει c. 154). See however E. Meyer Gesch. des Alterthums 1. § 53.

p. 61, \$ 471, p. 565.
1329 b 3 7d μèν οῦν] An instance of
the idiomatic use of the particle οῦν not illative, at the beginning of a sentence, but explanatory and distributive, introducing a subordinate clause: "µêv ouv saepe usurpatur, ubi notio modo pronunciata amplius explicatur" Bonitz Ind. Ar. s.v. The stock instance is Poet, c. 22 § 4, 1458 α 23: άλλά ἄν τες ἀπαντα τοιαίντα ποεόρη, ἢ αὐνημα ἔσται ἢ βαρ-βαραμός, ὡ μὰν οῦν ἐκριπαφορῶν, αὐτα, ἀν ὄ ἐκ γλαντῶν, βαρβαραμότ. Vahlen Επίτηἔς III. 317 Γ. points out that this sentence should not be divided by a colon or period after the first βορβαρισμές. So closely is the whole connected that the clause ân μὲν οὖν serves simply to distribute the preceding clause into its parts, explaining τοαθνα by ἐκ μεταφορών and ἐκ γλωττών. Consequently οὧν is not illative: a simple μὲν and δὲ would have sufficed (as in the present passage they do suffice below § 2, b 6 f. τὰ μἐν...τὰ δὲ...). Vahlen classifies the present passage and Value Classifies the present passage and Soph. El. 6. 15, 169 a 19, as precisely similar. He admits Categ. 2 § 1, 1 a 17, Top. 105 h 21, 108 h 9, h 38 to he not very different: while Pol. 1. 2. 8, 1252 b 29 (see Crit. note), IV(VII). 17. 8, 1336 b 4, b 6 (όλως μέν οίν...μάλιστα μέν o(v), and VIII(v), 12, 8, 1316 a 8 are somewhat dissimilar. Perhaps De Rep.

Athen. c. 43 § 3, p. 111, 6 K.1, but Har-pocration omits of v. 4 Σισώστριος] The Greeks were accustomed to refer all manner of Egyptian institutions to this celebrated king, in whom they seem to have combined (see Duncker History of Antiquity, 1.5 134-158, Eng. tr. 1877, pp. 142-159) two real kings, Sethos I. (1439-1388 B.C.) and Ramses II. (1388-circa 1350), just as all Spartan institutions were attributed to Lycurgus, and all Cretan institutions to Minos. In reality the caste-system, or rather the organization of the Egyptian population (Duncker I.⁵ 191 f., Eng. tr. pp. 197—200) existed long before these two kings, and in germ at any rate goes back to the earliest records of Egyptian history. Susem. (819)

"The monuments prove that there was no such thing as caste, in the strict sense of the term, in Egypt. The son might, and usually did, follow the father's calling: professions and offices of state were often inherited. But there is no evidence of compulsion, or of obligation to marry only in a given caste": A. Wiedemann on Herod. II. 164, Herodots zweites Buch p. 573, who quotes Plato Tim. 23, 24, Isocr. Busiris 6-8, Diod. 1. 73 f., 1. 28, Strabo XVII. p. 787. Cp. Les castes en Egypte in Le Muslon, 1886. Also E. Meyer Gesch. des alten Aegyptens (Berlin 1887) II. p. 169. Meyer (ib. p. 292) doubts whether Ramses II. really corresponds to Sesostris, any more than Usertesen 11. (as supposed by Manetho), or indeed any one military conqueror more than another among the kings. Wiedemann however (Agyptische Geschichte 429 f.) follows Lepsius in regarding Ramses II. as the nucleus, around whom, as around Alexander the Great, legends collected. Cp. Ranke Weltgesch, I. p. 26,

Maspero Genre & p. 83: 'Setsû, var. Setsû-râ, le nom populaire de Rhamsès II.' Of Aristotle Wiedemann says (Gesch. p. 117): "the three notices dealing with (IX)

§2 περὶ Κρήτην. ἀρχαία δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων ή ε τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην, γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλώ παλαιότερα τού-§ 3 των. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωτρίας, ἀφ' οὖ τό τε ὄνομα 10 μεταβαλόντας Ίταλους άντ' Οἰνωτρών κληθήναι καὶ τήν άκτην ταύτην της Εὐρώπης Ίταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν έντὸς οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικού· ἀπέχει δὲ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων όδὸν ήμι-§ 4 σείας ήμέρας. τοῦτον δη λέγουσι τον Ἰταλον νομάδας τοὺς 8 15 Οίνωτρούς όντας ποιήσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους τε αὐτοῖς άλλους θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστήσαι πρώτου. διὸ καί νθν έτι των άπ' έκείνου τινές χρώνται τοίς συσσιτίοις § 5 καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνίοις. ὤκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρη-

8 λόγοι Γ Sb, λογικοί P¹ | 13 Nageripou ? Sviburg (from Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 35) | δέ] γὰρ Π² P⁶ Bk. | 15 τε αὐτοῖς άλλοις M⁶, τ' άλλους αὐτοῖς P⁵, άλλους τε αύτοιs P1 H2 Bk. | 18 τυρηνίαν M* P9-3-4-5 Sb Vb and perhaps Γ

the country leave a good impression: yet the statement that the division into castes originated with Sesostris does not diverge from the current erroneous tradition. It would seem that Aristotle can hardly have made independent researches on Egypt in detail."

Μένω δὲ τὰ περί Κρήτην] The division of the Cretan population is mentioned

II. 5. 19, 1264 a 21, n. (171), c. 10 §§ 1-8 with Exc. III. p. 336 ff. Susem. (320) § 2 5 των συσσιτίων ή τάξις! The

system of public meals, as es τη τάξει της molerelas, II. 11, 2, 1272 b 30; cp. also 11. 5. 5, 1263 a 23.
6 περὶ την Μίνω βασιλείαν] Compare again II. 10 § 3, § 5, § 7, § 9. SUSEM.

\$3 8 oi lóysos] II. 8. 1, 1267 b 28. Comp. Antiochus Frag. 3, 4, 6, Müller F. H. G. I. p. 181 f. SUSEM. (822)

'Iταλόν τινα...15 γεωργούs] Antiochus (Fr. 6 apnd Strab. VI. 254 f.) however calls the Lametic gulf the Napetine: the name common in later times is o 'Izπωνιατικός. This gulf is in the southwest of Italy, in Bruttium, and is now Golfo di S. Enfemia: just opposite to it, on the east coast, is the Scylletic Gulf or Golfo di Squillaci. Strabo describes them as 160 stadia [i.e. 18 miles 660 yds] apart, rather more than half a day's journey. The name Italy was then

originally confined to the south-west promontory of the peninsula, between the strait of Messina on the one side and these two gulfs on the other. Oenotria means Wine-land, Italus the Ox, or calf: Italy, the land of Oxen. The ox used for ploughing must be meant, a symbol of the transition of the Graeco-Italians from a pastoral to an agricultural life: and this, one of the oldest legends of the Italian race, shrewdly connects the original Italian legislation with the transition. Another version of the same belief makes the ox the leader of the primitive Samnite colonies: while the oldest national names in Latin distinguish the people as reapers (Siculi perhaps also Sicani) or field-labonrers (Opsci). See Mommsen, History of Rome I. p. 21 f. Eng. tr. Thucydides VI. 2. 4 calls this king Italos not an Oenotrian but a Sicel. For the name Europe, see c. 7 § 2, n. (779). SUSEM. (823) § 4 16 Kal rd συσσίτια] There is no

other authority for this statement of common meals in Italy. Susem. (824)
διό και νῦν...17 χρῶνται] The language is undoubtedly the echo of II. 10. 3, 1271 b 30 διό και νύν οι περίοικοι τόν αύτου τρόπου χρώνται αύτοις. But we hesitate to draw the inference that here. as there, an extract from Ephorus follows

(Newman: I. p. 575 n. 2). § 5 18 φκουν δὲ κτλ] Here the in-

19 νίαν 'Οπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυ-(ΙΧ) 20 μίαν Αὔσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν 'Ιαπυγίαν καὶ τὸν 'Ιόνιον

Χώνες, την καλουμένην Σερέτιν ήσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χώνες 8 Οἰνωτροὶ τὸ γένος. ἡ μεν οῦν τῶν συσσιτίων τάξις ἐντεῦθει γέγονε πρῶτου, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ (ω.) 14 πλήθους ἐξ Αὐγάττου πολὸ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῦς χρόνους τὴν

20 absures M Piel V \parallel 21 yéanes (yéanes SVV) \parallel 10 pie Ar. \parallel Lyôre Gèlthig Bêr. Syrten William, réprip \mathbb{P}^2 and \mathbb{P}^2 (ath analy, sirper the other authorities Ar. Bit. Susem.' in the text and \mathbb{P}^2 (later hand), Ziper Heyne (Optar. II. 211, 235) from Arist. Prog. 549, 1568 b 11f. (Ziper is the correct accentuation.) \parallel Xéanes \mathbb{P}^2

terpolator has taken the opportunity to air his historic knowledge, for this whole passage has nothing whatever to do with the point he wants to prove. The nearest neighbours of the Oenotrians or Itali on the north-west and north-east only, are mentioned here. At any rate this must be supposed to have been the writer's intention, if indeed the mention of these places has any meaning at all. The name of the one, Opici, is the same as the Opsci or Oscans, explained in n. (823). Why the Greeks called them Ausonians we cannot tell. Iapygia de-notes what was afterwards called Apulia and Calabria. The Siris is a river in the south east of Lucania. His inclusion of the Chonians among the Oenotrians is another proof of the author's agreement with Antiochus (Frag. 6, n. 823). But the Oscans were not near neighbours of that oldest Italy; even according to the account given by the interpolator they lived south of Tyrrhenia (Etruria) in Latium, and more especially in Campania, north of the Gulf of Paestum. Cp. Arist. Frag. 567 [558 Arist. pseudep.=609 ed. Teubn.] in Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1. 72 where Latium is described as a region in Cpike, τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς 'Οπικῆς, ὁς καλεῖται Λάτιον (Eaton). But Antiochus goes on to say that the name Italy, and probably also the earlier name Oenotria, had first been extended further north as far to the north-west as the river Laos which flows through the south-west of Lucania and to the north-east as far as the plain of the Siris and Metapontum. situated to the north of this plain in the north-east part of Lucania; so that Tarentum, which is not far east of Metapontum, was still included in Iapygia; for he tells us, the country round the plain of the Siris had been inhabited by a great

Oenotrian tribe, the Chonians, who gave it the name Chone. Thus the whole of the west coast of this region newly added to the old designation Italy is washed by the Terinaic Gulf, of which the Hipponiathe Temase Con, of which the rappoint tic in the extreme south is only a particular bay. Thucydides' use of the word Italy quite accords with this, for he includes Metapontum in Italy, but makes it the boundary towards Iapygia (VII. 33 § 3), while he appears to include Tarentum in white he appears to include 1 arentum in Lapygia (VI. 44 § 2) and places Campanian Cuma in Opicia (VI. 4 § 5). Herodotos (1. 167) even extends the designation Cenotria beyond the Laos and the Terinaic Gulf, so that Elea also is included in it. The country of the Opici would then touch this enlarged Italy on the north-west, but unfortunately in our present passage there is no mention of this extension of the name; and, besides, the Chonian territory is not said to border on this enlarged Italy or Oenotria, but is itself included in it. The whole passage is therefore doubtless a wretched interpolation, and as such would have to be removed from the rest, if that really belonged to Aristotle. But it will be shown in notes (829, 830) that the whole passage 68 1-0 has been added by another hand, and that its author, one of the oldest Peripatetics, though he has drawn from good historical sources, may yet have written this sentence, in which he has certainly made very bad use of them. SUSEM. (825)

Susem. (829)
§ 6 24 πολύ γάρ ὑπερτάνα κτλ]
As shown in n. (810). Susem. (826)
ποίς χρόσους! The plural as in V(IV).
6 § 5, 1293 a 1, and in the suspected chapter II. 12 § 7, 1274 a 30: more usually as in V(IV). 3 § 3, VIII. VI. 4 § 1.
Another instance is Niz. Eth. VIII. 13 § 2, 1161 b 2, π dè προκλόστα π στά γρόσους.



33-2

§7 Μίνω βασιλείαν ή Σεσώστριος. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ (ΙΧ) 16 ἄλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εὐρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῷ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπειράκις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν

μάλλου ε άπειράκιε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν εἰκὸς διδάσκειν αἰτήν, τὰ δὲ εἰς εἰσχημοσύνην καὶ περιοσίαν ὑπαρχώντων ἢὸη τούτων εὐλογοι λαμβάνειν τὴν αίξη-30 στιν ἄστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἱεσθαι δεῖ τὸν αἰτὸν 88 Ενειν τούτου, ὅτι ἐὲ πάιντα ἀργαῖα, σημείου τὰ πεοὶ ε

§ εξγειν τρόπου. ὅτι δὲ πάντα ἀρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ περὶ. Αἶτριπτοι ἀτίν ὁτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιόπατοι μὲν δοκοῦτοι ἐνω, νύμων δὲ τετιχήκασιν ‹ἀεὶ› καὶ τάξεως πολιτικῆς. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις ἰκανῶς χρήσθαι, τὰ δὲ παραλελειμμένα. Số πεοῶσθαί ἀντεῦν.

§9 ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχώτων, εἶρητια πρότερον, καὶ διότι τοὺς γεφογρώταν αι ἐπτὸν ἐτξονος ἐκοι δεί, καὶ πόσην τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ποίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν] περὶ δὲ τῆς ε εδ ἰαιομής καὶ τῶν γεφογρώτων, τίνας καὶ ποίονε εἶναι χρή, λεκτέων πρότον, ἐπικὸ ὁ οἶτε κοινήν φαμεν δεῖν εἶναι τὴν

28 elebs after δεδίσκαν Π² P⁸ Bk. || 30 τὰ omitted by Γ and P³ (1st hand, sup plied by corr.¹) || 3 π δ³ Γ γάρ ? Susem. || 33 < cér> Bernays and Susem. independently, <πρότοι>? Schneider || 34 cérpμένου Lambin Bk.², apparently right || 36 τῶν <τὰ> Spengel || 41 δῶν after ἀνα: Π² P Bk.

27 μάλλον δ' dmopáxes] Cp. the well known passage Meteorol. 1. 3 § 8, 339 n. 29, οὐ γὰρ δὰ φήσομεν ἄποξ εἰδεδ δια οὐδ' δλητάκει τὰι αίτλε δέξει διακευδιό γυσμένει δτ' τοῦ αὐημάποις, ἀλλ' ἀπειμάτει. 87 27 τὰ μὸ γὰρ διαγραίτα] Comp. 17 (793) on c. 8 § 1. Sussah. (827) 1, 1793) on c. 8 § 1. Sussah. (827)

surrounsantabes at joh spik florby pugle spik enlesynsis in featurn ausgespielensen. § 8 3 4 rd. 18 mapachkappten sanpafran prived i How can that he done, if everything has been already discovertification of the spik of the spik of the this paradox to Aristotle. The internediate link is wanting, which explains that his paradox to Aristotle. The internediate link is wanting, which explains that has been already discovered may that has been already discovered may to be rediscovered. SUSSIM. (289) Cp. Patro Lams 6p os of legislation 1; of the discovered of the spik of the spik de desums of 2 20% pythysis, vision 1 years de control of 2 20% pythysis, vision 1 years the end of the Typics, 18 g b 6—8, quara-

§ 9 36 ότι μέν οὖν...30 χώραν] If we compare this new recapitulation with the one given above in c. 9 § 10, it is clear that it passes over everything intermediate, as not containing anything pe-culiar or important for the course of the inquiry, but as seeking historic confirmation partly for what is affirmed in c. o and partly, with an eye to what is coming, for the syssitia, which do not come up for discussion until 10 § 10; like the former recapitulation, it summarizes everything discussed before c. 10. But while the former is rightly confined to the contents of the two preceding chapters, with which alone what follows (6-9) is connected, the latter wrongly passes over the passage c. 5 \(\frac{5}{4} + \text{c.} 6 \(\frac{5}{5} \), as though none of it were there at all, and goes hack to the subject-matter of c. 5 \(\frac{5}{8} \) 1—3, although this has no immediate, connexion with what follows. We can clearly detect the interpolator, who has framed this second recapitulation, so entirely out of place here, with the sole object of fastening his own composition (i.e. c. 10 §§ 1—8) or Aristotle's treatise. SUSEM. (830)

41 **¢aµev**] 11. 5 §§ 4—9 nn. (156, 156 b,

1330 ακτήσευ, ώσπερ τενές εἰρήκασευ, άλλά τῆ χρήσει φιλικώς (IX) γινομένη κοινήν, οὐτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν τροφής.

§ 10 περί συσσετίων τε συνδοκεί πᾶσι χρήσιμον εἶναι ταἷς εὖ κατσεκευασμένως πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν δι ἡν δ αἰτίαν συνπόρχειν δι ἡν δ αἰτίαν συνπόρχειν δεὶ δὲ τούταν κοικονεῖν πάιντας τοὺς πολίτας, οἱ μάβιον δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε εἰσφέρειν τὸ συντεταγμένου καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλλην οἰκίαν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ 11 πάσης τὴς πόλεως ἐστίν.
ἀναγκαῖον τοίννω εἰς δὲυ μέρη το διοικρίας τὴν πόλεως ἐστίν.

.... υπειών. ετε Θε τα προς τούς θεούς δαπανήματα κοινό Τ 81 πάσης της πόλεως όταν. Δευφαίοι τοίων είς δύο μέρη το διερήσθαι τὴν χώριαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν είναι κοινήν τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδιοτιῶν, καὶ τούτων ἐκατέρων διερήσθαι δίχα πάλιν, τῆς μὲν κοινής τὸ μὲν ἔτερον μέρος είς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεούς λειτουργίας τὸ δὲ ἔτερον είς τὴν τῶν συσατίων δαπάνην, (η. ...) τῆς δὲ τὰν ἱδιωτόν τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὸς ἐκρατι 15 τιάς, ἔτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἵως δύο κλήρων ἐκάστω νεμηθέντων ἀμφατέρων τῶν τόπων πάντες μετέχωσιν. τὸ ε τ γὰρ ἴσον οὐτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δἰκαιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς 130 12 γενιμές Γορητικ, τυμμές εγίνεθαι. Stanti, ηνωμένης ΓΙΑ. ΙΙΚ. Stantin III he test | δ κάστος τους τους τους τους τους τους τους.

1330 a gwaydog Congreve, gwaydog --yherfau-> Susseni, gwaydog Fi HA. Ble.
Susseni, in the text | 4 door? Sussen. | 14 grd gibê Fregor Slob, D. 323 and Paris,
2042 | 1 rô after ploys omitted by Stob. | rair degarfaus Stob., profesia necessicleter William Ar. Suid. and Phot. notice this passage x-v. degards | 15 fregor
bê rô] rô bê Fregor Stob. | 1 rû mûn Stob. | êcderwo Pl. beatrwo L. Ald. W

158), 9 §§ 2—4 n. (279), 11 § 10 n. (393). Compare also 11. 6 §§ 10—14 n. (211); IV(VII), 9 §§ 3, 7, 8. The same use of the present, \$\phi_{\text{star}}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\text{star}\t

this. Sustan (839) See n. on 1571 a b.
2 otr' dropely offeral
1 otr' dropely offeral
1 condition
1 non which special stress is laid in the
criticism of Carthage cited n. (831): &
4 dryft; 1/2 off off off off off off
4 off off off
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4 off off
4 off off
4 of

§ 10 3 συνδοκεί παστ] As e.g. Plato Laws 780 B, εδοξε μέγα διαφέρειν εἰς σωτηρίων τὸ νόμιμων, Χεπ. De Rep. Lac. c. 5. 5 ϋστερον ἐροῦμεν] An unfulfilled promise: Introd. p. 49 n. (4) and p. 53-SUSEM. (833)

Set St rootrow...8 oke(av) "Now all the citizens must take part in these (syssitia), but it is not easy to arrange that poor men should contribute their quota from their own means and at the same time pay all that is needed for their own housekeeping as well." See 11. 9 § 31 n. (341), to § 8 n. (365). Compare also n. (153) on 11. 5. 2. SUSEM. (834) For 70 **resymbra* cp. 11. to § 7, 1272 a 15.
8 **sound magne tip schools "The Politics takes for granted the mainte-

nance, even in the best state, of the popular faith and the traditional worship" (Newman). Comp. n. (859).

\$11 13 ds την των σωνσυντών δαπάνην] This is precisely the solution which the criticism in Book II. indicated: sec ms. on 8 § 3 (24), 9 § 31 (341), 10

see ns. on 8 § 3 (254), 9 § 31 (341), 10 8 (365).

14 The 8t Twi Usuarw...16 µrt/ya
Twi] See 11. 6 § 15 n. (215). SUSEM.

(836) The lands nearer to the city would possess many advantages over those more remote.

16 τό τε γάρ (σον... 20 καλόν] Comp. Thuc. I. 120 § 2 (the various members of the Peloponnesian confederacy), II. 21 § 3 (the Acharnians): the Book of Numbers c. 32 (the tribes beyond Jordan), as

- § 12 ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμουσητικώτερον. ὅπου γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον (ΙΧ) ἔχει τὸυ τρόπου, οῦ μὲν ολιγωροῦσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους 20 ἔχθρας, οῦ δὲ λίαυ φρουτίζουσι καὶ παρὰ τὸ καλόν. διὸ
- παρ ένίοις νόμος έστι τους γειτνιώντας τους όμόροις μη συμμετέχειν βουλής τών προς αὐτούς πολέμων, ώς διά το ίδιον ούκ ἄν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι καλώς.
- 8.13 τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διηρῆσθαι τον τρόπον τοῦτον 15 δει τὰς προιερημένας εἰτίας: τοῦν δὲ γεωργήσωντας μάλιστα μέν, νε εἰ δεὶ κατ ἐνήχι, διοίλους εἰναι, μὴνε ὁμοφύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γιὰρ ἀν πρός τε τὴν ἐρηασίαν εἰεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρός τὸ μηδὲν νεωτερίξευ ἀσφαλείς), δείτερον δὲ Θαριβάρους περοιέχους ποροιλησίων τοῦς ἐσημείνος προιέχους τοῦς ἐσημείνος τὴν ἀρτίας.
- 19 βαρβάρους περιοικους παραπλησίους τοι ειρημενοίς την φυ-81 εται, τοιτονω δε τοις μέν [Εδιους] ετι τοις Ιδίοις είναι Ιδίους τών κεκτημένων τὰς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ΄ ἐπὶ τῆ κοινῆ γῆ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ δεί τρόπου χρήσθαι δούλοις, καὶ δάντι βέλτιον πάσι τοἰς δούλους άθλον προκείσθαι την δεκυθείραι, ύστερον έρουμεν.
- 11 τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅτι μὲν δεῖ κοινὴν εἶναι τῆς ἡπείρου τε Χ 35 καὶ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων, εἴρηται πρότερον αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶναι
 - 19 76] rhy IFP [10 kyfor IFP] ho ray no hybrid signify 1 go flavor if the significant of the significant signify 1 flavor for the significant signi

moreover for §§ 11, 12 generally see II. 6 § 14 n. (211). SUSEM. (836) § 13 26 d δα κατ' εύχήν] Compare the passages collected in n. (128) on II. 1

I. SUSEM. (837)
 pujra όμοφάλων] So Plato Lawa VI. 777D
 cp. μόγε πατριώτας άλληλων είναι τοὸς μέλλοντας ράων δουλεύσευ όπουμο όπου κατο δύναμω όπο μάλοτα. Comp. Ps.-Ar. Ocean.
 I. 5 § 5, 6, 1344 b 11 ff., esp. b 18 καί μη κτάσθαι όμοφεθνώς πολλασί (Schmeider).

Susem. (838)
μήτε θυμοαθών] The same expression
II. 5. § 25, 1264 b 9, see n. (182); there
"men of spirit," here "passionate."
Compare what is said of θυμός in notes

on III. 16 § 1 (64), IV(VII). 7 § 5 (786), § 7 (790). Sushm. (889) 28 δεύτερον δέ] Comp. c. 9 § 8 π.

(815), also notes on II. 9. 4 (282) and Exc. III. on the Cretan περίοικοι p. 338. SUSEM. (840)

32 δέτη βόλτουν πάστ... Αλεθερίαν] Α new contradiction in Aristotle's theory of slavery. For slaves by nature, as in the best state actual slaves or serfs can only be, must logically remain slaves for ever-However comp. Ps.-Ar. Cocon. 1. 5 § 5.f., 1344 b. 1.f. Σχθ δέ και 47οιο δρόσθα πάσων δίδιαιον γάρ και σιμφέρον τήν Ολευ-θερίαν κάσθα αίδιου. SUSSEM. (941)

33 & repov] an unfulfilled promise:
Introd. pp. 49, 53. SUSEM. (842)
CC. 11, 12. The city: regulations in
detail for the site, the water-supply, the
plan of the streets, the fortifications, and
the two Agorai. Cp. Analysis p. 115.

the two Agorai. Cp. Analysis p. 115.
§1 36 είρηται πρότερον] In c. 5 §§ 3,
4. SUSEM. (843)

37 τήν θέσιν εύχεσθαι δεί κατατντχάνειν πρὸς τέτταρα δή βλέ-(X) 88 πουτας. πρώτον μέν, ώς διαγικαΐου, πρός ύγειαν (αί τε γάρ πρός τός ωτήν έγικλιστιν έχουσαι καί πρός τὰ πνεύματα 40 τὰ πνέοντα ἀπό τῆς ἀνατολής ὑγιεινότερα, δεύτερου δὲ κατά βοράνι - ἐιχείμεροι γὰρ ἀνται μάλλου) τῶν δὲ λοι- ε

oporte attipieri paritimene, quatture ntipue regizientes William, who doubtless translates a gloss 1 ebus omitted by \mathbb{P}_1^2 (eisea \mathbb{R}_2^2 (perhaps rightly), étő Weldkom, who transposes \mathfrak{F}_2^2 rôpes \mathbb{R}_2^2 the \mathbb{R}_2^2 roughtly. Bonits Ind. Ar.s. v. suspects that searrangujers is corrupt 1 \mathfrak{F}_2^2 regized \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly. Bonits Ind. Ar.s. v. suspects that searrangujers is corrupt 1 \mathfrak{F}_2^2 regized \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 \mathbb{P}_2^2 regized \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly recessary; perhaps δ^2 at is better \mathbb{P}_2^2 at \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly regized \mathbb{P}_2^2 roughtly \mathbb{P}_2^2 r

αύτης δὲ πρὸς αύτην είναι...κατατυγχάνειν...37 βλέποντας] The construction of the infinitives eval, κατατυγχάνεω is disputed, and Bonitz Ind. Ar. s.v. sus-pects the latter word. Busse (op. c. p. 17) compares (as Göttling had done) phrases like exaw elvas and the like: he thinks an object of the verb κατατυγχάνειν can be supplied without trouble from what follows. On the contrary, if κατατυγχώνει is sound, it is on this verb that the accus, with infinitive την θέσιν είναι must depend: this construction already given in Passow's lexicon has lately been proposed anew by Dr Jowett (=τοῦ θέσιν είναι). To this Susemihl objects: "at non hoc optandum est ut The Béour accipiat urbs, sed την έπιτηδείαν θέσιν vel την θέσιν ώς δεί, quod ut subaudiri posset e verbis πρὸς τέτταρα δη βλέποντας, scribendum potius erat fere sic: αὐτὴν δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν τῆς θέσεως κατατυγγάνειν. Aut igitur lacuna deformatus esse videtur locus aut, quae est Bonitzii suspicio, κατατυγχάνειν corruptum. Omnia bene se haberent, si < τοῦ ἐπιτηδείαν > Vel < τοῦ οἴαν δεῖ > εἶναι legeretur, sed in re tam incerta praestat a coniecturis abstinere." Mr Welldon's proposal is met by the inquiry, Can sarary χάνειν govern an accusative? and if it can, would it not be easier to omit &bas with P5? (See Quaest. crit. coll. p. 407, of which the foregoing is an abstract.) SUSEM.

37 elixer@ai] Another of the passages collected in n. (128) on II. 1. 1. SUSEM. (842)

§ 2 38 αί τε γάρ....ιο ύγιεινότεραι] Similarly Hippocrates De aere L. p. 525 ff. Kilhn. In Greece, east winds bring rain, thus moderating the best and for the state of the state

a south aspect (Eaton). SUSEM. (845)
Add Plutarch De curionitate c. 1, 515
C: Gorsep rip ėμψν marpiba upbs febupos
arquae rektylerip mal rib nihus pleblorra
bellvys drib roū Hapvasoū becqueny, ėri
ris duerolskė rpanijau klyvustu irod roū
Kalpuvos. The east wind is spoken of as
warm Probl. XXVI. 31, 943 b 24 (New-

man).
4t Kara' Bopfan]- Under the north
wind, and so protected from it: i.e. with
south aspect. Cp. Occors. 1.6. \$8, 1345 a 23,
seard-Boppes edwn, Plato Critica 118 A, 18:
sph stress teripears and rot depress
seard-Boppes (J. G. Schmidder). Hippocrates however preferred a north aspect
crates however preferred a north aspect
crates in the search of the search of the search
field.

1866]

1876 St. Australy What are the four
face \$1.50 a. \$1

τών δε λοιπών] What are the four points to be observed, a 36? Health hirst, α 38; two more are accounted for by the words πρόει τε τὰι πολιτικάς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικάς καλώς έχεις; the one which still remains is, in all probability, beauty

1330 b πῶν * * πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικὰς καλῶς (X) ξ 3 έχειν. πρός μέν οὖν τὰς πολεμικάς αὐτοῖς μέν εὐέξοδον είναι γού, τοις δ' έναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον και δυσπερίληπτου. ύδάτων δὲ καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλήθος (γ. 113) 5 ολκείον, εί δὲ μή, τοῦτό γε εύρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζει ύποδοχὰς ὀμβρίοις ὕδασιν ἀφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ὥστε

μηδέποτε ύπολείπειν είργομένους της χώρας διά πόλεμον 84 έπεὶ δὲ δεῖ περὶ ὑγιείας Φροντίζειν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, τοῦτο 3 δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτφ καὶ πρὸς το τοιούτον καλώς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ύνιεινοῖς νοῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου την έμπιμέλειαν έχειν μη παρέργως. οίς γάρ πλείστοις χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλείστον συμβάλλεται πρός την ύγιειαν ή δε των ύδάτων και του § 5 πνεύματος δύναμις ταύτην έχει την φύσιν. διόπερ έν τι ταις εθ φρονούσαις δει διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, έὰν μὴ πάνθ

1330 b 1 $<\pi$ ods užy tůy kôguoy * *, từ để užyig thy četi tày θ égu tâs π d λ ews $>\pi$ ods. or something similar, ? Susem. | 2 µlv after abrois is omitted by II1 and not translated by Ar.; hence [uèv] Susem.1 | 4 & PP Ar., 76 Mo Pl II2 Bk. | 5 elipprai] εὐρῆσθαι Lambin Bk.2, but Schneider thought another verb required: τηρῆσαι for γε εθρηται ? Susem.2, needlessly; cp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 408 | 6 δμβρίους ίδασυ Μ. P1-3-4 Vb Ald., δμβρίους έδατος P2, aquarum imbrium William, δμβρίου έδατος or δμβρίων ὑδάτων ? Susem.2 | 7 ἐπιλείπειν Koraes Bk.2, needlessly || είργομένοις Madvio | 8 éwell elwes Böcker, transposing elwes... 17 yoular to precede vise be λοιπών 1330 a 41 | 9 δεί <καl> ? Susem. | 10 καλ τούτου <δεί> Schneider, <δεί> και τούτου Welldon, 11 έγειν <δεί> Susem. 1.2. But if a verb is required (instead of understanding $\delta \epsilon \hat{i}$ in the apodosis from b q the protasis) $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta \alpha i$, $\langle \chi \rho \hat{\eta} \rangle$ καl is more obvious | 11 τούτου] τούτων Welldon, wrongly | πλείστους P8-4 |

of situation. See ήδίων 1330 b 22, κόσμου b 31, είχαρις 1331 a 36, καὶ τοῦτον τὰν κόσμον a 38. If the mention of this has been lost after λοιπών we may perhaps supply it, as suggested in the Critical notes, and render the whole: "of the remaining points, < regard for the beauty of the town is indeed important, but far more important> that it should be well situated for the needs of civil administration and for military purposes." See Quasst. crit. coll. p. 408. Susem. (847) § 3 1330 b 2 πρός μέν οῦν κτλ] Again from the same point of view as . 5 § 3, 1326 b AI: see #. (767).

14 τοιαύτην Π2 P6 Ar. Bk.

C. 5 8 3, 1330 b 41; see M. (101).
SUSEM. (848)
4 5567601 The water supply of Greek
towns was often scanty enough (Mahaffy):
that of Antioch was wonderfully good: Liban. I. 354 R. Strabo, too (p. 235), commends the Romans for their attention to this requirement (Newman). Cp. Pl.

Laws 779 C. 5 τουτό γε ευρηται] Sec Occon. II. 2. 22, 1350 a 17, elpeir = assequi; though τοῦτο is a little strange, the sense must be "thus what is required has been attained." Cp. c. 13 § 2, 1331 b 29-SUSEM

7 'Recte Ridgewayus toara subiectum esse monet et εἰργομένουs obiectum verbi brokelren' Qu. crit. coll. p. 408 SUSEM. That this is Aristotle's regular use of the verb is plain from Rhet. I. 13. 20, 1374 a 33, imohelmos yap av 6 alais διαριθμούντα, and III. 17. 21, 1418 a 35, ούχ ὑπολείπει αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος (Ridgeway).

§§ 4, 5. These suggestions are emi-

nently sound and practical.

δμοια μήτ' ἀφθονία τοιούτων ή ναμάτων, χωρὶς τά τε εἰς (X) τροφήν ύδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς την ἄλλην χρείαν. περὶ δὲ ι τόπων [τῶν] ἐρυμνῶν οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον ταις πολιτείαις οίου ακρόπολις όλιγαρχικου και μουαρχι-20 κόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' όμαλότης, αριστοκρατικόν δὲ οὐδέτερου. § 6 άλλὰ μᾶλλον Ισχυροί τόποι πλείους. ή δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ήδίων μεν νομίζεται καὶ χρησιμωτέρα πρός τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἂν εύτομος ἢ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπου, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικάς 25 ἀσφαλείας τουναντίου ώς είχου κατά του άρχαιου χρόνου. δυσέξοδος γάρ έκείνη τοις ξενικοίς και δυσεξερεύνητος τοις § 7 έπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε- ε ται γάρ, ἄν τις οὕτως κατασκευάζη καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωργίοις ας καλουσί τινες των αμπέλων συστάδας) και την μέν

16 μητ'] μηδὲ Koraes, rightly | τοιούτων Π¹ P4-6 L* and P5 (corr.), τούτων the other authorities Ar. Bk. 1 | 18 τῶν omitted by M P1, <τῶν τόπων τῶν P5 Vb, τόπων τῶν Bk. with the other authorities | 21 Ιδίων] οίκείων M* and P1 (1st hand, corrected in the margin) | 22 µèr omitted by II1, untranslated by Ar., hence [uèv] Susem.1 | 23 Kal inserted before Karà by II2 P5 Bk. | 24 [Kal] Schneider Susem.1-2, possibly right | immobile II2 (in P3 & written faintly) P5 | 25 χρόνου] τρόπου ΓΜ* | 26 δυσέξοδος-δυσεξερεύνητος] δυσεξερεύνητος-δυσέξοδος Jackson | 27 αμφοτέρων after τούτων Π2 P5 Bk., thus avoiding hiatus | 28 γεωργίοις Scaliger, γεωργοῖς Γ Π Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text, γεωργικοῖς Camerarius | 30 όλην] άλλην Ar. and P3 (1st hand, corrected by a later hand) | πόλιν after μη ποιών II2 P5 Bk., omitted by P1

30 όλην πόλιν μη ποιείν εύτομον, κατά μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους

§ 6 20 άριστοκρατικόν] This holds good of the best constitution also, since this is at once the true and the best form of aristocracy: VI(IV). 7. 2 n. (1232), cp. C. 2 8 1 (1133), § 4 (1141): II. 6. 17 n. (218): III. 7. 3 m. (536) and Exc. 1. on B. III. For it is only in an aristocracy that fortified places are used solely as a protection against external foes: and the latter will plainly find the conquest of the city more difficult if they have to capture many such. Under a monarchy or an oligarchy the Acropolis, or single citadel, was also used for defence against popular insurrections; for this reason it is against the interests of democracy, because liable to become the rallying place of movements in favour of the tyrant or the oligarchs; in sbort usurpers may establish themselves there. These remarks are not disproved by the fact that democratic states like Athens itself retained their old Acropolis, Susem. (849)

§ 6 23 κατά τον νεώτερον...τρόπον] See Exc. II. to Book II.: p. 331. Susem.

24 πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολημκάς...τοῦναν-τίον] Eaton remarks that the surprise of Plataea (Thuc. II. c. 4) in ancient, and the second siege of Saragossa in modern, times, will illustrate the author's meaning. But "Aristotle probably has in view the experience of Perinthus, when besieged by Philip of Macedon. Philip after a hard struggle made himself master of the city-wall only to find himself in face of a close array of houses rising tier over tier up the slope of the hill, and parted by narrow lanes across which the besieged carried walls; Diod. XVI. 76" (Newman).

Susem. (851) § 7 29 τῶν ἀμπίλων συστάδας] Unquestionably, vines planted in the fashion

of a quincunx. Susem. (852) 30 εύτομον] Cut up, i.e. laid out, in straight streets: as Strabo says of Alexούτον γιδρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἔξει καλοῦς (X)
88 περὶ δὲ τειχών, οἱ μὴ φάκκωντες δεὶ ἐχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένως πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίος ὑπολιμβάνωντι,
34 καὶ ταῦθ ὁρῶντες ἐλεγχομένας ἔργφ τὰς ἐκείνως καλλω59 πισαμένως. ἀστι δὲ πρὸς μὸν τοῦς ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὸ τῆδ
πλήθει διαφέροντας οὐ καλὸν τὸ πειράσθια σήξεσθαι διὰ (ι. ιι)
τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐρυμυότητος ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στυμβαίνει καὶ
ἐνδέχεται πλείω τὴν ὑπεροχὴν γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπώτντων [καὶ]
τῆς ἀνθροπίτης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὁλίγοις ἀρετῆς, εἰ δεὶ σφίοξεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάσχειν κακοῦς μηδὲ ὑβρίξεσθαι, τὴν
ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνότητα τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέου ἐίναι πολε
της καναστάτην, ἀλλος τε καὶ νῦν εἰρημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ
βίλη καὶ τὰς μηχωνε εἰς ἀκρίξειαν πρὸς τὸς πολιορικίς.

§ 10 δμοιον γάρ τὸ τείχη μὴ περιβάλλειν ταἷς πόλεσω ἀξιοῦντ 31 πρὸι before κόσμον omitted by Π² P² Eἰ. (perhaps rightly) 1 37 καὶ before συμβαίνει omitted by Ν΄, [καὶ] Κοτιακ; καὶ συμβαίνει transposed to follow gỗ ἀνλίχοται Stahr 1 gð 8α ut urtranslated by William, [καὶ] Spengel 1 3ρ [καὶ] 5ρ [καὶ] 5ρ [καὶ] τὸ [καὶ τῆὶ ἀρτῆ ἀνθρωτίσης «τε» καὶ τῆι ἐν τοῦ δύγρα Schmidt 1318 13 70 το S V Yan Orthans P² (κι Shar)

andria (p. 793) άπασα μὲν οὖν ὁδοῖς κατατέτμηται.

§ 8 32 οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν κτλ]
Plato Laws Vi. 778 D fi: περὶ δὲ τειχῶν
ἐγωγ ὰ τη Σπάση ἐμοφερομων τὸ πάλχο
δευ ἐὰν ἐν τῷ γῷ κατακείμενα τὰ τείχη καὶ
μὴ ἐπανατάνωι. SUSEM. (853)
34 ἐλεγχομένας ἔργῳ] Here no doubt

he is thinking more especially of Sparta: see m. (524) on 111.9, 10. SUEM. (884) Grote asked how, if Sparta had had Grote asked how, if Sparta had had have pocured for her any greater protection than her strong position afforded in the first Theban invasion, 376. Epaminondas, though he did not succeed in surprising city, Xen. Idelate. VII. 5, 11, Felyb. 18. 8, 5. Very obstinate resistance had been

8. 5. Very continuate resistance and ocea offered to Philip by Byzantium and Perinthus (340), although Thebes, in spite of its walls, was carried by assault (335). § 9 36 οδ καλέν] To skulk behind fortifications bas been in all ages contrasted with courage in the open field. So of the remark of Archidamus, which Cameranius quotes from Plutarch, that at the sight of a catapult he exclaimed:

άπώλετο άνδρδε άρετά. 37 και συμβαίνει και ένδέχεται] Απ inversion which Mr Newman compares with II. 5. 27, 1764 b 18, µp vin ** holorow y p p vin ** polorow y p p vin ** polorow y p p vin ** polorow y p vin ** p vin

1331 a room make 1800 was red to purguedle Possibly this indicates the two main divisions of Greek artillery depth-off so. exernativas for discharging arrows chiefly, with a range of 400 yards, and the heavier engines were poblose; see A. Bauer Grieck. Kriegalterthismer in Iwan Müller's Handbuch d. Kl. Alt. IV. 1, p. 310 ff. H. Droysen Kriegalterthismer.

p. 190—204.
§ 10 3 δμοιον γαφ το...άξιοῦν καl]
"Το insist on not building walls round
cities is the same thing as to seek for a
country easily invaded:" for καl 'as' after
δρέσεν see II. 8. 21, 1269 a 6. With
αξιοῦν cp. II. 8. 13, 1268 b 5, το κρίνευ
αξιοῦν.

καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν εὐέμβολον ζητεῖν καὶ περιαιρεῖν τοὺς (Χ) 5 δρεινούς τόπους, όμοίως δέ καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκήσεσι μὴ περιβάλλειν τοίχους ώς ἀνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούν-\$ 11 των. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε δεῖ λανθάνειν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν περιβεβλημένοις τείχη περί την πόλιν έξεστιν αμφοτέρως γρήσθαι ταις πόλεσιν, καὶ ώς εγούσαις τείχη καὶ ώς μή το έχούσαις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημένοις οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ε έχει του τρόπου, ούχ ότι τείχη μόνου περιβλητέου, άλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέου, ὅπως καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἔχη τῆ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας, τάς τε § 12 άλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ώσπερ γὰρ τοῦς ἐπι-15 τιθεμένοις έπιμελές έστι δι' ών τρόπων πλεονεκτήσουσιν, ούτω τὰ μὲν εὔρηται τὰ δὲ ζητεῖν δεῖ καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ 12 τούς φυλαττομένους άργην γάρ οὐδ ἐπιγειροῦσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλήθος των πολιτων έν συσσιτίοις κατανενεμήσθαι, τὰ δέ 20 τείχη διειλήφθαι φυλακτηρίοις καὶ πύργοις κατὰ τόπους δήλου ώς αὐτὰ προκαλείται παρασκευέπικαίρους.

5 δρινούς Π2 P6 | ταίς ολκήσεσι ταίς ίδιαις Π2 P6 Bk. | 10 τοίς-κεκτημένοις Ar., ται̂s-κεκτημέναις ΓΠ Βk.1 | 11 [μόνον] ? Koraes, wrongly (cp. Pl. Symp. 170 H with Hug's note) | 12 τούτων | τῶν δντων | Κοταες | 13 χρείας <αύταρκούντως> ? Schneider, not hadly # 16 &c before tweer H2 P5 Bk., omitted by P1 (1st hand, supplied by corr.1) | καὶ after φιλοσοφείν untranslated by William and Ar. (perhaps rightly) | 17 έπινεισήσουσι» ? Schmidt | 21 δήλω... 22 φυλακτηρίοιs omitted by Π1 (supplied in the margin by p1) # a070 Bonitz (Ind. Ar. 1252 35f.), certainly right

5 The construction must be δμοίως δέ <δμοιόν έστι>...μὴ περιβάλλειν, this infinitive being parallel to ζητεῖν.
§ 11 7 ἀλλὰ μὴν κτλ] We had a

similar mode of argument in c. 6 § 3 n. (771) with respect to a maritime site for

the city. Susem. (855)
11 ούχ ότι τείχη μόνον] μόνον is

pleonastic. 14 τας νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας] Dionysius the Elder invented machines of this kind; Diod. xIV. 42. 1, 50. 4 (Camerarius).

Cp. Rüstow and Köchly Gesch. des griech.

Kriegswesens p. 207 f. Afterwards the campaigns of Philip and Alexander of Macedon led to many fresh improvements in the siege-engines and heavy artillery: see Rustow and Köchly p. 264. 307 ff. "It is possible" (see n. 1589 on vIII(v). 6. 13) "that Aristotle was acquainted with the work of Aeneas Tacticus. (See c. 32.)" (Eaton.) SUSEM. (856) See also H. Droysen Kriegsalterthümer

c. o p. 187 ff. The first casual mention of καταπάλται at Athens circa Ol. 105 or 106. 356-348: they were of course used 100, 350—340: they were or course used by Philip in the sieges of Byzantium and Perinthus, 340, 339; and by Alexander against Halicarnassus 334. § 12 : γ dγχήν γὰρ οῦδ ἐπιχειροῦστο] This is equivalent to the Latin maxim:

si bellum vitare vis, bellum para (Congreve). Susem. (857)

c. 12 § 1 19 τὰ δὲ τείχη...21 ἐπικαίρους] So Xenoph. Cyrop. VII. 5 § 12, towers for guard-rooms ἀνίστη δὲ πολλούς πύργοις, όπως ότι πλείστα φυλακτήρια εξη and Polyb. VIII. 17. 5 of Cretan merce-naries at Sardis συνέβαυνε δε τούς Κρήτας πεπιστεύσθαί τι τών φυλακτηρίων τών κατά

διείληπται τοις έθνεσι.

21 αὐτά] Vahlen on Pod. c. 15 § 12, 1454 b 17 out of several iustances has άξειν ένια τών συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φιλακτηρί-(X) § 2 οις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ὰν τις διακοσμήσεις τὸν τρόπου· τὰς δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδεδομένος οἰκήσεις XI 25 καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα των ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἀρμόττει τό

25 και τα κυρωνατα των αρχειων συσσίτια άρμοττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἔχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφορίζει χωρίς ἢ τι μαντείον ἄλλο πίνθό-(κ.115 ξ χρηστον. εἴη δ΄ ἀν τοιοῦτος ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει

πρός τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἰκανῶς καὶ πρός τὰ γειτνιῶντα 30 μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἐρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον ε τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορῶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἴαν καὶ περὶ

§ 4 Θετταλίαν νομίζουτιν, ήν εξευθέραν καλούστιν, αξτη δ' έστὶν ήν δεί καθαράν είναι τών ἀνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργόν μήτ ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων παρα-

24 θεά P¹Ar, θείαε the other authorities and Ek.¹ | 25 rh τον πρανετινω P²Sumen, rh aspairera «rh» το Ridgeway (but see § 7, 1321 b 6B) | 4 dyctou P¹, 4 pyctou P¹ 4 pyc P¹ 4

one similar: De anima II. 4 § 12, 416 a 10 airò φαίνεται μένον τρεφόμενον. Add Pol. III. 6 4 1278 a 14

PM. III. 5, 4, 1798 a 4.

Prof. Ridgewys says quite rightly:

"Aristotle's idea is that the messes of the
several divisions of the citizens shall be
held at the immediate sphere of their
polyactropian of refres where they are on
duty. Similarly the common meal of the
forgovers in the town hall." Hence he
proposes to read rid respirators rid ridgodgester, which is open to the objection:
tatatum praetoria circa forum superius
incent. Sussain.

§ 2 27 μαντείον άλλο πυθόχρηστον] Thus Aristotle places all the regulations for religion and 'cultus' in his ideal state under the Delphic oracle precisely as Plato does Rep. 1V. 427 B (Congreve). SUSEM. (659).

§ 3 28 ἐπιφάνειάν τε κτλ] Cp. Vitruv. I. 7: aedibus vero sacris, quorum deorum maxime in tutela civitas videtur esse, in excelsissimo loco, unde moenium maxima pars conspiciatur, areae distribuantur (J. G. Schneider). Quite similarly Plato Leauw VI. 7/8 C, the temples to be built all round the Agora and the city around them πρόν τοῦς ὑηληδις τῶν τόπων φεθρείως τε καὶ καθαρότητος χάρυ: VIII. 848 D (similarly in the twelve κοίμαι). SUSEM.

Add Pausan, IX. 22 el δί μοι Ταναγραία σομίστα τό ε του θοσία μάλιστα δοκοθου Έλλοφων, χωρίε μέν γάρ al olda σβέτι, χωρίε δί τό legά trêρ απός εκαθαρό τε διατα είναι διαθρώπεω. Χοιορίοι gives as Socrates' opinion: ναοίς γε μέγι και βωμός χώρων δήρι όρται χεφευών επίτην ήτις έμφαν στάτη οθοα άστι-βεστάτη θη Μεπ. III. 8. 10.

31 περί Θετταλίαν) Also, according to Χεπορίκοι's romance, amongst the Persians also: Cyrop'. 1. 2, 3 fortu αὐτοῖε δευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, δυθα τὰ τε βασίλεια καὶ τάλλα ἀρχεῖα πεπούγται. SUSEM. (861)

See Blümner Privatalt.² § 18 p. 134 n.
(2). ἀγορά was also used as a term for harbour in Thessaly (Hesvchius).

35 βάλλειν μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων (εἴη δ' ἀν (ΧΙ) εύγαρις ο τόπος, εί και τὰ γυμνάσια τῶν πρεσβυτέρων § 5 έχοι την τάξιν ένταῦθα· πρέπει γὰρ διηρησθαι κατά τὰς

ήλικίας καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ παρὰ μέν τοῖς νεωτέ-39 ροις άργοντάς τινας διατρίβειν, τούς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρά ξ 6 τοις άρχουσιν ή γάρ εν όφθαλμοις των άρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα έμποιεί την άληθινην αίδω και τον των έλευ-1331 ο θέρων φόβου). την δε τών ωνίων αγοράν ετέραν τε δεί ταύτης είναι καὶ χωρίς, έχουσαν τόπον εὐσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε

άπὸ τῆς θαλάττης πεμπομένοις καὶ τοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς γώρας πάσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλήθος τής πόλεως διαιρείται εἰς ἰερείς ε 5 είς ἄρχουτας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν ἱερέων συσσίτια περὶ τὴν 87 των ίσοων ολκοδομημάτων ένειν την τάξιν. των δ' ἀργείων

30 τάς-πρεσβυτέρας Γ, τά-πρεσβύτερα apparently M*

1331 b 4 ris molecus after democrate H2 P6 Bk., thus avoiding hiatus, "there must be some mistake" Congreve, ?πολιτεύματος Susem. | 5 <καl> εls Lambin Bk.2, [els] < sal> ? Susem. But if 4 Tis wohews is right, onlives or otherways must have been dropped and els may be a trace of this, [els] <καl> άρχονταs <καl ὁπλίταs> Welldon, combining these suggestions | rip omitted by II1 (supplied in P1 by corr.), untranslated by Ar. Perhaps rightly, if there is really a lacuna after οἰκοδομημάτων | την-6 ολκοδομημάτων] τά-ολκοδομήματα Ridgeway | 6 χώραν inserted after οἰκοδομημάτων by Bas.3 It should be ἀγορὰν which may just as well be understood; ολκοδομημάτων «χώραν είναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχύντων ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τὴν αὐτὴν» Spengel

§ 4 34 παραβάλλειν] Intrude upon, approach: N.E. VII. 13 § 6, 1153 b 34 παραβάλλειν els ήδονας και μετέχειν αύτών: Hist. anim. VIII. 12 § 11, 597 b 15: δταν έκειθεν παραβάλλωστι sc. δρτυγει. De gen. anim. III. 11 § 31, 763 a 31, περί Ρόδον παραβαλόντος ναυτικού στρατού.

§ 5 39 apxovtás tivas] Either special magistrates: cp. VII(VI). 8 § 22 γυμ-νασιαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ ἀγωνας έπιμέλεια γυμνικούς και Διονυσιακούς with n. (1484)—or the παιδονόμοι, for whom see c. 16 § 12 n. (943), c. 17 § 5 (958), § 7 (960), § 10 (963), § 12 (969): VI(IV). 15 § 3 (1345), § 9 (1355), § 13: VII(VI). 8 § 22 n. (1483) and Introd. p. 52. SUSEM.

τους δὶ πρεσβυτέρους] In order that they may be kept in check by the presence of the magistrates: Introd. p. 52. Comp. c. 17 § 9, 1336 b 11 f. n. (962). SUSEM. (863)

§ 6 1331 b 4 ἐπὰ δὲ κτλ] See c. 9 above. Susem. (864)
5 The repetition of ds before ἄρχοντας

is not without parallel. But as the

soldiers form an important element of τὸ πλήθος τῆς πόλεως, it is probable either that they were mentioned here (possibly the double els conceals some corruption), or that πόλεωs is itself a corruption of πολιτεύματος, the governing body. See Quaest. crit. coll. pp. 409-411. It is apparent from a comparison of II. 6. 2, 1264 b 32, els δύο μέρη, τὸ μὲν els γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ els τὸ προπολεμοῦν µépos, and infra c. 14 § 12, 1333 a 30 ff. διηρηται...τών πρακτών τὰ μέν els τὰ αναγκαΐα και χρήσιμα τὰ δέ els τὰ καλά, how much harsher the text is than would be the following e.g. τὸ μἐν els lepeîs τὸ δὲ

els doyoras. With την τών lepών οlκοδομημάτων understand, from b 1, dyopáv as in b 11. See Quarst. crit. coll. p. 410. This removes one of Prof. Ridgeway's objections (Transactions II. p. 143), but it is still strange that lepun should be an adjective here when it is a substantive § 2, § 8.

6 έχεω την τάξιν=τετάχθαι, as § 4, 1331 a 37. So έγειν τιμόν = τιμάσθαι.

όσα περί τὰ συμβόλαια ποιείται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, περί τε γρα-(ΧΙ) φὰς δικών καὶ τὰς κλήσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τοιαύτην διοίκησιν, έτι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορανομίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην το αστυνομίαν, πρὸς αγορά μεν δεῖ καὶ συνόδω τινὶ κοινή κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιούτος δ' ό περί την αναγκαίαν αγοράν έστι

τόπος ἐνσχολάζειν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄνω τίθεμεν, ταύτην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνανικαίας πράξεις. §8 νενεμήσθαι δὲ χρή τὴν εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν 4 15 χώραν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οθς καλούσιν οῖ μὲν ύλωρούς

οι δε άγρονόμους, και φυλακτήρια και συσσίτια πρός φυλακήν αναγκαΐου ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ίερα κατά τὴν χώραν είναι νενεμημένα, τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ ήρωσιν.

§9 άλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκριβολογουμένους καὶ λέγον-(p. 115) 20 τας περί των τοιούτων άργον έστίν. οὐ γάρ χαλεπόν έστι τὰ τοιαθτα νοήσαι, άλλὰ ποιήσαι μάλλον τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν εύχης έργον έστί, τὸ δὲ συμβήναι τύχης. διὸ περί

8 τhe after άλλην omitted by M* P1, perhaps rightly, [τhe] Susem.1 | 10 καί] кат ? Susem. \parallel кате оке v бова P^1 , ката оке v бова S^b V^b , ката оке v бова M^a 14 μεμιμήσθαι P8-6-6 Sb Vb Ar. Ald. Bk.2 and P2-4 (1st hand, were in P2 is written over an erasure), νενεμιμήσθαι P4 (corr.) | 16 άγορανόμους P6 Sb and P8 (1st hand, corrected by a later hand)

1333 b 35; έχ. τὴν φόσω=πεφικέναι, 1330 b 14; έπιμέλειαν = έπιμελεϊσθαι, 1330 b 11; αίσθησιν=αίσθάνεσθαι, 1340 a 3 (cp. 1253 a 17); not to mention various phrases έχειν δυσχέρειαν, μοχέηρίαν, δυσμένειαν, διαφοράν, δυσκολίαν, which are equivalent to είναι δυσχερές, μοχθηρόν, δυσμενές, διάφοραν, δύσκολον. Comp. Vahlen Arist. Aufs. II. p. 30 f.

§ 7 9 άγορανομίαν...10 άστυνομίαν] Comp. II. 5. 21 n. (176 b), VI(IV). 15. Q n. (1354), § 22 n. (1373); VII(VI). 8 \$ 3-5 m. (1544), § 22 m. (1373); VI(VI). 0.88 3—5 mn. (1461, 1463, 1468). SUSEM. (865) 10 συνόδφ) As in II. 9. 31, 1271 a 28 m. meeting, gathering. Cp. 1319 a 32. 11 περί has almost the meaning of a

possessive gen., cp. c. 9 § 7, 1329 a 18.

§ 8 14 τάξω is the so-called cognate accus. after νενεμήσθαι. 15 οθς καλούστιν, κτλ] Comp. VII(VI).

8. 6 n. (1465) for these wood-rangers or 8. 0 π. (1405) for these wood-rangers or foresters. Plato has the term αγρονόμοι Laws VI. 760 ff. SUSEM. (866)

16 φυλακτήρια κτλ] Comp. Plato Laws VIII. 848 p.: for the twelve κώμαι,

exactly as VI. 778 C for the Agora (Eaton). See the citation n. (860). Susem. (867) 6 9 10 άλλα τό διατρίβαν κτλ] Cp. I. 5, 1258 b 34 f. τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογείσθαι χρήσιμου, φορτικὸυ δὲ τὸ ένδιατρίβειν.

20 οὐ γὰρ χαλεπόν] Comp. c. 7 § 9, 1328 a 19 ff., n. (794). SUSEM. (868). 22 εὐχῆς ἔργον] Another of the passages cited in n. (128) on II. 1. 1. SUSEM. (869) This next chapter, c. 13, is preliminary

to that detailed account of Education in the best state which forms the subject of the treatise from c. 14 to the (incomplete) termination of B. v(VIII). We have here a string of remarks on the end of the state, and the best means to secure it by a given character in the citizens: remarks not very dissimilar to parts of cc. 1-3, or again to c. 14. For this reason the chapter has been bracketed by Congreve and Broughton, either wholly or in part.

See Anal. p. 115 f., Introd. p. 88 f. Prof. J. Cook Wilson's view, as there-stated, is that c. 13 seems like a shorter duplicate of cc. 14, 15. "The chief difference is that c. 13, 1332 a 7-9, takes the definition of the Good in the general form given in Nic. Eth. 1. c. 7 (or Eud. Eth. II. 1), while cc. 14-15,

μέν τῶν τοιούτων τό γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν, 13 περί δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ποίων δεῖ ΧΙΙ 25 συνεστάναι την μέλλουσαν έσεσθαι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ §2 πολιτεύεσθαι καλώς, λεκτέου, ἐπεὶ δὲ δύο ἐστὶν ἐκ οἰς γίνεται τὸ εὖ πᾶσι, τούτοιν δ' ἐστὶν ἕν μὲν ἐν τῷ τὸν σκοπου κείσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τών πράξεων ὀρθώς, εν δὲ τὰς πρός το τέλος φερούσας πράξεις εξρίσκειν (ενδέγεται γάρ 30 ταθτα καὶ διαφωνείν άλλήλοις καὶ συμφωνείν ενίστε γάρ ό μέν σκοπός ἔκκειται καλώς, έν δὲ τῶ πράττειν τοῦ τυγείν αὐτοῦ διαμαρτάνουσιν, ότε δε τών μεν πρὸς τὸ τέλος πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἔθεντο φαῦλον, ότε δε εκατέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οίον περί ιατρικήν ούτε [γάρ] 35 ποιόν τι δεί τὸ ύγιαίνον είναι σώμα κρίνουσιν ένίστε καλώς, ούτε πρός του ύποκείμενου αύτοις όρου τυγγάνουσι τών ποιητικών δεί δ' έν ταις τέγναις και έπιστήμαις ταθτα άμφότερα κρατείσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις). § 3 ότι μεν οὖν τοῦ τε εὖ ζην καὶ της εὐδαιμονίας εφίενται 2

23 ἐπιπλείου P2-3-4 Ald., ἐπὶ πλείυ P1 (perhaps rightly) | 24 ἐκ inserted before ποίων by Π2 P6 Ar. Bk.1, [έκ] Bk.2 | 25 συνεστάναι M2 P1 | 26 πολιτεύσεσθαι Koraes Bk.2, πολιτεύεσθαι Π Bk.1 | [έπεὶ δὲ δύο...: 332 a 27 τέχνης] Congreve, who calls it an unnecessary interruption of the reasoning, [erel...1332 b 11 aκούοντες] Broughton and Wilson, the latter considering c. 13 a shorter duplicate of cc. 14, 15; see Introd. p. 88 f. and Comm. nn. (876, 879, 881, 948, 949) | 28 των <δρθών> P4.5.6 Sb Vb L. | 31 καλδε Γ P1 | 32 δτε P4, δείστε P2 Bk. | 34 γάρ omitted by II1. inserted by II2 P6 Bk. | 41 τύχην ή φόσιν II2 P6 Ar. Bk, and perhaps M6

40 πάντες. Φανερόν, άλλα τούτων τοῖς μεν εξουσία τυγχάνειν, τοις δε ού, διά τινα φύσιν ή τύχην (δείται γάρ καὶ χο-

like Nic. Eth. x., distinguish between the life of moral virtue and the higher life of philosophic contemplation. In c. 13 there is no consciousness of what seems implied in c. 15, that moral virtue does not belong so completely to the καλὰν as θεωρία. In the version of c. 13 the language which follows the words φαμέν δέ και έν τοις ήθικοις, 1332 a 7, has more affinity for the Eudemian than the Nicomachean Ethics" (Journal of Phil. X. 84 ff.).

\$1 26—38 Eudemus reproduces this E. E. II. 11.3, 1227 b 19—22. The whole period b 26—1332 a 3 is excellently dis-cussed by Bonitz Ar. Stud. II. III. p. 94

sq. Susem.
§ 2 29 εὐρίσκειν = assequi. See 1330
b 5 n. So λαβείν = ascertain. Vet below b 38 κρατάσθαι = to be won, secured.

30 ταῦτα are (1) τὸ τέλος and (2) αl πρός τὸ τέλος φέρουσαι πράξεις. See b 38. 34 οιον περι ιατρικήν] References to Medicine have occurred II. 8. 18 n. (270), 111. c. 6 § 7 n. (531), c. 11 §§ 10, 11, c. 15 § 4 n. (638), c. 16 § 6 ff. Also IV(VII). c. 2 § 13 n. (726). SUSEM. (870) 35 70 byeathor elvas valua. Note that

eleas is transposed. The order is wolly re τὸ ὑγιαῖνον σώμα δεῖ εἶναι, in what condition the patient should be left, in order to be well.

§ 3 41 χορηγίας τινός] Certain resources, means, prerequisites, auxiliaries. For this meaning cp. N. Eth. 1. 8. 15, 1099 2 31—33, καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν προσδεομένη ἀδίνατον γὰρ ἡ οὐ ῥάδιον τὰ καλά πράττευ άρχορήγητου όντα, Ι. 10. 15, 1101 α 14 f. του τοῦς έκτὸς άγαθοῦς ἰκανῶς κεχορηγημένον, Χ. 8. 4, 1178 a 23 ff., § 9, 1332 α ρηγίας τινὸς τὸ ζην καλώς, τούτου δὲ ἐλάττονος μὲν τοῖς (ΧΙΙ) \$ 4 άμεινου διακειμένοις, πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χεῖρον), οἶ δ' εὐθὺς

ούκ δρθώς ζητούσι την εὐδαιμονίαν, έξουσίας ύπαργούσης. έπεὶ δε το προκείμενον έστι την αρίστην πολιτείαν ίδειν, αύτη δ' ξέστὶ καθ' ἢν ἄριστ' ἢν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' ἢν πολι-

τεύοιτο καθ' ην εύδαιμονείν μάλιστα ενδέγεται την πόλιν δήλου ότι την εθδαιμονίαν δεί, τί έστι, μη λανθάνειν. φαμέν δέ και διωρίσμεθα έν τοις ήθικοις, εί τι τών λόγων κ

1332 a 1 τούτου] ταύτης Schneider needlessly | 2 εὐθὸς] αΐθις Madvig, wrongly (αδθιs is not found in Arist.) | 4 έστω άρlστην M*P1 omitting την, hence [την] Susem.1 | 6 ένδέχοιτο Mo and perhaps I' | 8 διωρίσμεθα omitted by II2 Po Ar. Bk. | τι] τε Mo, τι νε P1 (corr.1): the word is untranslated by William

1178 b 33 (Eaton). These are the auxiliary causes or indispensable conditions (see n. 795) of Wellbeing. SUSEM. (871) § 4 1332 2 2 of 8 collis] The 58 answers µèv of 1331 b 40: 'whereas others, with the means at their commaud, from the outset miss the right way to attain happiness.' For this sense of elebs comp. L 5. 2, 1254 a 23 εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετής. Bonitz Ind. s. v. distinguishes (1) a temporal use, as in 111, 16. 9, 1287 b 10, 1. 8, 9, 1256 b 9, κατά την πρώτην γένεσαν εύθύς; so VI(IV). 11. 6, 1295 b 16, εὐθύε οίκοθεν, and VIII(V). c. 4 § 9, 1304 1 30, § 12, 1304 b 9, c. 5 § 3, 1304 b 32, c. 11 § 23, 1314 b 29: (2) a quasi-causal sense, suapte natura, = φύσει εὐθύς (ὑπάρ-χει), as in v(v111). 5. 23, 1340 a 40: (3) introducing, in a series of reasons, one which is at once perfectly obvious, as I. 13. 6, 1260 a 4, III. 4. 6, 1277 a b, IV(VII). 14, 2, 1332 b 18, V(VIII). z. z, 1337 б 2. έπελ... 7 λανθάνειν] It is pointed out

in Exc. 1. (p. 559) that the same expression has already been employed twice before, (i) in c. 1 § 1 ff. and (ii) in cc. 8 and 9 (c. 8 § 4 f. 1328 a 35—39, with which must go c. 9 § 3, 1328 b 34—39, § 7, 1329 a 22). The first time this resulted in an independent investigation of the nature of Happiness, είδαιμονία, while on the second occasion Happiness was merely defined (as άρετης ένέργεια και χρήσις τέλειος 1328 a 38), without further explanation and without reference either to the previous discussion of c. 1, or to the Ethics. Hence assuming the genuineness of c. 13 and especially observing that in this present passage, too, the discussion of c. 1 is ignored—we inferred that the first chapter of our present book was

not intended, in Aristotle's final plan, to find a place in this work. Another difficulty, certainly, though a less serious one, arises from the fact that here the passage in cc. 8 and 9 is equally ignored. Had Aristotle put the finishing touches to his work, he would doubtless have inserted a reference to the Ethics there (i. e. in c. 8 § 4), and a short allusion to the previous passage (c. 8 § 4 f., c. 9 § 3, § 7) here. The difficulty is however much diminished by the reading adopted in c. 13 § 1, pants δέ και διωρίσμεθα, where the present φαμέν of an isosphilade, where the present geque-should perhaps be again taken—as at 1386 b 18 n. (804), 1320 b 41 n. (831), 1331 a 19 n. (902)—in the sense of \$6\text{page}, and thus as referring back to cc. 8 and 9. Cp. also n. (807) and i. z. 8 n. (21). SUSEM. (872) § 5 8 ev tols flucols] Nic. Eth. I. 7. 9 ff., esp. § 15, 1098 a 15 ff., 1101 a 14 ff. Comp. cc. 6—8. Susem. (878) et π τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὅφελος] It is impossible to decide whether this paren-

(see n. 401), or is to be explained, as Bernays supposes [Dialoge, p. 72], from his relations with practical statesmen as a half-sarcastic reference to the scornful way in which men like Phocion and Antipater would look down upon his philosophical treatment of such questions. SUSEM. (874) With far less probability Grote in an essay on the Ethics (in Fragments p. 133 f.) connects this passage with Nic. Eth. 1. 3. 2 f., 1094 b 14 ff. and II. 2. 3-5, 1104 a I-II (πειρατέον βοηθείν) as an indication of Aristotle's despair of reaching certainty, or securing any common agree-ment upon matters of ethics and politics (cp. 1337 b 2): "that Aristotle regarded

thetical remark is due solely to Aristotle's

love of qualifying and limiting expressions

9 ἐκείνων ὄφελος, ἐνέργειαν εἶναι καὶ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείαν, καὶ (ΧΙΙ) 86 ταὐτην οὐκ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. λέγω δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως (κ. 11)

Τάναγκαία, τὸ δ΄ άπλῶς τὸ καλῶς οἶον τὰ περὶ τὰς δινεαίας πράξεις αἰ διὰ τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ κολάσεις ἀπὶ ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, καὶ ἀναγκαίαι δὲ, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἀναγκαίας
ἔχουσιν (αἰρετώτερον μέν γὰρ μηδενός δεἰσθαι τῶν τοιούτων
18 μήτε τὸν ἄπδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν), αὶ δ΄ ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ
81 τὰς εἰπορίας ἀπλῶς εἰσι κάλλισται πράξεις, τὸ μὲν γὰρ
ἔτερον κακοῦ τινος ἀναίρεις ἐστίν, αὶ τοιώται δὲ πράξεις
τούναστίον κατασκευαὶ γὰρ ἀγκάδον εἰσι καὶ γενινήσεις.

10 ταύτη» l'Stahr, not badly || 12 al <74p> Reiz || διλ τλε τιμομέαι Jackson, δίσεια (δίσει al Γ Ν° απί αρματειθή Ατ.) τιμομέαι ΓΠ Ατ. ΕΚ. Stseen-1* || σα libero debergo omitted by ΓΑτ. || 13 cal before desperaio continct by ΓΑτ. || 13 cal before desperaio continct by ΓΑτ. || 13 cal before desperaio continct by ΓΑτ. βλ. (perhaps rightly) || 14 [μδτ] Κοτιες, perhaps rightly || 15 δ' ετ] δια δτ. ΕΚ. Stseen-1 μπί δια δια δτ. Εξερμεση ετροβεία γ Ιλεκοn || εδλυλενται ελολα 75 βετας || 17 δια βετας δτ. Εξερμεση ετροβεία γ Ιλεκοn || εδλυλενται ελολα 75 βετας || 17 δια βετας δτ. Εξεμεση ετροβεία || 17 δ

the successful prosecution of ethical inquiries as all but desperate."

9 The grammatical subject of eives is ebbauworkar. The definition in full is ebbpeau xal xphars aperfur rokda, obs & brobbleous dhX drhoss. Comp. Mr New-

man's remarks I. p. 575 f., II. 385—401.

τελείαν] We may paraphrase: "matured and relatively permanent." See Rassow Forschungen p. 116 ff. Happi-ness of too short duration is no true happiness, as Aristotle shows in the passage to which he refers. At the same time in expressing himself thus he is doubtless thinking of a certain immaturity in age: for a child has not yet attained to Wellbeing, because its virtue is not yet developed: Nic. Eth. I. 9. 10, 1100 a 1 ff., cp. Pol. I. 13. 11, n. (120). The corresponding negative term, too, drehis, is used for the undeveloped and immature virtue and reasoning power, as well as for that of a commonplace man who has never attained full intellectual or social development: 1. 13. 7 f. (cp. § 11), 111. 11. 9 n. (572), v(VIII). 5. 10 n. (1033). SUSEM. (875)

10—21] Řespexit hace Eudemus VII.

2. 43 (56), 138 b 5 sqq. SUSEM.

10 ταύτην οὐτ ἐξ τοῦθ(τως) This is not to be found in Nic. Ethics, but Aristotle adds it here to avoid any possible misunderstanding, if indeed, as I believe, n. (881), he is the author of this chapter. SUSEM. (876)

There are no good English equivalents for these technical terms: 'conditional' (or contingent) and 'absolute' are attributes not very suitable to moral or virtuous activity, or goods in general.

tions activity, or goods in general. §6 11 relevancial On this passage see Dr. Jackson's article. Jearnal of Phili. St. 911, 10 which should be added that St. 911, 10 which should be added that word relevancial from consisting of the morality enforced by word relevancia from morality enforced by war and custom by a reference to Phato Rep. 911, e362 c; 20M relevancia flower and consistent of the consistent

τὸ καλῶς] sc. πραχθέν. But below, a 13, τὸ καλῶς, sc. ἔχευ = nobleness or beauty as a quality of actions.

13 και τὸ καιῶς ἀναγκαίως ἔχουσιν]
'They are of the character of a necessary
evil' (Congreve). SUSEM. (877)

14 των τοιούτων, sc. τιμωριών καὶ κολάσεων.

15 tml=to secure; the final sense of tml c. acc. Bonitz Ind. Ar. 268 b 59 ff., Eucken II. p. 58.

§ 7 17 divelorus] Postgate defends the vulgate alpean=choice, in the sense that of two evils we choose the less. For me this is too subtle. SUSEM. (877 b)

αί τοιαθται] sc. αί έπι τὰς τιμάς.

χρήσαιτο δ' ἄν ὁ σπουδαίος ἀνηρ καὶ πενία καὶ νόσο καὶ ἐ το ταίς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταίς φαίλαις καλῶς ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάμου ἐν τοῖς ἐναιτίοις ἐστίν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διώρισται. κατὰ τοὺς ἡθικοὺς λόγους, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ σπουδαίος, ὁ διὰ τὴν g a ἀρετὴν [τὰ] ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθά. δῆλου δὴ ὅτι καὶ τὰς χρήσες ἀναγκαίου σπουδαίος καὶ καλὰς ἐναι ταίτας τὸς ἀκαὶ καλὰς ἐναι ταίτας τὸς ἀκαὶ διὰς ἐναι ταίτας τὸς ἀκαὶ ἐκαὶς τοῦ κιθαμίζειν λαμποὸν καὶ καλὸς ἀναιτικοί τὸν λιθαμίζειν λαμποὸν καὶ καλὸς ἀνίτοιο την λύραν μάλλου τῆς τέγνης.

22 & aperipe, omitting ripe, M* \mathbb{P}^1 : hence [rip] Susem.³, perhaps rightly \parallel 23 [rh] before $\alpha_1 \alpha \beta d$ Reiz Bi.² \parallel δh Sepulveda, δ T II Ar. Bi.¹ Susem.³ in the text \parallel δl and δr 1 apparently Γ (palam autum et quod William) \parallel 27 $alruptb < rus > \mathbb{P}^2$ Bi.² \parallel δh Moo Γ 1 perhaps rightly

19 χρήσωντο δ' Δη (Comp. ΝΣ. Ε.Β., 1. 10. 11 f., 1100 b 18 ff., where this is presented as a special feature of Magnanimity (cp. ~ 7 § 7, π. 700.) Again in πλατική (cp. ~ 7 § 7, π. 700.) Again in πλατική (cp. π. 7 § 7, π. 700.) Again in πλατική (cp. π. 7 § 7, π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp. π. 700.) πλατική (cp. π. 700.) Αματική (cp

χρήσθαι § 13, 1101 a 4.
20 τό μακάριση Τhe decision in N. E.
1.0. 14, 1101 a 6, is άθλιος μέν οδέξευτε γένοιτ' διν δ εδδαμων, οδ μέν μακάριδε γε, διν Πριαμικαϊε τόχαις περιπέση. Cp. iδ. 1.
10. 3, 1100 a 16 f., and the absurd deriva-

tion from xalors, vit. 11. 2, 1152 b 7, 21 mard robe pflawards klyone] Nic. Eth. III. c. 4 [c. 6, IEL], esp. 84, 1113, a 25, 76 pt or receding rb sur Addissar a 25, 76 pt or receding rb sur Addissar handplay rhiders b or receding rb sur batteries handplay rhiders b or receding r fa theft be theoretical robe results or robe statement is not made there in so many words: this is much more nearly the case in the two receding receding receding receding receding 1248 b off II. Magnes Morralia II. 9 14. 1267 b 31 E. SUSSAM. (879) Comp.

abor Rick 1. 6. 2, 15fc a 24 ft. §8 2 at 762 xpfcree] The plural as riepysta. In fact xpires and briggesta to both opposed to §8a. The use which from time to time he makes of these goods (not of their opposites) attests his absolute virtuousness and goodness, considered the plural plural plural considered the plural plural plural to attribute to the instrument what is really the result of the player's skill.

25 διδ....26 dyaθών] Because external

goods are just those which while absolutely good (dex/ke e)-pidly are not good of for every one, but only good at all times to the good man. Nie. Eds. V. v. 9, 1139 b. 18, dex/de E-benderry & School, very dispells ferra, ed where, bold ergl dom element of the control of the c

instances, since they have proved in some cases fatal (τωὶ δ' οὐκ ἀεὶ ἀγαθά). c. 13 §§ 1—8. Congreve (see Crit. note on 1331 b 26) enclosed in brackets the whole passage, §§ 2-8, from 1331 b 26 the whole passage, 82 2-0, from 1331 20 επεί δε...to 1332 a 27 της τέχνης, as an unnecessary interruption of the reasoning. "What was said" (a 28, των είρημένων) would then mean what was said cc. 4-12; and that would undoubtedly serve to explain what according to §§ 9, 10 requires explanation έκ τών είρημένων. But then the following passage a 31 70 68 σπουδαία» κτλ lacks all proper connexion unless it has been directly preceded by the statement that Wellbeing consists in the practice of virtue assisted by the re-quisite external conditions. This alone makes all follow in regular order: these conditions, we are now told, § 9, depend on Fortune, but if the external conditions are present it is the governing intelligence that produces virtue. Hence the fundamental idea of §§ 1-8 is indispensable for the context, and the athetesis of

that passage is not the right way to re-

531

ἀναγκαίου τοίντυ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχειι», 80 τὰ δὲ παρασκευάσαι τὸν νομοθέτην, διὸ κατατυχεῖν εἰχό-30 μεθα τὴν τῆς πόλενε σύστασι ὁ τὸ ἡ τὴχη κυρία (κυρίαν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τίθεμεν)· τὸ ἐὲ σποιδαίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῆς τίχης ἔργου ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαμέσεις. ἀλλά μὴν σπουδαία γε πόλις ἐστὶ τῷ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς μετέχοντας 34 τῆς πολιτείας εἰκαι σποιδαίους· ἡμῶν δὲ πάντες οἱ πολίται 510 μετέχουσι τῆς πολιτείας. τοῦτ ἀρα σκεπτέω, πός ἀλὴν γἰ-

99 κατατηχών Κοπαει, και' εύχλη F Π Ar. Ek. Susem.¹ in the text, καl τηχών Madvig, κατέχευ Schmidt, καl τὰ εἴ εξεω? Jackson || 13 α εὐτήν inserted after γάρ by P¹L Ar. Aid. W Bk., perhaps also by S¹ || 3 α τῆν comitted by Π¹P² Bk. || 33 γε omitted by Π²P² Bk. || τῶ Γ Ald. W³ and P² (corr.³), τὸ M² P³ -3+4 S³ V³ Ar. and P² (rst hand)

move the objection noticed in un. 1687. 872), although we do not deny, and in n. (872) have clearly stated, that the present detailed discussion would doubtless have received a different character had the final touches been given to the work. With Congreve, square brackets do not necessarily imply an un-Aristotelian origin. Still- it is all but inconceivable, if the connexion intended was that assumed by Congreve, that Aristotle himself should have spoilt it by the inserted passage. Apart from the connexion, the whole passage does not look un-Aristotelian. For, though we cannot stop to prove this here, of all Broughton's objections to the genuineness of c. 13 the only valid one is that mentioned in nn. (876, 879), which taken by itself is far from decisive; while the genuineness of the passage is supported by the reference back to it embedded in the context of c. 15 § 7, 1334 b 6 f.; ep. n. (931). SUSEM. (881)

28 ex] It follows from what has been

said: cp. n. on 1254 a 31.

§ 9 29 εὐχόμεθα] Another of the passages cited n. (128). Susem. (888) 30 τὴν τῆς πόλεως σύστασιν] The

structure of the state=the state we are constructing, or are to construct. We pray it may be fortunate enough to secure the goods at Fortune's disposal. The relative clause is the object of κατατυχάν. κυρίων ψάρ] For here we acknowledge that Fortune is supreme. Comp.

c. I § 10. 1392 h 27 f., mr. [707, 705, 87].]; Caller* spb. r. II. ip. 2335. VSSM. [889] 32 *brarrfjurp salt reposuperosa] The presence of vivites in the state is not then purpose [viil], the two conditions of all right action, the either and reposupe/surver of N. Eth. II. 4- 3, 1105 a 30 f. (Congrevel). On them depend writte or vice, goodness or bathness of character. See with the intellect and moral action; also with the intellect and moral action; also

n. (121) on I. 13. 12. SUSEM. (884)
34 ημίν δι πάντης] Here still more clearly than at c. 9 § 7. 13a9 a 19, it is laid down that all the citizens of the best state have perfectly equal rights. Cp. nn. (816, 817); III. c. 1 § § 9, 10, c. 13 § 12, nn. (446, 599). SUSEM. (885)

36 νεται σπουδαίος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντας ἐνδέχεται σπουδαίους (ΧΙΙ) είναι, μή καθ' έκαστον δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτως αἰρετώτερον ακολουθεί γαρ τω καθ' έκαστον καὶ τὸ πάντας.

811 άλλά μὴν ἀγαθοί γε καὶ σπουδαίοι γίνονται διὰ τριών. τὰ ε 40 τρία δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστι φύσις ἔθος λόγος. καὶ γὰρ φῦναι δεῖ πρώτου οίου ἄυθρωπου άλλά μη των άλλων τι ζώων, είτα καὶ (p. 118) ποιόν τινα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ἔνια δὲ οὐδὲν ὄφελος 132 6 φύναι· τὰ γὰρ ἔθη μεταβάλλειν ποιεί· ἔνια γάρ ἐστι διὰ της φύσεως επαμφοτερίζουτα διά των εθών επί το χείρου

ε 12 καὶ τὸ Βέλτιου. τὰ μὲν οῦν άλλα τῶν ζώων μάλιστα μὶν τ τῆ φύσει ζῆ, μικρά δ' ἔγια καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἄνθρωπος δὶ 5 και λόγω, μόνον γερ έχει λόγον, ώστε δεί ταῦτα συμφω-

41 είτα P5 (later hand) and Lambin, οδτω Π1.2 Ar. Susem.1 in the text and P5 (1st hand) | 42 8è F. 7e H Ar. Bk. 1332 b 1 μεταβαλεῖν II2 Bk. | Ενια...3 βέλτιον observed to be defective by Con-

ring | vdol 86 ? Schneider | êgra 8tâl êgrap tôta Kornes | [8tâl Göttling, Bla Lindau, against the sense | 2 φόσεως <καl> in the margin | <α διάγεται> διά ? Susem., <d> διά and <δέπει> ἐπὶ Schmidt, ἐθῶν <δὲ μεταβαλλόμενα> ? Conring, έθῶν * * or else [διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν] Thurot | δὲ is added after διὰ by Alb. and Thomas 1 2 βέλτιον <άγονται> Schneider (who also brackets b 1 έστι), βέλτιον <άγομενα> Welldon who also reads 2 διὰ <δὲ> τῶν ἐθῶν ▮ 5 ὥστε... 6 ἀλλήλοιs transposed by Böcker to precede 3 τὰ μὲν οῦν: see Introd. p. 8q. Susem. had observed that in its traditional place this clause is plainly inconsistent with 6 πολλά γάρ... 7 βέλτων | 5 μόνος Spengel (solus Ar.), perhaps right

§§ 11, 12 n. (708), VIII(V). 9. 12, 1310 a 18 f. n. (1642). Susem. (886) As here the virtue of the whole state is unequally diffused through the citizens (as was doubtless the case in the existing democracies), so (11. 5. 27) we find unequal distribution of happiness discussed. For the antithesis πάντες)(ώς έκαστος, see II. 3. 2, 1261

1 26 n. Add to the instances VIII(V).
8.3, 1307 b 35 ff.
39 dλλαμήν...40 λόγος] This is repeated
c. 15, 87, 1334 b 6 f. n. (931). Comp.
N. Eth. x. 9, 6, 1179 b 20 cf., γloreshot
dyadtoir of corract of μέν φύσει of δ' έθει of a purpose startat on μεν φυσει of δ δθει of δ διδαχή. As in that passage λόγος, reason, is replaced by διδαχή, instruction, so in B. II. 5. 16, 1263 b 39, it is replaced by φιλοσοφία, culture. Comp. also II. 8. 24, 1269 a 20: the coercive force of law is due to custom and involves time. Susem. (887)

Susem (887)
41 dra kal...42 ψυχήν] For slaves
by birth are still men, though incapable
of real human excellence 1. 5. 8, 1254
b 16 ff., 1. 13. 2 f., 1250 b 22—28. In Nic.
Eth. vi. 13, 1144 b 1 ff., Aristotle treats

of these good or bad natural dispositions, or qualities (al purisal Efeis), as the necessary conditions for the future growth of the real moral and intellectual qualities or aptitudes (& es), which correspond to them. Comp. n. (1043), i.e. Exc. III. on B. v(VIII). SUSEM. (888)

42 that is subject to φθναι, but in the next line it must be the object governed

by μεταβάλλευ. § 11 1332 b 1 ενια γάρ...3 βέλτιον]
That there is some flaw in this sentence will hardly be disputed. Aretinus translates well enough to show the meaning, 'nam aliqua per naturam ad utrumque apta per mores ad peius vel melius convertuntur'; but in this he can scarcely

have followed any manuscript. Susem. § 12 3 τὰ μὲν οῦν ἄλλα κτλ] In form this sentence recalls Meta. I. 1. 3, 980 b25-28, N. E. VIII. 12. 7, 1 162a 19-22. 4 μικρά is accus., ξεια nominative. The gender of μένων is a parallel to τελεωθέν and

χωρισθέν, Ι. 2. 15, 1253 a 32 f. 5 δε ταύτα συμφωνεν] Habit should cooperate with natural endowment. This

νεῖν ἀλλήλοις. <τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῶν ζώων μάλιστα μὲν τῷ φύσει> (XII) + <ζῷ, μικρὰ δ' ἔνια καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ λόγω· μόνον>

< γ/αρ έχει λόγον > πολλά γάρ παρά τούς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φύσιν
7 πράττουσι διὰ τὸν λόγου, ἐὰν πεισθώσιν ἄλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον.

§13 τὴν μὲν τοίνυν φύσιν οἴους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐχειρώτους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη, διωρίσμεθα πρότερον· 10 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἦδη παιδείας. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐθιζόμενοι μαυθάνουσι, τὰ δ' ἀκρύοντες.

14 έπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτική κοινωνία συνέστηκεν εξ ἀρχών-ΧΙΙΙ των καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο ἦδη σκεπτέων, εὶ ἐτέρους εἰναι δεῖ τοὺς ἀρχωττας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ 15 βίου· δῆλου γὰρ ὡς ἀκολουθεύν δείτει καὶ τὴν παιδείαν

is a satisfactory sense; see however p. 89 for Prof. Wilson's view (ταῦτα=reason, habit, natural endowment: all three).

§ 13 9 mpórepoy] In c. 7. SUSEBA. (889) to via ple y app] By habituation (68-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6) (48-6)

11 ἀκούοντες] Cp. N. E. x. 9, 7, 1179 b 27 οὐ γὰρ δι ἀκούστει λόγου. Apparently θθιζόμενο...ἀκούοντει corresponds to τῷ λόγω,...τοὰ θθεσυ κ. 15 \$7, 1334 b 18. C. 14 The distinction between rulers and ruled; whether absolute and hife-leng, or relative and temporary: \$8 1−5.

and ruled; whether associate that the uniquency, or relative and temporary: §§ 1—5.
§ 1. 12—16] Comp. III. 4. 8 n. (477) for the distinction in education. Susem. (891)

A gainst the proposed transposition feee Crit. In Dr Jackson sages in the following note: "Aristote here contrasts (e) the permanent assignment of the functions of railing and being ruled, the man who is ruled never is ruled, the man the ruled never is ruled, rules, V is ruled, at another V rules, X is ruled. Now a prior the phrase robe arvois draw might be used to describe either of the contrasted systems: i.e. it might be said that, when the functions are person always rules, the same person always rules, the same person always rules, the same person always and the same person always and the same person always and the same persons rule and are ruled. The same persons rule and are ruled. The same persons rule and are ruled. The same persons rule and are ruled to said same person rule and are ruled to said the parts are rule and the parts are rule and the parts are rule and the said the same persons are said to said the same rule and the said th

"What Jackson calls an inconsistency Sessemill assumes to have been the cause of the alteration: "virtum inde ortun sees virteur, quod deinde pro role degoras and role degouleous elvejour eleva de just approve de degouleous elvejour eleva de just approve de degouleous elvejour eleva se, just el pro role al roles elva accuratius roletiral participato (p. 45 mg.)" (pu. crit. call. selpe 11: When the reasons on ende p. 41: When the reasons on ende p. 41: When the reasons on ende coder in the text indicates no more thus nor liquid. § 2 κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ταίτην. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον (XIII) διαφέρουτες άτεροι των άλλων όσον τους θεούς και τους ήρωας ήγούμεθα των ανθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθὺς πρώτον κατά τὸ σώμα πολλήν έχοντας ύπερβολήν, είτα κατά 20 την ψυχήν, ώστε αναμφισβήτητον είναι καὶ φανεράν την ύπεροχήν τοῦς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων, δήλον ὅτι βέλτιου αεί τους αυτούς τους μεν άρχειν τους δ' άρχεσθαι 83 καθάπαξ' ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ ῥάδιον λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ἔστιν ώσπερ ἐν 2 Ίνδοις φησι Σκύλαξ είναι τους βασιλέας τοσούτον διαφέ-25 ρουτας των άργομένων, φανερον ότι διά πολλάς αίτίας

αναγκαίον πάντας όμοίως κοινωνείν του κατά μέρος άργειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. τό τε γὰρ ἴσον * * ταὐτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ γαλεπου μένειν την πολιτείαν την συνεστηκυίαν παρά το § 4 δίκαιου. μετά γάρ των άρχομένων υπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν 30 βουλόμενοι πάντες οί κατά την γώραν τοσούτους τε είναι

23 ώσπερ] όπερ Reiz 1 26 κατά μέρος transposed to follow 27 άργεσθαι ? Schneider, [κατά μέρος] or 27 [καὶ άρχεσθαι], or else άρχεσθαι καὶ κατά μέρος άρχειν Spengel (the last the best suggestion) | 27 Ισον <τῷ δικαιῷ> Thurot, Ισον <καὶ τὸ δίκαιον> Susem. from Dübner's translation | 29 νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι transposed to follow 30 γώραν by Lambin and Thurot | 30 βουλομένων Vettori (in his translation), Reiz, rightly | τε] δὲ ? Spengel

16 κατά = in virtue of. CD, κατά ταῦτα λέγεσθαι Meta. 1.6.3, 987 b 9, Bonitz ad loc. Eucken p. 43. This construction with dxo-λουθεῶν is less frequent than the dative. But cp. N. E. II. 1. 8, 1103 b 23, κατά γάρ τὰς τούτων διαφοράς άκολουθούσων αἰ έξεις, VII. 9. 6, 1151 b 34, καθ' δμοιότητα ήκολούθηκεν, Hist. Animal. VIII. 2. 13, 590 a 16, άκολουθούσυν οl βίοι κατά ταύτας ras biaipéreis, a 18, III. 9. 2, 517 a 13

7αs otaspéreis, 2 10, 111. 9. 2, 517 2 13 (Ind. Ar. 26 2 36 has, what is rare, 2 double misprint, Γ 2. 517 2 3). § 2 el μθν τούνυν κπλ | Comp. L 5. 10, 1284 b 34-36 with n. (4γ). SUSEM. (892) Strikingly similar to Pl. Politicus 301 D, E: μίν δέ γε όποτε ούκ έστι γιγνόμενος, ώς δή φαμεν, έν ταις πύλεσι βασιλεύς οιος έν σμήνεσιν εμφύεται, τό τε σώμα και την ψυχήν διαφέρων είς, δεί δη συνελθόντας ξυγγράμ-

ματα γράφειν. 22 βέλτιον ἀεὶ κτλ] This has been affirmed II. 2. 6, 1261 a 38. It is the basis of the argument for Absolute Monarchy III. 13. 13. See nn. (601, 678). § 8 Scylax of Caryanda in Caria was sent by Darius Hystaspis to explore the

mouth of the Indus, Herod. IV. 44. We may conclude with certainty from this passage that he published an account of his expedition in a book of travels. But the geographical work, which has come down to us bearing the name of Scylax, Heplπλους των έντος των 'Ηρακλέους στηλών, is of much later date. SUSEM. (893)

Comp. Niebuhr in Phil. Museum 1.

 τούς βασιλέας κτλ] Cp. vi(iv). 4.
 n. (1165). In Ethiopia the kings were chosen for their stature. SUSEM. (894) 27 τό τε γάρ Ισον < και τὸ δίκαιον >

ταύτον] Where all the citizens are peers, equality is the same thing as justice. See III. 9 S 1, 2. SUSEM. (895)
Equality=τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρ-

χεσθαι, cp. 1261 a 30. From VIII(V). I. 11-13, 1301 b 26 ff., it is τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν four which is anxwer oleanor, while it is τὸ ἀριθμῷ Ισον which is ταὐτό.

28 χαλεπόν μένειν την πολιτείαν...... 32 erriv] This passage condenses the results of the inquiry into the stability and instability of governments in B. VIII(V) and vI(IV), especially recognising the criterion of vIII(V). 9. 6, 1309 b 16 ff., and VI(IV). 12. 1, 1296 b 14 ff. όπως κρείττου έσται το βουλόμενου την πολιτείαν. See n. (1307).

τούς εν τώ πολιτεύματι τὸ πλήθος ώστ' είναι κρείττους τού- (p. 119) των πάντων, έν τι των άδυνάτων έστίν, άλλά μην ότι : νε δεί τους άργοντας διαφέρειν τών άργομένων, άναμφισβή-34 τητου. πώς οδυ ταθτ' έσται καὶ πώς μεθέξουσι, δεί σκέψα-§ 5 σθαι τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρότερον περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἡ γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε την διαίρεσιν, ποιήσασα [αὐτῶ] τῶ γένει 37 ταύτο το μέν νεώτερον το δέ πρεσβύτερον, ών τοῦς μέν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν ἀγανακτεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' ηλικίαν αρχόμενος, οὐδὲ νομίζει είναι κρείττων, άλλως τε 40 καλ μέλλων αντιλαμβάνειν του τοιούτον έρανου, όταν τύχη § 6 της έκνουμένης ηλικίας. Εστι μεν άρα ώς τούς αὐτούς άρχειν 4 καὶ ἄρχεσθαι φατέον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἐτέρους. ὥστε καὶ τὴν 1333 - παιδείαν έστιν ώς την αὐτην ἀναγκαῖον, έστι δ' ώς έτέραν είναι. τόν τε γάρ μέλλοντα καλώς ἄρχειν ἀρχθηναί φασι δείν πρώτου. ἔστι δὲ ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἐν τοῦς πρώτοις εἴρη-4 ται λόγοις, ή μέν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν ή δὲ τοῦ ἀρχομένου. § 7 τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν δεσποτικὴν είναί φαμεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν

31 τούτων after 32 πάντων P1-5 II³ Bk. 🚦 36 διαίρεσω Ατ., αίρεσω Γ II Bk., cp. 1333 a 33 | aŭro inserted by Ald. Wb Bk., aŭro M* and F after ro, aŭro P23.4.5 Sb Vb L*, τῶν αὐτῶν Bas.3, τὸ Spengel, omitted by Pl Ar. | τῶν Ald. Wb || 37 ταύτὸν Bk., ταύτῶ Mª and P1 (1st hand, emended by corr.1), cosdem Ar., untranslated by William, omitted by Bas. # 10-rd] 1012-1014 Mo Pi | 39 000 el voultes Sepulveda, οιδ' el νομίζει Koraes, not badly | 40 τον τοιούτον] τούτον τον II2 P8 Bk., perhaps right, eundem Ar.

1222 R 1 Fotul Foti Wey Bk.3

§ 5 35 e[ругал бè протерои] с. 9 §§ 4-6: see n. (812). SUSEM. (896) 41 iκνουμένης = προσηκούσης Bon. Ind. Ar. s. v. Found with ωρα Probl. XX. 14, 024 b 14; with &is, enterfun Pol. v1(1v). í. 2, 1288 b 16.

Education to be in one sense the same for all; in another sense a different education for rulers and ruled: §§ 6-8. § 6 1333 a 1 έστιν ώς κτλ] The

education is the same and yet different in so far as it has two different sides; it trains the governed to obey well, but only in so far as this would seem to teach them how to govern well in the future: thus so far it really teaches the future governors. Comp. Bonitz in Zeitsch. f. d. östr. Gymn. XVIII. 1867, p. 680 f. SUSEM. (897)

2 τόν τε γάρ] With this whole passage comp. III. 4. 10-14, 1277 a 25 m. (490). This is one of the few instances in which τε γὰρ=etenim, as is allowed by Bonitz, who discusses the Aristotelian usage of τε γάρ generally in the paper just cited p. 672 ff., esp. p. 680. SUSEM.

English readers may consult Shilleto's critical note to Dem. De Falsa Leg. § 176. He cites Herod. IV. 167, Aristoph. Pax 402, Ar. Rhet. III. 7. 11, 1408 b 17, and III. 11. 7, 1412 b 9, and further illustrates the similar usage of ούτε γάρ.

3 ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις εἰρηται λόγοις] I.e. III. 6 §§ 6—10, 1278 b 30 ff. It is noteworthy that reference is only made to this passage, and not to the much more similar one quoted in n. (898). However, some such reference may have been lost, where the following context is defective. See n. (900); also n. (902). SUSEN.

έλευθέρων. * * διαφέρει δ' ένια των ἐπιταττομένων οὐ τοῖς ἔρ- δ γοις άλλὰ τῶ τίνος ἔνεκα. διὸ πολλὰ τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων διακουικών ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καλὸν διακονείν· πρός γάρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ καλὸν ούχ οὕτως διατο φέρουσιν αι πράξεις καθ' αυτάς ως έν τῷ τέλει καὶ τῷ § 8 τίνος ένεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος τὴν αὐτὴν άρετην είναι φαμεν καὶ τοῦ άριστου ἀνδρός, τὸν δ' αὐτον αργόμενου τε δείν γίνεσθαι πρότερου καὶ άργοντα θστερου, τοῦτ' αν είη τω νομοθέτη πραγματευτέον, ὅπως ἄνδρες ανα-15 θολ γίνωνται, καλ διά τίνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καλ τί τὸ

διήρηται δὲ δύο μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔχει λόγον καθ' ε αύτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔχει μὲν καθ' αὐτό, λόγω δ' ὑπακούειν δυνά-

6 * *διαφέρει Conring, cp. B. III. c. 4 1277 a 29-b 30, and see Comm. n. (900) 11 πολιτικού Rassow, πολιτεια Ma, πολίτου Γ P1-6 H2 Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text, πολίτου < άρίστου> Spengel | αὐτὴν omitted by P4-6 Ce (?) || 13 δεῶν over an erasure P4, δεĉ P5 Sb Vb | 14 πω̂s Schneider, πω̂s <aν>? Koraes | 15 γέγνωνται P3.4-5 Sb Vb Ald, Bk.1, Mayortus P2, Mayortu ? Koraes

§ 7 6 έλευθέρων **] The passage which is wanting here, must have stated that in the government of the best state only the latter kind of rule can be in question, and that the power of ruling over slaves is not such as can only be learnt by previous corresponding service; on the con-trary, the service of a slave is unworthy of a free man, and ought not to be learnt at all by the young sons of our citizens-Compare the discussion III. 4 88 11-14, which is analogous in other respects too, and where § 13, like § 7 here, contains a limiting clause :- "except sometimes of necessity and for their own use," 1277 b 5 ff. Susem. (900)
6 διαφέρει δ'......11 τίνος ένεκεν] See

τέλος της δοίστης ζωής.

v(vIII), 2. 6, 1337 b 17 ff. with n. (983). Susem. (901) The end redeems and ennobles apparently menial offices, as for a soldier to groom his own horse.

§ 8 If the good officer, who has learnt to command by obeying, is also the good man, how are we to train up good men? By this section we are brought back to 1332 a 36. But the last clause τί το τέλος της άριστης ζωής carries us back further, to 1332 a 7 or the begin-ning of c. 13, 1331 b 24 ff. How tor-tuous the course of the discussion is, may be seen from the fact that after the Unity of Education we take its two main branches, moral and intellectual Education; next criticise Sparta; then after much repetition arrive at a similar halting place to the present, 1334 b 5, πώτ δέ

καὶ διὰ τίνων έσται, τοῦτο δη θεωρητέου. 12 daneyl The present may well stand here also (see nn. 804, 831, 872) in the sense of a past tense : if so there is certainly a reference to III. 4 § 5. Comp.

n. (471). SUSEM. (902) 14 τοῦτ' ἀν είη..... 16 ζωῆς] The virtues which must be learnt by obedience are however only the moral virtues, not the intellectual ones, as in the case of \$\phi pbνησις has been clearly proved in III. 4. 17. The question now to be considered is which of the two rank the higher; in other words-is development of character or of intellect the highest aim in education? Aristotle decides in favour of the latter. Cf. also v(vIII), 2. I n. (977), also n. (1024) and Exc. I. to B. v(VIII). Also Introd. p. 48, p. 50 ff. SUSEM.

Principle regulating the subordination of the semi-rational soul, the seat of moral virtue, to the properly rational soul, the variue, to the property rational sout, the sent of intellectual excellence: § 9-14. Application of this to the criticism of states (the Sparta) which make success in war the goal of education: § 15-22. § 9 17 Befinpra & et al. | Sec n. (40) on 1. 5. 6. Susent. (904)

μενου. ὧν φαμεν τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶναι καθ' ᾶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λέγε- (ΧΙΙΙ) 20 ται πώς. τούτων δ' ἐν ποτέρω μάλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτως § 10 διαιρούσιν ώς ήμεις φαμεν οὐκ ἄδηλον πώς λεκτέον. αξὶ γάρ τὸ χείρου τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο φανερον ὁμοίως ἔν (ρ. 120) τε τοις κατά τέχνην καὶ τοις κατά φύσιν βέλτιον δὲ τὸ λόγον έχου. [διήρηταί τε διχή, καθ' δυπερ εἰώθαμεν τρόπου διαι-1 25 ρείν δ μέν γάρ πρακτικός έστι λόγος δ δὲ θεωρητικός. § 11 ώσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος διηρῆσθαι δηλονότι.] καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ φύσει βελτίονος αίρετωτέρας είναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυγ-20 γάνειν ή πασών ή τοῦν δυοῦν αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐκάστφ τοῦθ αἰρε-

§ 12 τώτατον οὖ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου. διήρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ ε 31 βίος είς ἀσχολίαν καὶ είς σχολήν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήυηυ, καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μέν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρή-§ 13 σιμα τὰ δὲ εἰς τὰ καλά. περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αίρεσιν είναι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξε-

20 πότερα M*, qua William | 24 [δεήρηται...27 δηλωνότι] Susem. | τε] δὲ Γ || διχή < ο λόγος > Reiz, following Lambin's translation | 26 οδυ | δ' P1 | και τούτο τό μέρος after διηρήσθαι P1.5 II2 Bk. # δήλων δτι Bk., omitted by Ald. Wb, while Ar. translates it after πράξεις: δήλου <δ'> δτι Sylburg, <και> δήλου ότι Spengel. Both Sylburg and Spengel omit 27 &, which neither William nor Ar. translates | 20 m πασῶν ἢ <τῶν > τοῦν δυοῦν Ed. Müller (Gesch. der Kunsttheorie II. p. 370), ἢ πασῶν ἢ τών δυούν Lindau, [ή] πασών ή του δυούν Ridgeway, [ή] πασών [ή του δυούν] or else [η πασῶν ή] <τῶν> τοῦν δυοῦν Susem.: Schmidt however conjectures that ων ὧν βούλωνται has been dropped after δυοίν | 31 [καί] πόλεμον Reiz | 32 [είς τὰ] and 33 [els 7a] Bonitz Ind. Ar. 42 b 26 ff., 632 a 29 f.: see however Vahlen Ztschr. f. d. östr. Gym. 1872 p. 540 1 33 [wepl] and 34 dialocous Schneider, wrongly

§ 10 24 διήρηται] Sc. τὸ λόγον έχον. The passage in brackets as far as 26 δηλονbrt is in itself thoroughly Aristotelian, see m. (40); and it would be quite appropriate to raise here the further questions: In regard to Reason itself, is it the theoretical or the practical side that occupies the higher place? Is it the intellectual development of the former, or rather the cultivation of practical and political insight, which is the chief and final aim of Education? Yet these questions are not raised anywhere in the context and so the pas-sage serves no useful purpose. What is worse, it interrupts the connexion in the most confusing manner: it must therefore be pronounced an interpolation by an

alien hand. SUSEM. (906) § 11 27 Kal Tas mpagas] Cp. 22. (712, 717, 731, 736, 743) on c. 2 § 1, § 6, C. 3 §1, § 3, § 8. SUSEM. (906)

2Q τοῦν δυοῦν] The relation is expressed 1331 b 29, τάς πρός το τέλος φερούσας πράξεις.

30 ού τυχείν έστιν άκροτάτου] The highest within his reach, how determined

is not explained. Cp. I. I. 1.

§ 12 30 Stippra St. As e.g. I. 5.

10, 1254 b 31. There is an echo of this division in Plut. De lib. educand. c. 13,

οβ C πᾶ ο βίου ἡμῶν εἰ θισων καὶ σπουδήν δεήρηται (Newman). 32 τῶν πρακτῶν] Cp. 1332 a 10. With χρήσιμα comp. the utilitarian con-ception of a civic virtue as in Plato's Phaedo, Protag., Republic and Mr Archer Hind's Phaedo, Appendix I.

§ 13 34 αίρεσιν] The correlation of αίρετώτατον a 28; so a 41, τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων alperes=the choice of one action in preference to another. The estimate of value is the ground of preference. At

35 σιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μὲν εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ σχο-(ΧΙΙΙ) λής, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα των καλων ἕνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τοίντην τῷ πολιτικῷ βλέποντι νομοθετητέου, η

καί κατά τὰ μέρη της ψυγής και κατά τὰς πράξεις § 14 αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ τέλη. τὸν 40 αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων αίρέσεις δεί μεν γάρ άσχολείν δύνασθαι καὶ πο-1333 δλεμείν, μάλλον δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ σχολάζειν, καὶ τάναγκαΐα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα [δὲ] πράττειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ δεῖ μάλλον. ώστε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς σκοποὺς καὶ παίδας ἔτι 4 όντας παιδευτέον καl τὰς ἄλλας ήλικίας, ὅσαι δέονται παι-§ 15 δείας. οι δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοκοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι τῶν Ἑλ-10 6 λήνων, καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ ταύτας καταστήσαντες τὰς πολιτείας, ούτε πρός το βέλτιστον τέλος φαίνονται συντάξαντες τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτε πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τούς νόμους καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ φορτικώς ἀπέκλιναν 10 πρός τὰς χρησίμους είναι δοκούσας καὶ πλεονεκτικωτέρας. § 16 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ὕστερόν τινες γραψάντων

40 πρακτών ? Susem. cp. a 32. Yet πραγμάτων gives a suitable sense | 41 alρέσεις Koraes (cp. a 34), διαιρέσεις (δι' αίρέσεις PI) Γ II Ar. Bk. Susem. 1 in the text II uly omitted by T P5, hence [uly] Susem.1

1333 b 2 8ê before modernew added by H2 Bk., before and P6, \$62 ? Stahr # 7 Beh. τιον Π2 P6 Bk., possibly right, βέλτιον < και τό> ? Schneider | 8 πάσας omitted by II1

a later time αἰρεῖσθαι, φεύγειν are technical Stoic terms, e.g. D. L. vii. 105. 35 πολεμον] sc. αίρετον είναι οτ αι-ρεϊσθαι δεϊ.

ασχολίαν δὲ σχολής] Comp. N. E. x. 7. 6, 1177 a 4 ff., Plato Laws 1. 628 d (Eaton), and with the former passage n. (021) below. SUSEM. (907)

37 βλέποντι] Goes with πρὸς πάντα: an instance of hyperbaton.

αη instance of hyperoacon.
39 πθη] Plural as in §14 b 3 σκοπούs.
§ 14 1333 b ι μάλλου δ' εἰρήνην
άγειν] Cp. again Plato Laws I. 628 D,
ώσαντως τις οὐτ' ἄν ποτε πολιτικός γένοκ' δρθώς πρός τὰ έξωθεν πολεμικά ἀποβλέπων μόνου ή πρώτου, ουτ' αν νομοθέτης ακριβής, εl μη χάριν είρηνης τα πολέμου νομοθετοί μάλλου ή των πολεμικών ένεκα τὰ τῆς εἰ-ρήνης (Eaton). Susem. (908) 4 τὰς άλλας ἡλικίας] What these

are, is plain from 1260 b 15 f., 1277 a 16 -20. See further s. (1024) on v(VIII). 5. 4, 1339 a 29 f. § 15 5 of Sè vûv] Cp. 11. 1. 1, 11.

(128 b). SUSEM. (909) The plural notwithstanding, it would seem as if

notwinstanding, it would seem as if Sparta and Lycurgus alone were meant.

γ ούτε πρός τὸ βέλτιστον] A familiar criticism. Cp. II. 9. 34 m. (344 ff.), iv. (vii). 2. 9 m. (719), (Viii). 4 § τ. -7, m. (1005). Susem. (910) Add Isocr. IV. (Panegyric) 187, 188, 228 (Newman). With συντάξαντες comp. 1324 b 8, and 1271 b 2 (σύνταξιε).

9 φορτικώς] In a purely utilitarian,

9 φορτικος 1 π α μπου αιπικωνων, almost mercenary spirit. § 16 11 και των θστερόν τινες γρ.] Comp. VI(iv). 1 § 3 with m. (1123) and Introd. p. 20 n. 1. Here we again clearly perceive how slight is our knowledge of such political literature before Aristotle. It is highly probable that among the writers here alluded to were those too who were the first to set up the theory of a mixed constitution, see II. 6, 17, nm. (219-221) and B. III. Exc. I. p. 449, since it was in the Spartan and Cretan constitutions that they found the realizaαπεφήναντο την αὐτην δόξαν ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ την Λακε-(XIII) δαιμονίων πολιτείαν ἄγανται τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν σκοπόν, ὅτι (p. 121) πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐνομοθέτησεν. \mathring{a} 11

15 καὶ κατά τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εὐελεγκτα καὶ τοῦς ἔργοις ἔξε-§17 λήλεγκται νῦν. ὅσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλεῦστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦσι τὸ πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι πολλὴ χορηγία γίνεται

14 lehmbletheau FM° \parallel 16 sês omitted by Π^1 , [sês] Susem.\frac{1}{2} \ \frac{1}{2}\ \tau \cdot \text{ord} \ \text{E} \ \text{L}^2, certainly right \ \partial \ 17 \ \tau^2\) for Π^2 $\Pi^$

tion of their ideal, 1265 b 33 with n. (219). Thimbron, or Thibron, according to another reading, is quite unknown to us. There can scarcely be a doubt that Aristotle was also thinking of the work on the Lacedaemonian constitution which bears the name of Xenophon. At any rate its author, I. I. f., makes the happiness which the Lacedaemonian citizens attained by obeying the Laws of Lycurgus consist chiefly in the fact that, in spite of their small number, they had proved themselves the most powerful and celebrated state in Greece; and Aristotle's next remarks sound exactly like a polemic against the opening words of this little work: άλλ' έγω έννοήσας ποτέ ώς ή Σπάρτη τῶν όλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οῦσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῆ Έλλάδι έφάνη, έθαύμασα ότω ποτέ τρόπω τουτ' έγένετο έπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἰκέτι ἐθαύ-μαζον. The suggestion would therefore be natural enough that Thimbron, and not Xenophon, was the real author; but the true authorship of Xenophon has been lately demonstrated with such certainty by Naumann De Xenophontis libro ui Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία inscribitur (Berlin 1876) that it is scarcely possible to adduce any tenable argument against it. Oncken's suggestion, too, op. c. II. p. 179, that Xenophon wrote it under the assumed name of Thimbron, is just as unsatisfactory as that of v. Leutsch (Philologus XXXIII. p. 97) that he wrote the first part of the Hellenica under the name of Cratippus. Both these hypotheses themselves depend on an hypothesis, the falsity of which has been demonstrated by Nitsche (after Morus) in a dissertation Ueber die Abfassung von X. Hellenika (Berlin 1871) p. 42 ff. This is the hypothesis, unquestionably dating from ancient times, that, according to his own statement, Hell. III. 1, 2, Xenophon published his Anabasis under the name of Themistogenes of Syracuse. But the right interpretation of the passage in question is basis, to which Xenophon refers because his own was not written at the time. Moreover there is no ground for the supposition that Xenophon rever published moreover the is no ground for the supposition that Xenophon ever published that Xenophon ever published here that the property of the

SUSSIA. (813)

v. Willamovitz identifies the author Thinalron with the Spartan who common and the Spartan who common with the Spartan who will be some a champion of practer and incompetent official, but on the mild practice of Lyoungea. Well might Agest of the mild practice with the start of the story of Sparta, "just as he had curtusted him with the task of justifying before public with the start of t

esp. 683—693] was Thibron.

14 τὸ κρατάν] Conquest, 'to win victory,' as § 19, b 30, 1271 b 3. We find ourselves in the midst of a discussion similar to that of c. 2 § 8 ff.

15 καὶ τοῦς ἔργοις ἔξελήλεγκται νῦν] Comp. II. 9 § 16 n. (308), § 34 n. (345); and n. (919). Susem. (912) §17 17 πολλή χορηγία] As in II. 9 § 35, γύνεσθαι τάγαθα τὰ περιμάχητα δι' ἀρετῆς.

τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίμβρων ἀγάμενος φαίνεται (ΧΙΙΙ) του των Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ των άλλων έκαστος των 20 γραφόντων περὶ <τῆς> πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι § 18 πρός τούς κινδύνους πολλών ήρχον καίτοι δήλον ώς ἐπειδή 15 υῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάργει τοῖς Λάκωσι τὸ ἄργειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ' ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός. ἔτι δὲ τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες έν τοις νόμοις αύτου, και μηδενός έμποδίζοντος 25 πρός τὸ γρησθαι τοῦς νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ ζην κα-8 19 λώς. οὐκ ὀρθώς δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡν δεί τιμώντα φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικώς άρχειν ή των έλευθέρων άρχη καλλίων καὶ μάλλον μετ' άρετης. ἔτι δὲ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομί-18 30 ζειν καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἤσκησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν. ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην. § 20 δήλου γάρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ δυναμένῷ τοῦτο πειρατέον διώκειν, ὅπως δύνηται τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως ἄρχειν όπερ εγκαλούσιν οι Λάκωνες Παυσανία τῷ βασιλεί, καί-35 περ έχουτι τηλικαύτην τιμήν. οὕτε δὴ πολιτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων νόμων καὶ λόγων οὐδεὶς οὕτε ἀφέλιμος οὕτε ἀληθής ἐστίν.

18 θίβρων Π² P⁵ Ar. Bk. || 20 <τη̂s> Schneider Bk.² || γεγυμνᾶσθαι M^a P¹ || 21 έπειδή γε νύν M° P1 | 23 έστι δέ Congreve, έστι γάρ Susem. | 26 δέ M°. omitted by P4 Sb Vb L1 | 30 [κρατείν] Reiz, καρτερείν ? Congreve, perhaps rightly Il layurer FP2, Hayurer Mº Il 31 701 7@ Scaliger Bk.2 II 36 Nover (omitted by P4) sal phase II2 P6 Ar. (?) and Bk.

18 Θ(μβρων] See π. (911). 19 τῶν άλλων] Το Thimbron and Xenophon we saw cause to add Ephoros n. (219): and perbaps Critias.
20 Yeyupvarbai] By the Agoge, the public training which constituted a Spartan citizen: see Schömann op. c. E. tr. p.

255 ff. § 18 21 δηλου] That is, on their own premisses such eulogies are refuted. Aristotle fastens on the logical inconsis-

tency of post hoc propter hoc. 23-25] As Mr Newman observes, there were evidently two views current in Greece as to the cause of the decline in the Lacedaemonian state. (1) Many ascribed it to a departure from the laws of Lycurgus, e.g. Xen. De Rep. Lac. c. 14, [Plut.] Inst. Lac. c. 42. (2) But Aristotle ascribes it to faults in them: cp. 1270 a 19. Possibly Plutarch's au-thority for the 'Life of Agis' adopted the first view, and was anxious to save the credit of Lycurgus from Aristotle's criticism in B. II. and in the Politics. Thus Plutarch replies in effect that (a) Lycurgus was not in fault, but Epitadeus and degenerate Spartans: (3) Lycurgus had nothing to do with the Crypteia, or the treatment of the Helots: and (7) it was not true that he had failed to subject the

same principles every single citizen, if he can, must aim at making himself supreme in his own state.' Certainly a very ap-propriate remark. Susem. (914) 34 On Pausanias see VIII(v). § 10, 7

§ 2 nn. (1498, 1596). SUSEM. (915)
35 moluruos Statesmanlike. The adjective of a 'noun' moluruos, exactly as in 1324 b 26 νομοθετικός stands to νομο-

θέτης.

§ 21 ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ, τόν <τε> νομοθέτην (ΧΙΙΙ) έμποιείν δεί ταῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων' τήν τε τῶν 16

πολεμικών ἄσκησιν οὐ τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα κατα-40 δουλώσωνται τους αναξίους, αλλ' ίνα πρώτον μέν αὐτοι μή δουλεύσωσιν έτέροις, έπειτα όπως ζητώσι την ήγεμονίαν της

1334 1 ώφελείας ένεκα των άρχομένων, άλλά μη πάντων δεσποτείας, τρίτον δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν. ὅτι δὲ 15 § 22 δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ

τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σγολάζειν (ρ. 122) 5 ένεκεν τάξη καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεί τὰ γινόμενα τοίς λόγοις. αί γάρ πλείσται τών τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμούσαι μέν σώζονται, κατακτησάμεναι δέ την άρχην ἀπόλλυνται. την γάρ βαφήν ανιασιν, ώσπερ ο σίδηρος, εἰρήνην άγον-

τες, αίτιος δ' ο νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σγο-10 λάζειν. 15 έπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος είναι φαίνεται καὶ κοινῆ καὶ 16 ίδία τοις ανθρώποις, και τον αυτον δρον αναγκαίον είναι

τώ τε άρίστω άνδρὶ καὶ τῆ άρίστη πολιτεία, φανερον ότι δεί τὰς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρετὰς ὑπερέχειν· τέλος γάρ, 37 ταθτά Pt.3.5 L. Vb Ar., ταθτα the other authorities, τά Spengel | 18ια P2 Ald. | τόν <τε> Thurot Susem.2.3, <καί> τὸν Congreve | 38 ταῦτα omitted by P4-6 L1, [ταῦτα] Bk.2 | ανθρώπων τήν τε τῶν twice over in Π1 | 39 πολεμίων

Γ Mº | 41 δουλεύωσιν P4-5 Sb Vb | ζηλώσι Γ 1334 a 1 πάντως ? Oncken | 2 τρίτον] τοῦτο Joh. Brandis (Rhein. Mus. XI. p. 506), not rightly | τδ] τῶ Vettori, τοῦ Koraes | 3 ὅπως...4 σχολάζειν omitted by Γ Mº | 5 τάξει Pl (1st hand) and probably Γ (ordinis William), τέξη Mº | 8 doidou II2 P6 Bk., perhaps rightly | 11 δη ? Susem., yet δè is also tenable | 14 ύπερέχειν Susem., ὑπάρχειν ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem.1

§ 21 37 τόν <τε> νομοθέτην] Cp. n: (296) on 11. 9. 12. Susem. (916) 40 ένα followed by ὅπως. See P. Weber Absichtssätze p. 20, who quotes

1267 a 2, 1301 b 6, 1320 b 11. 41 ξπειτα όπως ζητώσι την ήγ.] This is a curious admission, which proves that Aristotle did not necessarily imagine his ideal state without external dominion, but rather as at the head of a group of allies, whom it has conquered in war, and protects, but also to some extent rules; like Athens, Sparta or Thebes. Only this dominion ought to be generously exercised. so that it may be of even greater service to the governed than to the governing states. Cp. also Introd. p. 55. Susem. (917)

1334 8 2 τρίτον δὲ κτλ] Comp. I. 8.

12, 1256 b 23, with notes; also nn. (54, 75, 728) and 1. 7. 5, 1255 b 37, n. (65). SUSEM. (918)

§ 22 5 τα γινόμενα] So I. 5. 1, 1254 2 21 έκ των γινομένων καταμαθεών.

1254 ε τι εκ των γινομονών καταμασίο. A fuller phrase 1328 α 50, see π.
6 Ερβουις αρμά Strabonem IX. ρ.
614: καθάτης Γκαμενιώνδας δύεξε τελειτήσωτος γάρ ἐκοίνου τὴν ἡγιμονίων
ἀποβαλεὰν εὐθὸς τοῦς Θηβαίοις, γενοσιμένους αὐτής μόνουν αίτου δὲ ἐδου τὸ λόγων
κατά μένουν αίτου δὲ ἐδου τὸ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας όλεγωρήσαι, μόνης δ' ἐπιμελη-θήναι τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς, F. H. G. 254 (Newman).
 αίτιος δ' ὁ νομοθέτης] Cp. again

II. 9. 34, with n. (345). Susem. (919) c. 15 Preeminence of the virtues of peace, though all virtues are alike indispensable: §§ 1-6.

15 άστερ εξηται πολλόκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου σχολή δ (ΧΙΙΙ) 82 ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσι πρὸς τὴν σχολήν π καὶ διαγωήν, ἀν τε ἐν τῇ σχολῆ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀν ἐν τῇ ἀρχολίς εἰσι πρὸς τὴν κπος τῷς τῷς σχολάξεω. διὰ [σάφρονα] τὴν πόλιν εἶναι προσήκει 20 καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερικήν κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολή δούλοις, οἱ δὲ μὴ δινάμενοι κυθυνείειν ἀιδρείων 82 δοῦλοι τοὰ ετίαν ἀντο εἰσι μὰν τὸν καὶ καρτερική εἰσι καὶ καρτερική εἰν δινάμενοι κυθυνείειν ἀιδρείων 32 δοῦλοι τὸν ἐντάντων εἰσι ἀιδικός μὰν σύν καὶ καρτερική εἰσι δια διλαίος μὰν σύν καὶ καρτερική εἰσι δια δια μὰν διν καὶ καρτερική εἰσι δεῖ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀιφότεροις τοῖς χρό-5 νοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην ἀγους καὶ σγολάζονατν ὁ μὲν

19 έξθε ΓΜ^a, perhaps Γ had σχολάζης | [σώφρονα] Susem.

§ 1 15 είρηται πολλάκις] c. 14 §§ 12, 13, 22. SUSEM. (920) \$2 16 προς την σχολήν και δια-γωγήν] Besides its general meaning mode, or condition, of life' and the more special sense, extending beyond the necessaries of existence, 'refinement of life' (Meta. I. 1. 15. 981 h 18, I. 2. II, 982 b 23), the word διαγωγή in Aristotle, with or without the attribute ελευθέριος (cp. v[vIII] 5. 8 with n. 1027) or some similar expression, or ev Ty oxoly "in a condition of leisure" (v[vIII] 3 § 3, § 8, cp. n. 903), means the occupation of leisure worthy of a really free man, such as he attains when his political duties have been performed, or such as he always possesses, provided he is pecuniarily independent, and leads a life of true study or contemplation. The occupation of such leisure, i.e. in other words (see Nic. Eth. X. 7. 6, 1177 a 4, cp. mm. 907, 548, and 922) the highest degree of human happiness and satisfaction, is however activity: according to Aristotle, the highest activity there is. It consists in the study of all branches of knowledge and the contemplation of all works of art: it confers the highest intellectual enjoyment and most nearly approaches to the divine blessedness, *Metaph*. XII (A). 7 § 7, 1072 b 14 f. and above nn. (702, 728). From this meaning of 'the highest intel-lectual enjoyment,' the word sometimes descends to the more commonplace one of mere occupation and especially 'social occupation or intercourse': N. E. IX. II. 5, 1171 b 13, Fragm. 90, 1492 a 28; cp. also e.g. Pal. v(vIII). 2 § 9 with n. (905). Then it is used in the plural for societies whose object is such intercourse, especi-

ally refined intellectual culture (III. 9. 13, 180 b) 37, where it might be transited "social chiefe" cp. 67, 263 and 164 cm. 164 cm. 165 cm. 165 cm. 164 cm. 165 cm.

a sy, in particular by those to primosophy and art, including music. 20 ov σχολή δεθλοις Comp. n. (548) on III. 9. 6. Slaves do certainly need recreation, but leisure in Aristotle's sense of the word, as explained n. (921), is something quite different from recrea-

tion. SUSEM. (922) § 3 23 & buloroplas] Bonitz Ind. Ar. » v. refers this to the meaning 'investigatio,' as in III. 12. 2, 1282 b 23, or Phys. I. 2, 5, 185 a 20: and hence explains it as 'virtus intellectualis.'

25 δ μέν γάρ κτλ.] Comp. Thuc. III. 82. 2: δ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελῶν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καί

γάρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει δικαίους είναι καὶ σωφρονείν, ή δὲ (ΧΙΙΙ) τής εύτυχίας απόλαυσις και τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' είρηνης § 4 ύβριστάς ποιεί μάλλου. πολλής οθυ δεί δικαιοσύνης καί 19 πολλής σωφροσύνης τους άριστα δοκούντας πράττειν καλ 30 πάντων τών μακαριζομένων ἀπολαύοντας, οίου εἴ τινές είσιν, ώσπερ οἱ ποιηταί φασιν, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις μάλιστα γάρ ούτοι δεήσονται φιλοσοφίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, όσω μάλλον σχολάζουσιν ἐν ἀφθονία τῶν τοιού-§ 5 των αγαθών. διότι μεν οθν την μέλλουσαν εθδαιμονήσειν 35 καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν τούτων δεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετέχειν, φανερόν. αἰσχροῦ γὰρ ὄντος μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι (γ. 143) τοις αγαθοις, έτι μάλλον το μη δύνασθαι εν τῷ σχολάζειν χρή-38 σθαι, άλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας φαίνεσθαι ἀγαθούς, ε ε είρηνην δ' άνοντας καὶ σνολάζοντας άνδραποδώδεις. διὸ δεί 20

28 δεί] δέονται (δέ over an erasure), 20 δοκούντες, and 30 άπολαύοντες P5, indigent -qui videntur-frui William | 29 σωφροσύνης <μετέχεω> Koraes, more satisfactory, if any change is needed | 37 τοίε άγαθοῦε omitted by P8 (1st hand, supplied by a later hand), τοίς...χρησθαι omitted by Mo, έτι...χρησθαι omitted by Π2 Ar. | τὸ] τῶ P1 (1st hand), omitted by P5 Bk., < αlσχρὸν > τὸ Koraes, perhaps rightly

πρός τὰ παρόντα τὰς όργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοί (Εαίοπ). Susem. (923) 26 ἡ 8 της εντρικίας] Comp. Thuc. III. 29, 4, VIII. 24, 4, Plato Lawr VII 8 ξ ε (Εαίοπ). Susem. (924) § 4 α9 δοκοῦντας] Potson discusses

this idiom, accus. not dat., in a note on Orestes 659. It is not confined to Euripides amongst Attic writers (Valckenaer on Hippol. 23): see Aesch. P. V. 86, and the comic fragment apud Herodianum Pierson, p. 450, εὐρυχωρίας σε δεί, as cited

by Person. 31 of mointal] First in the Odyssey IV. 561 ff., next the author of the episode on the ages of the world in Hesiod's Works and Days 167 ff., then Pindar Olymp. 11. 60 ff., and others. The Isles of the Blest, or Elysium, are placed at the remotest ends of the earth: it is the land of privileged heroes who do not die but are taken alive from the earth: here, 'where falls not hail or rain or any snow, where gentle breezes are ever blowing, they spend a most blessed life in undisturbed enjoyment of all good under the sway of Kronos or Rhadamanthus. See Preller Griech. Mythol. I. p. 635 ff.; cp.

pp. 53, 69. Susem. (925)
μάλιστα γὰρ οὐτοι κτλ] This is the
moral of Plato's fine myth respecting the

children of Kronos, Politicus 272 A-D. Though it is not there stated that the advantages of the golden age failed to confer greater happiness, there can be little doubt that this is Plato's meaning. Several expressions of the Politicus, παρ-ούσης αὐτοῖς οὐτω πολλής σχολής...κατεχρώντο τούτοις ξύμπασιν έπλ φιλοσοφίαν.... έμπιμπλάμενοι σίτων άδην και ποτών 272

B, C, seem to find an echo here 32 φιλοσοφίας] Culture, cp. II. 5. 15, 1264 a 40. Intellectual aptitude, a habit of intellectual inquiry, to give occupation in leisure and save the citizens from rusting. Liberal and refined pursuits such as music, literature, philosophy in the restricted sense, must in leisure hours replace the active business of life, radray-

καΐα και χρήσιμα. 33 "xeAdjourus] This conception of
a life of cultivated leisure, distinct from
work and recreation, as the ideal life (cp.

1337 b 30), which only 'philosophy' can train us rightly to enjoy (cp. 1267 a 11), is of primary importance for the discus-sions in Book v(vIII). See esp. v(vIII).

C. 3 §§ 4—8 with notes. § 5 39 ἀνδραποδώδειs] This term 'slavish' means to Aristotle 'sunk like beasts in low sensual enjoyments.' Plato traces out exactly the same line of thought.

40 μη) καθάπερ ή Λακεδαιμονίον πόλις την άρετην ἀσκεῖν, ἐκαι-(ΧΙΙΙ) να μεν τὰρ οὐ ταύτη διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μη νομίζεω να ταὐτα τοῦς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν σὰρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γισκόθα ταῦτα μάλλων διὰ τωὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα, καὶ την ἀπόλλοισι τὴν τοῦτων ἡ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν * *.

< ότι μὲν οὖν * * τὴν ἀρετήν,> καὶ ὅτι δι αὐτήν, φανε-5 ρὸν ἐκ τούτων τῶν, δὲ καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητίου. 8] τυγχάνομεν δὴ διηρημένοι πρότερου ὅτι φύσεως καὶ ἔθους τι καὶ λόγου δεὶ τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τίνας εἶνοι χρὴ τὴν

1334 b 1 γίνεσθαι Schneider Bk,2, γένεσθαι P4, γενέσθαι the other authorities Bk,1 Susem. I in the text | 2 êmel] êm Welldon, who punctuates with a full stop at 3 doeτῶν, ignoring the lacuna | τε] τὰ PI-5 | 3 π (omitted by M*) | τὰ τοῦ (τοῦ omitted by Ma) πολέμου added by Γ Ma Pa before ταῦτα contrary to the sense, τὰ πολεμικά, a similar addition, is presented as a gloss by p* | τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ ὅτι] Camerarius first saw that the text was defective. Thurot placed the lacuna after, and Spengel before, the words τῶν ἀρετῶν, supplying it conjecturally as follows: τῶν ἀρετῶν <ύπολαμβάνουσιν, ἐσψίζοντο μέν πολεμούντες, ἀπώλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες. οίν δεί την άρετην και σχολάζοντας άσκείν> και ότι δι' αύτην κτλ Thurot (cp. 11. 0 \$ 34. 1271 b 3 ff.): τών <πολεμικών μείζω είναι ανάγκη. ότι μέν οξυ τον νομοθέτην χρή ἐπιμελείσθαι τών els την σχολήν> άρετών και ότι δι' αίτών, κτλ Spengel; mistaking the sense. Thurot's supplement requires a slight alteration to account for the loss: hence 4 < ότι μέν οθν καλ μάλιστα δεί σχολάζονται άσκεῦν τὴν άρετήν, > καλ ὅτι κτλ Susem. Welldon supplies < ὅτι μὲν οδο τὴν ἐν τῆ σχολῆ ἀρετὴν δεῖ ἀσκεῖν> 1 αὐτήν ? Cougreve | 6 [τυγχάνομεν...12 ήχθαι] Broughton, thinking it to be

an interpolation by the author of the present reduction | 8h 8è ? Susem.

though in a different manner, in the first two books of the Laws. See n. (43) on L. 5, 8. Susem. (926)

 S. S. Susem. (998)
 6 1334 b 1 rain tolk allows μέμοτα] Namely the external goods. Compare for the Spartan convictions 11. 9 % 14. 1370 b 34, ότο τη δίσαστα ματρεφά ολλα λάβρα... Δπολασίαν τών συματικών δύουών, π. (338), and \$ 35. 1271 b 71, νομίζουσι μόν η τη ρίναστα τάγαβα τὰ περιμέχνητα δέ άρετης κπλ with ππ. (346, 346 b) 347).

Susma. (927)

2 Bud ravds dperrig] That is, by means of valour or courage, which is a particular virtue: see II. 98 34, 35 mr. (344, 347), esp. 127 I b 3 I mph yap phon dperrig in man advantage time square early in make parties in yap yapungun mah ra kaparis. Comp. also 14(VIII.) I § 6, cremara sad qoharrouru od rai dperrig rosi karbe 20%.

ketiva ratirats, n. (607). Susem. (928)
Mr Newman well observes that this correction of the one-sidedness of Lacedaemonian training tells just as much

against all systems which, like Stoicism and Puritanism, tend to develope something less than the whole man.

tend 88 µef(p..., deprior) The passage is defective: we may supplement it from II. 98 34, 1271 b 4, thus: 'But as they esteemed these goods higher than the virtues, and the enjoyment of them higher than that of the virtues, extep maintained their state only while at war, and fell after they had acquired empire.> (Thu-

rot.) Susem. (929)
4 < δτι μέν ούν κτλ) Thurot further suggests as the sense of this opening paragraph: <That virtue must be practised in leisure also, > and for its own sake, is

Clear from this. SUSEM. (930)
§ 7 6 διηρημένοι πρότερον] The result of our previous analysis: 13 § 10, 1332 a 39 f., see n. (887) and n. (881) on c. 13 § 8. SUSEM. (931)

7 τούτων] The citizens of the best state (Susemihl): cp. b 8 παιδευτέα, § 5, a 34, § 4, a 29, § 1, a 13.

a 34, 9 4, a 29, 9 1, a 13

φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν δὲ θεωρῆσαι πότερον παι- (ΧΙΙΙ) δευτέοι τῷ λόγφ πρότερον ἡ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ το πρός άλληλα συμφωνείν συμφωνίαν την αρίστην ενδέχε-

ται γάρ διημαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑπο-§ 8 θέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό 22 γε πρώτου μέν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῦς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ' άρχης έστι καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχης ἄλλου τέλους, ὁ 15 δὲ λόγος ήμεν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος, ὥστε πρὸς τούτους την γένεσιν καὶ την τῶν ἐθῶν δεῖ παρασκευάζειν § 9 μελέτην· ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ψυχή καὶ σῶμα δύ ἐστίν, οὕτω 23

καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγου έχου, καὶ τὰς έξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, 20 ων τὸ μέν ἐστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς, ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σωμα 8 παιδευταΐοι M^s , παιδευτέου $P^0 \parallel g$ πρότερου omitted by $H^0 P^0 \parallel g$ to άρίστην.

< η τοις έθεσιν; > ? Jackson | 11 καl omitted by P2, [καl] Koraes Bk.2; Koraes also suggested its transposition to follow του λόγου | 12 ἐθῶν omitted by II1 (supplied in the margin of P1 with yo. prefixed) | outloor P5 Sb Vb and in the margin of P1 with γρ. prefixed, όμοίους Ar., όμοίων Π1-2 | διά... ήχθαι] την διά τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως άγωγήν ? Schneider 1 14 άρχης <άρχη> François Thurot, perhaps rightly, but (as Postgate observes) even this slight change is hardly needed | [τέλος] and άλλ' οδ C. Thurot, άλλο τελούσ <ηs> Spengel

8 διώρισται πρότερον] In c. 7. Susem.

9 τῷ λόγῳ κτλ] Parallel to c. 13 §§ 12, 13, and to the more general dis-cussion of Nic. Eth. X. 9 §§ 1—12 (c. 10 Bk., 1170 a 33 ff.).

11 διημαρτηκίναι της βελτίστης ύπο-θέσεως] Το miss the truest (highest) conception or ideal: as is explained in c. 13 § 2. See c. 4 § 1, 1325 b 35. Men may be led astray by habit as well as by reason. With ηχθαι=drawn cp. N. E. I. 4. 6, 1005 b 4. The sense of opolos is vir-tually, 'amiss.' Göttling is quite wrong in rendering "eodem perduci moribus quo perduxisset ή βελείστη ὑπόθεσις."

§ 8 12-15] Mr Newman thinks much light is thrown on this difficult passage by De Part. Animal. II. 1. 6, 646 a 30 ff. παν γάρ το γινόμενον έκ τινος και είς τι ποιείται την γένεσιν, και άπ' άρχης έπ' άρχην, άπο της πρώτης κινούσης και έχούσης ήδη τινά φύσιν έπί τινα μορφήν ή τοιούτον άλλο τέλος.

13 ή γένεσις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] The sense of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς is clear from c. 16 § 1, see n. (937): ἀπ' ἀρχής τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως κτλ. "Obviously birth is the first or earliest thing which demands our care,"

i.e. we begin with birth. The next words mean 'the nearest or proximate end from any starting-point'—understanding ἐστί with the gen. ἄλλου τέλους, 'belongs to [is referred to] another, or new, end. The proximate end is but a means, subordinated to a higher end : Nic. Eth. 1. 1. 4, 1004 a 14 ff. In our human nature this higher end is intellect and reason. SUSEM. (933)

16 την τῶν ἐθῶν μελέτην] Somewhat stronger than ἐπιμέλεια, for which cp. N. E. x. 9 §§ 9, 13—15, 17 (e.g. 1180 b 23 & επιμελείας βελτίους ποιείν). § 9 18 δύο μέρη κτλ] See c. 14

§ 9, 1333 a 17, n. (904), and esp. n. (40) on 1. 5. 6. Susem. (934) 20 το μέν έστιν δρεξις το δε νους] Ιπ English, as in German, it is not easy to find two terms, mutually related as forest and embuula. Striving, or effort in general, is the meaning of opers [Hamilton's conation]: extenda denotes sense-desire. or appetite, in particular. This explains why opers alone denotes 'the motive force of the irrational soul' (as I should translate &s; characteristic possession, or attribute, is not strong enough), while within the soul θυμός, passion—see nn.

πρότερον τἢ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ (ΧΙΙΙ) § 10 λόγον έγοντος, φανερον δε και τοῦτο θυμός γάρ και βούλησις, έτι δέ καλ έπιθυμία καλ γενομένοις εύθυς ύπάργει τοῖς παιδίοις, ο δε λογισμός και ο νούς προϊούσιν πέφυκεν έγ-25 γίνεσθαι. διὸ πρώτον μέν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αναγκαίου είναι προτέραν ή την της ψυχής, έπειτα την της δρέξεως, ένεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ την της δρέξεως, την δὲ (ν. 124) τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυγῆς.

16 είπερ οθυ απ' αργής του νομοθέτην οράν δεί όπως ΧΙΥ 30 τὰ σώματα βέλτιστα γίνηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρώτον μὲν

23 και after δε omitted by H2P6Bk. 1 24 πέφυκεν after εγγίνεσθαι (εγγίγνεσθαι P2-5-4) P1-5 Π2 Bk. | 26 τhν after # omitted by P1-5 Sb Vb L* | 27 τhν δὲ τοῦ] τοῦ δὲ Π¹ | 28 τοῦ σώματος] τοῦ τρίτου Mª (huius autem corum quae animae William) || 30 τὰ σώματα after βέλτιστα Π² P⁵ Bk. Ε γένπται Π² P⁵ Bk.

(641, 786)—ἐπιθυμία, desire, and βούλησις, will, are distinguished : and further, why in I. 5. 6 the term opeges is first used, 1254 b 5, and afterwards 1254 b 8, τὸ παθητικόν μόριον 'the emotional part,' see note (40). The same trichotomy of the irrational soul is also found in De Anima II. 3. 1, 414 b 1, III. 10. 3, 433 a 23 ff. (That these passages are not in conflict with De Anima III. 9. 3, 432 b 4 ff. and Topica IV. 5. 6, 126 a 12 f., if the statement is τψ λογιστικώ η βούλησι be rightly interpreted, is shown by Susemihl Jahrb. f. Philot. CXIX. 1879, p. 743 n. 17.) The spurious treatise De Motu Animal. c. 6 § 4, 700 b 22, άλλα μὴν ἡ ὅρεξις εἰς τρία διαιρεῖται,
 εἰς βούλησιν καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, and Eud. Eth. 11. 7. 2, 1223 a 26 f. βούλησις δὲ καὶ θυμός καὶ ἐπιθυμία πάντα ὅρεξις... ώστε κινεί πρώτον το δρεκτικόν και το διανοητόν, need not be taken into account. The Will appears, as the passage from Eud. Ine Will appears, as the passagerrom Eust.

Eth. more particularly proves, as δpeiseimpulse, whether rightly or wrongly guided
by reason, directed to real or apparent
good, see N. Eth. 11. 4 (II. c. 6 Bk.),
while Desire (erdubyla) aims at what is
pleasant, and Anger (θuμόν) at revenge.
See Walter Die prabliche Versungft pp.
194—212. Yet all this does not suffice
to evulain the unresent neason which to explain the present passage, which rightly denies to the child (at all events to the infant just after birth) the possession of any rational impulses. The difference between our passage and the two cited from De Anima is that here θυμόs and βούλησιs are again drawn closer together and opposed to embugia. Should

θυμός και βούλησες be taken to mean 'aver-sion and liking'? In any case at b 22 βούλησιε is used in what Zeller calls (op. c. II. ii. p. 587, n. 3) a wider sense, or more precisely a weakened sense, denoting something more analogous to θυμός than to ἐπιθυμία. Susem. (935)

§ 10 We must then train the body first; next the impulses, the motive forces of the irrational soul; and lastly the reason.

25 πρώτον μέν....27 ὀρέξεως) Here again Aristotle follows closely in the track of Plato, Laws II. 652 E-653 C. Susem. (936) Add *Republic* 410 B, 563 A, 591 C ff.

c. 16 Precautions necessary on the part
of the parents to secure healthy progeny.
§ 1 29 class σουν dπ' dρχής κτλ] The
expression is chosen with reference to the words at the beginning of c. 13 § 8, 1334 b 13, and as regards the facts also Aristotle takes up the same thread. Cp. n. (933). But in the further and decisive step, of making education begin not merely before birth but even before conception, Aristotle quite follows Plato's procedure Laws IV 721, VI 774—776, 783 D ff., 788 ff. (comp. Rep. V 458 E, Politicus 310). It is in imitation of the Spartan model : see Xen. De Rep. Lace-

daem, 1. 3 ff., Plut. Lyc. 14 (Eaton). SUSEM. (937) Add Critias, Fr. 1, F. H. G. 11. 68 (Newman). 7. 17. G. II. 06 (Newman).
δε δπως] The remedy for a rather violent hiatus may be easily discovered by comparing 1320 a 33, dλλά δεί τὸν άληθενῶς δημοτικών ὁρῶν ὅπως κτλ.

επιμελητέου περί την σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ ποίους τινάς όντας (XIV) χρη ποιείσθαι πρός άλληλους την γαμικήν όμιλίαν.

§ 2 δεί γὰρ ἀποβλέποντα νομοθετείν ταύτην την κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς 35 ήλικίαις έπὶ του αὐτου καιρου καὶ μη διαφωνώσιν αί δυνάμεις του μέν έτι δυναμένου γεννάν τής δὲ μη δυναμένης, ή ταύτης μέν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή (ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρός αλλήλους και διαφοράς). Επειτα και πρός την ε § 3 τών τέκνων διαδογήν, δεί γαο ούτε λίαν ύπολείπεσθαι τά 40 τέκνα ταις ήλικίαις των πατέρων (ανόνητος γαρ τοις μέν πρεσβυτέροις ή χάρις παρά τῶν τέκνων, ή δὲ παρά τῶν 1335 2 πατέρων βοήθεια τοῖς τέκνοις) οὕτε λίαν πάρεγγυς είναι (πολλήν γάρ έχει δυσχέρειαν. ή τε γάρ αίδως ήττον ύπάρχει τοις τοιούτοις ώσπερ ήλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν § 4 έγκληματικόν τὸ πάρεγγυς). ἔτι δ', ὅθεν ἀρχόμενοι δεῦρο 5 μετέβημεν, όπως τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχη πρός την τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδόν δὲ πάντα ταῦτα : § 5 συμβαίνει κατά μίαν ἐπιμέλειαν. čπe). γεννήσεως ώς \$11 to make the elπείν άνδράσι ěτŵγ σομθμός πεντήκοντα έσχατος, το γυναιξίν, THY άρχὴν τής συζεύξεως Katà thy

32 πρδε άλλήλους omitted by ΓΜ*, hence [πρδε άλλήλους] Susem.1 | 33 γάρ Susem., δ' ΓΠ Ar. Bk. Susem.1 | <περl> ταύτην Vettori, perhaps rightly | 34 συξήν P4 (corr.) | 37 γάρ omitted by Sb Vb Ar. | 30 των omitted by P4.8 | λίαν omitted by Π1 | τὰ τέκνα after 40 ταις ήλικίαις Π2 P5 Bk.

1335 a 2 γdo after τe omitted by H1 | 5 ύπάρχει M* P6 | 6 σχεδόν...11 τούrous transposed to follow a 27 έτι <ή μικρύν> Susem. 2-3. See Introd. p. 80

32 yamıkılı] 'Nuptial,' not 'conjugal'; cp. 1. 3. 1, 1253 b 9 n. Or, as Prof. Gildersleeve puts it, γάμος=wedding, not wedlock.

§ 2 33 KOLVWV(av] Comp. Eur. Bacchae 1277 έγένετο | Πένθευς έμη τε καλ πατρός κοινωνία.

34 συγκαταβαίνωσι] For the vb. κατα-βαίνευ, § 5, 1335 a 11, see Schw. Lex. Herod. It is used, like iκνείσθαι (cp. 1332 b 41), for 'to suit': properly 'to meet in. The compound with our = to come simultaneously to an end, so producing a convergence or correspondence.

§ 3 Johnson Rasselas c. 29 affords a parallel. " From these early marriages proceeds likewise the rivalry of parents and children: the son is eager to enjoy the world before the father is willing to

forsake it, and there is hardly room at once for two generations Those who marry at an advanced age will probably escape the encroachments of their children; but, in diminution of this advantage, they will be likely to leave them, ignorant and belpless, to a guardian's

mercy. From their children if they have less to fear they have less also to hope." 41 ή χάρις παρά τῶν τέκνων] The gratitude due from their children. Cp.

Plato Laws IV. 717 B, C.
1335 a 1 βοήθεια τοῦς τέκνοις] Plato Lates 717 C els ύπηρεσίαν έκείνοις with Stallbaum's note: βοψθεια τῷ λόγφ Parm. 128 C, Alc. 1. 116 A, 7015 places.

4 έγκληματικόν τὸ πάρεγγυς] Near-ness, i.e. equality in age, produces bickerings, misunderstandings (IL 5, 4).

(XIV)

§ 6 els τους χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συν-4 12 δυασμός φαθλος πρός την τεκνοποιίαν έν γάρ πάσι ζώοις άτελή τὰ τῶν νέων ἔκγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μάλλον καὶ μικρὰ τὴν μορφήν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν 15 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεκμήριον δέ' ἐν ὅσαις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων επιχωριάζει το νέους συζευγνύναι και νέας, άτε-§ 7 λείς καλ μικρολ τὰ σώματα εἰσίν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αι νέαι πονούσι τε μάλλον και διαφθείρονται πλείους διό (ν. 10) καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διὰ τοιαύτην αλτίαν 20 τοις Τροιζηνίοις, ώς πολλών διαφθειρομένων διά τὸ γαμί-

σκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καρπῶν κο-§ 8 μιδήν, έτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην συμφέρει τὰς ἐκδό- 5 σεις ποιείσθαι πρεσβυτέραις ἀκολαστότεραι γὰρ δοκούσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταις συνουσίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων 25 δε σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεί πρός την αύξησιν, εάν έτι τοῦ

17 ford fre Susem. in the notes, wrongly | 12 rhp omitted by H2 P5 Bk. | 13 έγγονα Π² P⁵ Bk. | θηλότοκα Camerarius (wrongly), θηλύτερα Koraes | 14 ταύτδ 700το Π2 P5 Ar. Bk., hoc ipsum William | 16 ἐπιχωριάζει Ma and (after a lacuna) P1, έπιχωριάζεται Π2 P6 Bk, p1 (in the margin) and apparently Γ | τδ] τούς M6 P5 | 18 al νέαι] ένιαί Π¹, άλλως al νέαι p¹ in the margin | πονούσι after τε M*P¹ | 23 elvas inserted after γὰρ by H2P6Bk. Susem.2 | 25 δè omitted by H1, untranslated by Ar., [82] Susem.1, wrongly

§ 6 13 θηλυτόκα] This point is not mentioned Hist. Animal. V. 12. 1 (V. 14 Bk.), 544 b 16, where the offspring are merely said to be weak and puny. SUSEM. (938)

We find it however, with the presumed physical cause, De Gen. Animal. IV. 2. ι, 766 b 29 ff., τά τε γάρ νέα θηλυτόκα μάλλον των άκμαζόντων, και γηράσκοντα μάλλον τοις μέν γάρ οίπω τέλειον τό θερμόν, τοῦς δ' ἀπολείπει. Falstaff, Henry IV. Part II, Act 4 sc. 3, humourously calls this

one of the ill effects of water-drinking. one of the ill effects of water-drinking.

15 τ resumption δt ... $\gamma \Delta p$] If the Index Ar. s. v. may be trusted, this is the only instance of this usage in its normal form, the pronoun being omitted. We had $\sigma \eta$.

the pronoun being omitted. We had σ_{pp} day $\delta V_{eff} \sim 2$, δS_{eff} 136 a 1, and Bonitz $\delta \delta$. Gyr δ b 9 ff. cites ten other instances, including 1312 b 21, 1376 b 77. 16 em/equ64[a] Comp. V(VII), δ . 17, 1344 a 34. The verb appears in another sense in H. Phatele 57 A. The suppositive of the Lexx. (see Crit. A.) receives its coup it grafts from Kaibel, the last editor of Athenaeux, who at XIV. 619 f. reads κατά τινα ἐπιχωριαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς....ἄδοντες, with the critical note

"παρ' αὐτοῖς < ἐορτὴν > Wilamowitz, recte defendens ἐπιχωριάζεσθαι verbum medium.'

συζευγνύναι] Το pair, join in marriage:

συξογγόνομ] Το pair, join in marriage: § 9, a 29. § 7 18 πονοῦτ' τε μαλλον] This statement reappears in the spurious B. VII. of Hith. An. c. 1 § 16, 58 a 20. 19 πδν χοριφού) A (gloss cites the oracle in the form με) τόμεν νέων δλοκα, 'till not the fresh furrow.' Göttling prosed to alter νέων το νέως, thinking there was a play upon reas which he took to be gen. of a supposed rea = novale, fallow land [for which reas, Attic reas, is the iand [tor which belof, Artic beek, is the received form]. Susem. (939) Comp. Eur. Phoen. 18 σπείρευ πέννων άλοκα, Soph. Oed. Τ. 1210 (Ridgeway); also Antig. 569 ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χάπέρων elolv

20 διαφθειρομένων] Comp. Frag. Λόγου γαμικοῦ of Clemens Alexandrinus p. 1022 P., III. 501 Dind. παρθένων φθορά λέγεται οὐ μόνον πορνεία, άλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸ καιροί ξεδοσις, όταν, ώς είπειν, άωρος ἐκδοθή τῷ

§ 8 24 Comp. Aristoxemus Tarent. Fr. 20, F. H. G. II. 278.

σώματος αὐξανομένου ποιώνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτου (ΧΙV) 27 τις χρόνος ώρισμένος, δν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει πληθόον ἔτι <ῆ μι

27 τις χρόνος δρισμένος, δυ ούχ ύπερβαίνει πληθόου έτι < ή μικρόν.> § 4 α 6 <σχεδόν δέ πάντα ταῦτα 7 συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν < έπιμβελειαν. § 8 έπαὶ γὰρ δίρισται τέλος 8 τῆς γενινήσεως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ <πλεῖστον εἰπείν ἀνδράσι μέν ὁ 9 τῶν ἐβδομήκωτα ἐτῶν ἀριθμός <ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ ιο γιναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συζεύ-</p>

<ξοχατος, πεντίκουτα δε ιο ηνυαξία, δεί την άρχην τής συξεί-</p>
<ξεως κατὰ την ήλικίαν τι είς τοὺς χρόνους καταβαίνειν τοὐτους.</p>

 28 § 9 διὸ τὰς μεν ἀρμόττει περὶ την τών ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτών ο ήλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' ϯέπτὰ καὶ τριάκουτα[, ή μικρόν].
3ο ἐν τοσούτης γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῦς σώμασι σύζευξες ἐσται,

30 με τοσούτης για βαμαζευεί τε τοίς σώματα τοίς μέτες έσταις 10 τοίς χούνοις εύκαμος έτι δεί διαδοχή τόν τέκνων τοίς 30 με άρχομένοις έται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γένηται κατά λό-

26 σώματος Γ Ar. and Γ^2 (corr.), δίλως σώματος Γ^1 (in the margin), σπέρματος σ the other authorities \parallel 27 χούνος after ἀρισμένος $\Gamma^{1,0}$ Π^2 Bk. \parallel πληθύων Bk., πλη M, multum William Ar.

6 δè Susem., δὴ ΓΠΒk. Susem.¹ ∥ ταῦτα before πάντα Μ', untranslated by William

29 σγλυγνίναι Fi, σγλυχόβοια M* | E & Ar., érrà all other authorities: wére? Suem-from an entiler suggestion of Spengel's, see Comm. n. (a) of | [η μωρό] Sepul-veda, transposed by Göttling Suem.³⁸ to follow 2? fr: | | 20 revefuy] rodru IP I²⁶ Ar. and P² (corr.² in the margin | | ± daysderses, Mr., dargifured Fi-S V V | | 31
<συγ- saraphitorus Suem.³⁸ wroughy following William (convenient) | | 29 redr ± daysderse takingeway wrongly: see Exc. 11. p. 5 ft | | 33 daysdersey π apparently (inchosute abme William) Ilk. Susem.³⁸ and F⁸ (corr.), pethaps rightly | | γλγηντα IP IP IB II. γληντα IF

26 καl γdρ τούτου κτλ] Sc. τοῦ σώματοs: bodily growth has fixed limits of time which it does not exceed (or only to a small extent). Comp. note on v(VIII).

a small extent). Comp. net on V(VIII).

13.337 at 3.5 mb per sch II neg. v.
460 s Plato fixes the period for procession amongst his guardians from twenty
to forty in the woman, and from twenty
to forty in the woman, and from twenty
in the ram. All ser regulations in the Lause
are not consistent. The marriage of the
arc between thirty and fifty-free (iv. 721 A,
so when the procession of the procession of the
transport of the procession of the procession of the
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tr

In the spurious B. VII. of Aristole's Historia Arimal. co. 5, 6 there are skinned state and the limits of age for getting offspring in tolerable agreement with the assert and arity in the man, forty in the woman, with occasional prolongation to sevenly and fifty respectively. Memophon (Occor. 7 & 5, cp. 3 § 13) fixes the earlier limit in the wife's case at fifteen. SUSEM.

(940) §§ 9, 10 are treated by Prof. Ridgeway, Transactionsp. 145 f., Dr Jackson ib. pp. 116—118.

"Vide quae disserul in Herm. XIX. p. 592 sqq.; ubi etiam exposui, cur prorsus recte clim Spengelium v. 29 πt/rr pro êrrà postulasse nunc censeam 'Quaest. cril. cell. p. 414. The substance of the paper in Hermes is given in Exc. II. p. 566. SUSEM. γου εἰθὺς ή γένεσις, τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλι-(ΧΙΥ) 38 κίας πρὸς τὸυ τὰυ ἐβδομήκουτα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόυ. περὶ μέν Τ οὖν τοῦ πότε δὲῖ ποιείσθαι τὴν σύζευξιν, εἰρηται: τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὧραυ χρόνοις δεῖ χρήσθαι, οἰς οἰ πολλολ χρώνται καλῶς

περί τήν ώραν χρόνοις δει χρησθαί, οις οι πολλοί χρουται καλος καὶ νῦν, ορίσαντες χεωμόνος ποιεδισία τήν στυκυλίλαν παίτην ξιι δεί δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ήδη θεωρείν πρὸς τήν τεκνοποιίαν τά τε 40 παρά τῶν ἰπτρών λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ παρά τῶν φυσικών οἵ τε γὰρ ἰπτρώ τοὺς καιρούς τῶν σωμάτων λέγουστω ἰκανός.

34 γάνογου Reis Sauem.³ [Friệ θράκα] Spengel [3] δεί χρήσθα emittel by HF Pa Ar. Bk. tha sweiding hiatus [χρήσθα 10³ [1 al] δε Π P Pa Ar. Bk. [δα—αλ νίν ανάλος Schmidt [1 [δεί χρήσθα 16] Μαλύς [3] 8 νασόσθα πθετ τὴν εννακλαν Π P P Bk. [α rosocolor Zwinger Bk. [3] 30 H P P Ar., δε T P (1 κt hand) δη there authorities Bk. and P (alter hand) [4] 4 Myeves after kows Π P P Bk.

1335 b 3 μ Mour' < $d\nu$ > Koruss [84], μ Moura $d\nu$ M/Q, μ Moura the other authorises and Ba. [4 μ ADNour, mComitted and a lacema left by P (4 st hand, supplied by p!) || ν randers II (corrected by p' in the margin) || 5 < $d\sigma$ S Suempossibly however it can be understood from μ A better || 1 $d\sigma$ or τ ψ ψ consisted and a lacuma left by P (1 st hand, supplied by p) || 1 $d\sigma$ for raphs object inserted after orbits by P M || 1 $d\sigma$ of the Kornes, $d\sigma$ for II || π ψ contrict and a lacuma left by P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied by P) || 1 $d\sigma$ raphs object in the P (18 thand, supplied

§ 10 34 καταλελυμένης] On the analogy of καταλέων πόμεως, εξούρης, βίστως, κατάλωνα συμπούου, στρατώς, τρέμους (α crew), δήμου, πολετέας, where 'breaking up,' 'dissolution' are the main ideas, we must render 'in the decline of their powers, or vigour.' So fracta actate Vict., actate ism decreptial Lambio

2 Communication of the most suitable time. Sexual series I ambin. 38 χαμιδικο] more exactly, in the month Gamelion (January and February), which derived its name of weddings month from the custom: Theophr. Hist. Plant. VII. 1 § 2. Pseudo-Hippoc. περί φόρων (III. p. 12 Kiln), quoted by Eaton, maintains "that the spring is the most suitable time." SUSSEM. (943)

§ 11 41 KGLPOUS] Favourable conditions.

1335 b 1 τd βόρεια] That the north wind is particularly favourable to male offspring is more precisely stated by Aristotle in different passages of his Historia Animalium and De generatione Animalium: e. g. H. A. VI. 19 § 4, 574 a 1 καὶ βορείου μεν διχευόμενα άρρενοτοκεί μᾶλλων, εντίευς δὲ θηλυτοκεῖ. SUSEM. (942) 3 ἐπιστήσταστ] Intransitive, as if τήν γνώμην had to be supplied: attentively. Cp. 1336 b 25, also Soph. Ant. 227.

\$ 12 4 b vols mal vis malovoules]
Another reference to a discussion to follow, which is not to be found in the extant work: see c 17 \$ 5 n. (958), \$ 7 n. (950), \$ 0 n. (950), \$ 12 n. (950), \$ 2 n. (950), \$ 2 s. (950), \$ 2 s. (950), \$ 2 s. (183). Also harded, \$ 18 villy 1. \$ 8 v. n. (183). Also harded, \$ 18 villy 1. \$ 18 vi

5 Bonitz Ind. Ar. 168 a 54 ff. is in doubt whether δε might be mentally supplied from λεκτέον, or must be added. The seuse is: id iam nunc dicendum est, and est τίσκα lamba. SUSEM.

quod est τύπφ ἰκανύν. Susem.
5 οὕτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν κτλ] Comp.
Plato Rep. III. 404 Λ (Eston) and below
V(VIII). 4 § 1 π. (1004), §§ 7—9 π. (1015).
Susem. (944)

καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὖτε ή θεραπευτική καὶ κακοπονητική λίαν, (ΧΙΥ) § 13 άλλ' ή μέση τούτων. πεπονημένην μέν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν (p. 126) έξιν, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα το μόνου, ώσπερ ή των άθλητων έξις, άλλα πρὸς τὰς των έλευθέρων πράξεις. όμοίως δὲ δεῖ ταὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἀν-§ 14 δράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρη δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγκύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 9 τών σωμάτων, μη ραθυμούσας μηδ άραια τροφή χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ βάδιον τῷ νομοθέτη ποιῆσαι προστάξαντι καθ' 15 ήμέραν τινά ποιείσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεών ἀποθεραπείαν τών είληχότων την περί της γενέσεως τιμήν. την μέντοι διάνοιαν τούναντίον των σωμάτων ραθυμοτέρως άρμόττει διάγειν' ἀπολαύοντα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ γεννώμενα τῆς ἐγούσης § 15 ώσπερ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς. περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ 10 20 τροφής των γενομένων έστω νόμος μηδέν πεπηρωμένον

κωλύει μηδέν αποτίθεσθαι των γινομένων ωρίσθαι γάρ by pl) I byelay MoPI-5 | 7 θεραποντική Mo and apparently Ph (1st hand, corrected by pl), suris indigens William | κακοσοιητική Me and Pl (1st hand, corrected by p1), male habens William | 8 Eyes omitted and a lacuna left by P1 (1st hand, supplied by pl) | 9 & a . * Susem. 1.5, & as a gloss by corr. 3 in the margin of P2 and Schneider Bk.2; but πόνον should be understood | 11 έλευθέρων Γ P1. ελευθερίων the other authorities Bk. Susem. 14 | ταῦτα Π² P⁸ Ar. Bk. | και omitted by Π2 P6 Bk. | 12 έγγύους P2 Ald. | 16 ταις είληχυίαις Γ Ar. Susem. 1-9, perhaps rightly 1 18 άπολάβοντα Μ*, άπολαβόντα Γ and perhaps Ar. 1 γενόμενα Π2 Bk.1 | 10 καl added before τά by Π3 Bk. | 20 γενομένων Pl. γεννωμένων P5, γενομένων M*Bk.2, γεγνομένων Π2Bk.1 | 21 έδιν added after τέκνων by II2 Po Ar. Bk. and PI (margin), ελω μή ? Scaliger. Schömann Gr. Alt. II. p. 517 n. (1) restores the passage thus: τέκνων (έὰν ἡ τάξες τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύη μηδέν ἀποτίθεσθαι των γεγνομένων) ώρισθαι γε δεί Ι έθνων Γ P4-5 Sb L. Co Ar. | 22 κωλύη P2-4.5 Sb Vb Ar. Ald. Bk. and P3 (corr.1), κωλύσε apparently P3 (1st hand), perhaps rightly, κωλύσει Susem., καλή ή (with preceding έἀν) Schlosser | γενομένων Koraes (who does not reject γεννωμένων), γεννωμένων Scaliger, γενομένων M*P1 Bk. Susem. 1 in the text. γεγνομένων Π2 P6 Bk.1 | ωρίσθαι Γ Ar. Pl (margin) and P2 (corr.1), ωρισθαι M2, δοισθήναι P1 (rst hand), ώοισται P3.5 H3 Bk. P1 (corr. in the margin) and P6 (1st hand, emended by corr.1), ώρίσθω Spengel | γὰρ] γοῦν Koraes, γε Schömann

τρέφειν. διὰ δὲ πλήθος τέκνων ή τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν

§ 13 10 "If any word is needed, read πόνον, but ένα refers to πόνοις with quite sufficient clearness. Similarly

with quite sufficient clearness. Similarity (VIIII). 4. 2, 1338 b 15" (Ridgeway). Comp. however Quaest. crit. coll. p. 415. § 14 14 προστάβωντι καθ' ήμεξου τυνά....16 πυμίγι Plato, 100, Laus VII 780, E, prescribes in spite of ridicule, dua γέλωτι φράζωμεν, that when enceinte the wife should take walks assiduously (Eaton). SUSEM. (945)

15 amotepamelar] The force of the prefix is similar in άφοσιοθσθαι, to discharge one's conscience. Here, 'to dis-

charge her service." 18 anolavora] Prof. Ridgeway takes this to mean that the foetus is a drain on the woman's strength, just as plants draw the good out of the ground: 79; sc. 69

γαστρί έχούσης. § 15. 22 ώρίσθαι.... 23 πλήθος] How this is to be brought about was stated II. δεί τῆς τεκυστοιίας τὸ πλήθος, ἐὰν δέ τισι γίνηται παρὰ (ΧΙV)
13 ἐμποιείσια δεί τὴν ἀμβλωσιν τὸ γιρενέσθαι καὶ ζωήν,
13 ἐμποιείσια δεί τὴν ἀμβλωσιν τὸ γιὰρ ὅσιου καὶ τὸ μὴ
\$16 διωρισμένον τῆ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ζῆν ἔσται. ἐπεὶ δ΄ ἡ μὲν 11
ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ διώρισται, πότε ἀρχεσθαι δεί τῆς σιζείδεως, καὶ πόσων χρόνον λευτουργείν ἀρμόττει πρὸς τεκυστοιίαν ὡρίσθω. τὰ γὰρ τῶν πρεσβιτέρων
3ο ἰκγονα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεστέρως, πὸτὴ γίνεται καὶ τοῦς
σώμασι καὶ τῶς διωροίας. τὰ δὲ τῶν γεσνοκότον ἀσθειπὸ.

33 for III Ar. and P (1st hard), δt Pas III Bit. and P (corr. in the margin) P (as later hard); so Spengel 1 4, we evolverations Spengel Susern. $^{1.3}$ Grown a nisuse of William's translation allysistes.... $aintheasti, -erito-evolverations P Kornes; 1 5 <math>\mu$ and μ (1st P μ 1 a 8 κ 8 κ 10 μ 1) P P 1 μ 1 a 8 κ 8 (1) μ 1 P P 1 μ 1 a 8 κ 10 κ 10 κ 1 p P P 1 κ 1 a 8 κ 10 κ 1 p P 1 κ 1 p κ 2 p κ 1 p κ 2 p κ 2

6 § 12: see m. (200, 211), also II. γ § 5 n. (250). Plats, too, Pep γ v 60 n., 67 v 60 n.

abominable cruelty of its regulations. As to exposure, the example of Sparia has gain had a determining influence on both again had a determining influence control of the sparia had been such as the sparia had been such as the sparia had been such as the sparia committee of the delest members of the Phyle decided, and in accordance with their decision the deformed or wealthy of the sparia had been such as the sparia ha

(946)
Note that ωρίσθα...πλήθος is a virtual repetition of 11. 6. 12, 1265 b 6 ff., just as c. 4 \$ 2, 1325 b 38 f. reproduces 1265 a 17, in both cases without the conventional ως

ctoprus rybrigos (Newman).

23—25] Here the indignation of some honest reader found vent in the remarkable gloss on the margin of Γ² π Myet δε δεμβούς το Teorist Dealbetts the same hand white λerobbled φλυκοφ, φλυκοφ, against redog b αδ, reyr a 23. Whether from this "thin end of the wedge" came from this "thin end of the wedge" came from the contract of the con

463 ff. § 16 28 Meisterhans ed.² p. 28 ff. shows that λητουργών is the true Attic form. The usurping λειτουργών does not appear before the third century B.C. When this α was pronounced as 4, λι§ 17 διὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκμήν, αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς (ΧΙΥ) πλείστοις ήνπερ των ποιητών τινες εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετρούντες ταις έβδομάσι την ηλικίαν, περί του χρόνου του τών πευ-35 τήκοντα έτων. ωστε τέτταρσιν ή πέντε έτεσιν ύπερβάλλοντα 12 την ηλικίαν ταύτην αφείσθαι δεί της είς το φανερον γεννήσεως το δε λοιπον ύγιείας γάριν ή τινος άλλης τοιαύ-§ 18 της αίτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν όμιλίαν. περί δὲ της πρός άλλην καὶ πρός άλλον, έστω μέν άπλως μη καλόν 40 άπτόμενον φαίνεσθαι μηδαμή μηδαμώς, όταν ή και προσ- (p. 127) αγορευθή πόσις περί δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τής τεκνοποιίας

*336 * ἐάν τις φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι δρών, ἀτιμία ζημιούσθω πρεπούση πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. γενομένων δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἴεσθαι <δεῖ> μεγάλην είναι δια- XV φοράν πρός την τών σωμάτων δύναμιν την τροφήν, όποία 5 τις αν ή. φαίνεται δε διά τε των άλλων ζώων επισκοπούσι, καὶ διὰ τών έθνών οἶς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν εἰσάγειν τὴν

25 de H1, but dore P1 (corr.1) 1 36 the hadae rating omitted and a lacana left by P1 (1st hand, supplied by p1) | 37 ψyelas M1 P5, ψyelas χάρω omitted and a lacuna left by P1 (1st hand, supplied by p1) | 38 7hr omitted and a lacuna left by P1 (1st hand, supplied by p2) | 39 καί] ή Π2 P6 Bk., perhaps rightly

1336 a 3 < δεί > Susem. Should it come before διαφοράν? | 5 δὲ Γ P⁶ Ar., τὲ M°, τε P1 H2 | 6 είσανειν Γ P5, άγειν M° P1, άεὶ H2 Ar., άσκεῦν Koracs, ἐπάνειν ? Susem.

700pyla was written in inscriptions of the Roman period.

§ 17 33 τῶν ποιητῶν τινες] Solon Frag. 27. Aristotle virtually adopts this theory of successive stages in human life at c. 17 § 15 (cp. n. 971), and similarly in Hist. Animal. V. 12 § 2 (V. 14 § 3, 544 III LIII. LANIMALI, V. 13 S 2 (V. 14 § 3, 544 b 25 ff.), 17 § 16 (V. 20 § 3, 553 a 2 ff.), VI. 16 § 1 (17 § 2, 570 a 30 f.); COMP. VII. 1 § 1, 581 a 12 ff., VII. 13 (VII. 12 § 2, 588 a 8 ff. quoted in the Scholia to Aristoph. Birds 404). Compare Hippocr. quoted in Philo περί κοσμοποιίαs p. 71 Pfeif. and Censorin. De die natali 14 (J. G. Schneider). Congreve remarks that in Rhet. 11. 14 § 4, 1390 b 11 f. the fortyninth year is more precisely given, not the fiftieth as here. SUSEM. [947]

36 Tis els To havendo years [947]

This means that if any license is taken,

there must be recourse to abortion, so that no child is born. The key is furnished by Rep. v. 461 C, μηδ' els φων ἐκφέρεων κύημα μηδέν, 'to prevent any embryo which may come into being from seeing the light' (J. G. Schneider). Comp. n. (946) and Introd. p. 63. Susem.

§ 18 40 προσαγορευθή πόσις] "In the sense of εαll προσαγορεύω sometimes employed προσηγόρευσα and προσηγορεύθην, though in the sense of dσπάζομαι it had προσερώ, προσείπον, and προσερρή-θην" (Rutherford). See New Phrynichus p. 333 ff. with citation of [Dem.] Adv. Bocotum de dote XL. § 1, 67av 715 Αδυ. Βοεσιαπ αε αστε κι. § 1, σταν τις δεθιφός προσαγορευθή. Comp. I. 12. 3, 1259 b 13 (προσηγόρευσε), and for the use of πόσες, Soph. Track. 550 f. μὴ πόσες μέν Ἡρακλής έμδς καλήται τῆς νεωτέρας δ' άνήρ (paramonr).

c. 17 Treatment and food of children during infancy.

\$1 1336 a 3 oleo Bas ... 5 av fil "Our next care must be for the proper quality of the nourishment, since much depends npon this, as we are bound to believe, for the thriving of the body." Comp. Plato Rep. III. 404 B ff., Xenophon De Rep. Lac. 2 § 5 (Eaton). SUSEM. (949)

πολεμικήν έξιν, ή του γάλακτος πλήθουσα τροφή μάλιστ' (ΧΥ) § 2 ολκεία τοῦς σώμασιν, ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι s δὲ καὶ κινήσεις όσας ἐνδένεται ποιείσθαι τηλικούτων συμ-10 φέρει, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δι' άπαλότητα χρώνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τών ἐθνών ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηγανικοίς, α τὸ σώμα ποιεί των τοιούτων αστραβές, συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν 14 παίδων τούτο γάρ καὶ πρὸς ύγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς 83 πράξεις εὐνοηστότατον, διὸ παρά πολλοῖς ἐστι τῶν βαρβάρων έθος τοις μέν είς ποταμόν αποβάπτειν τὰ γενόμενα [ψυχρόν], τοις δε σκέπασμα ψυχρόν αμπίσχειν, οιον Κελτοίς. πάντα γὸρ ὅσα δυνατὸν ἐθίζειν, εὐθὸς ἀργο-ε μένων βέλτιον μεν εθίζειν, εκ προσαγωγής δ' εθίζειν. 20 εὐφυής δὲ ή τῶν παίδων έξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν

7 πληθύουσα Vettori Bk., probably right | 8 νοσήματα] σώματα P4-6 L. | ο τηλικούτους Susem. 1-2, tantillos William, τηλικούτον ? Susem., τηλικούτω P4-6 L. 10 διαφέρεσθαι M* and P1 (corr.1), διαφέρθαι P1 (1st hand), defluere William, διαστρέφεσθαι other authorities and P1 (in the margin, with γρ. prefixed) | dπαλότητα Ma, απλότητα Π3 1 14 προς before πολεμικάς omitted by MaP1 1 16 τοις] τῶν M*P1 | γενόμενα Susem., γεννώμενα Scaliger, γινόμενα M*P1 Bk.2 Susem.1 in the text, gegedhera Π^2 P6 Bk. 1 | 17 [fuxedhe] Susem. | fuxedhe after sképasha Pl and P4 (corr.1), μικρόν the other authorities and Ar. Bk. | άμπισχεῖν Bk. Susem.1 and Po 2 (?), απίσχειν Po (1st hand), αμπύχειν Po 1 18 εὐθυς...10 ἐθίζειν omitted by P4-6 Sb Vb La | αρχομένω P2-3 Ald. Bk., αρχομένοιπ ? Sylburg, αρχόμενον ? Spengel || 10 δκ...δθίζειν omitted by Ar. | 20 διά <τh> Jackson

8 **dοινοτέρα**] Plato *Laws* Π. 666 A forbids indulgence in wine before the notions includence in wine before the eighteenth year (Göttling). Comp. Hist. Anim. VII. 12 § 2, 588 a 5 ft. (Eaton); De Sommo c. 3 § 0, 457 a 4 ft., § 14, 14 ft. SUSEM. (960) Comp. L. H. Morgan Ancient Society p. 25 (Ridgeway). § 2 9 km/gress...-rykwodrwij "All the exercise possible at that early age." So also Plato, Janu VII. 1866 ff. Sueva.

So also Plato Laws VII. 789 E ff. SUSEM.

το πρός δὲ τὸ μη διαστρέφεσθαι] This passage, says St Hilaire, is the first germ of orthopedy. Camerarius understood it of cradles and swaddling clothes (cp. Plato I. c.): Vettori of irons to straighten the crooked knees of children, serperastra as Varro calls them L.L.

its, 5.17. SUSEM. (982)
§ 3 15 Std.... 18 Kelvots] The same
thing is said in an epigram first published
by Brunck Anal. vet. foot. III. p. 150
XXXII, θαρσαλέοι Κελτοί ποταμιψ ξυλήμουν
Τήρω | Τέκια ταλαντείουτι, καὶ οῦ πάροι elei

τοκής: Επρίν πάϊν άθρήσωσι λελουμένον ύδατι σεμνψ..., |ούπω γὰρ γενέταο φέροινόον, πρίν γ' ἐσαθρήση | κεκριμένον λουτροϊσιν ἐλεγξιγάμου ποταμοῦο: and by Nonnos Dionys. XXIII. 95, XXXVI. 5 (Göttling). Further compare Strabo III. 105, Galen #epl bytewe's t. T. vi. D. 5t Kühn, and Kapa Aristot. Staatspäage, p. 123 (Eaton). Galen however calls the people, of whom this is told, not Kelts but Germans. See on this point II. Q § 7 with Note, p. 334 and IV(VII). 2 § 10 n. Comp. further Verg. Aen. IX. 603 f. There is a similar habit amongst the Beloochees (Ridge-

way). SUSEM. (958) § 5 20 8rd 8rpporryra] Aristotle thus assumes that the vital heat, which by its gradual but serious decline causes old age, and by its extinction death, gradually becomes weaker and weaker from the moment of birth, so that it is most largely found in the embryo and the new-born infant, and in animals generally so long as they are growing, because growth is

ψυγρών ἄσκησιν. 86 x 34 < τὰς δὲ διατάσεις 35 τών παίδων κατὰ τοὺς (XV) <κλαυθμούς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαγορεύουσω 36 οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῖς <υόμοις συμφέρουσι γάρ πρός αύξησιν. 37 γίνεται γάρ τρόπον <τινὰ γυμνασία τοῦς σώμασιν ἡ γὰρ 38 τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις <ποιεί την Ισγύν τοις πονούσιν, ο 30 συμβαίνει και τοις παι-<δίοις διατεινομένοις.> § 4 περί μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεί-22 σθαι την έπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε και την ταύτη παραπλησίαν την δ' έχομένην ταύτης ήλικίαν μέχρι πέντε έτων, τ ην ούτε πω πρός μάθησιν καλώς έχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν 25 ούτε πρός αναγκαίους πόνους, όπως μη την αύξησιν έμποδίζωσιν, δεί [δέ] τοσαύτης τυγγάνειν κινήσεως ώστε διαφεύγειν την αργίαν τών σωμάτων, ην γρη παρασκευάζειν καὶ δί ε Ε άλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδιάς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιάς είναι μήτε ανελευθέρους μήτε ἐπιπόνους μήτε ανει-30 μένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν τ δεί τους τηλικούτους, έπιμελές έστω τοίς άργουσιν ους καλούσι (p. 128) παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς 33 τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι δεί τὰς πολ-§ 6 λας μιμήσεις των υστερον σπουδασομένων, τας δι διατά-6

1336 a 34-39 34 rds 8ê διατάσεις...39 διατεινομένοις transposed by Susem. to follow 21 ασκησιν, see Introd. p. 80 | 35 κατά Γ. και Π Ar. Bk. | 700r omitted by II2 P5 Bk. | 38 πονούσιν] πνεύμοσι Ridgeway

21 πρώτην <ήλικίαν> ? Spengel. Schmidt would transpose 22 ήλικίαν to this place; but it can just as well be understood | 22 the rairy | rois rairy Vb and P4 (corr.), ratira P6.6 L* and P4 (1st hand) | 22 evoutsus P6 SbVb and P4 (corr.) | 24 nol in our William | 26 & omitted by H1 P4.6 Bk., but it should perhaps be retained | 20 ayar inserted before arehendepous by Pl | 31 700s omitted by P4-6-6 Vb and perhaps by Sb | 33 διδ <καl> ? Susem. | 34 σπουδασομένων Koraes,

conditioned by vital heat. Comp. Probl. 111. 7, XI. 14, De Iuventute etc. cc. 3, 4

(Eaton). SUSEM. (954) § 6 36 οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῦς νόμοις] Plato Laws VII. 791 E ff. (Camerarius).

38 Dr Jackson defends ross πονούσι by an appeal to Darwin On the Expression

of the Emotions pp. 148, 236, 284. § 4 23 μέχρι πέντε έτων] Plato how-ever in the Laws VII. 793 E ff. makes this second stage of education extend from the third to the sixth year (Eaton). Still this deviation is not material, since Aristotle makes education proper begin with the seventh year, \$\$ 7—15. Susem. (956)
28 Kal Sid Tis TaiSlas] Plato L. c.
proposes for this age a kind of Kindergarten under the inspection of the nurses (al rpopol) who for the most part leave the children to invent their own games (παιδιαλ αθτοφυείς), but prevent them from

graving too angry over them, the nurses themselves being nnder the control of a female Board of Inspection, SUSEM, (967) § 5 30 καὶ της λόγων δὲ καὶ μεθευγ Comp. π. (970), and §§ 7—12 in regard to the παιδοσέμοι: above c. 16 § 12 m. (943), c. 12 § 5 n. (862) with notes (960, 963, 969), and Introd. p. 52 f., also VI(IV). 15 § 9 n. (1355), § 13, VII(VI). 8 § 22 n. (1483). SUSEM. (958)
33 διό τὰς παιδιάς.. 34 σπουδασομένων] Comp. Plato Laws 1. 643 B ff.

SUSEM. (959)

35 στις τών παίδων κατά τοὺς κλαυθμούς οὐκ ὀρθώς ἀπαγορεύου- (Χ.V.) οί κωλύοντες έν τοις νόμοις συμφέρουσι γέρ πρός αξέηγίνεται γάρ τρόπου τινά γυμνασία τοίς σώμασιν ή γάρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξες ποιεί τὴν Ισχύν τοῖς πονοῦσεν, δ § 7 συμβαίνει και τοις παιδίοις διατεινομένοις. ἐπισκεπτέον δή 40 τοις παιδονόμοις την τούτων διαγωγήν την τ' άλλην, καὶ οπως ότι ηκιστα μετά δούλων έσται. ταύτην γάρ την ήλι-1336 b κίαν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οἴκοι τὴν τοοφην έγειν. εύλογον οθν απολαύειν από των ακουσμάτων τ 88 καὶ τῶν ὁραμάτων ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ τηλικούτους ὅντας. ὕλως μέν οὖν αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο, δεῖ 5 του νομοθέτην έξορίζειν (έκ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερώς λέγειν ότιοῦν τών αίσχρών γίνεται καὶ τὸ ποιείν σύνεγγυς), μάλιστα μεν οθν εκ των νέων, όπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ακούωσι μη-§ 9 δεν τοιούτον. εαν δε τις φαίνηταί τι λέγων ή πράττων απηγορευμένου, του μεν ελεύθερου μήπω δε κατακλίσεως

σπουδασομένων or σπουδασθησομένων Γ apparently (studendorum William) and perhaps Ar. (quae postea serio sunt facienda), σπουδασθησομένων P8, σπουδαζομένων M1 P1 Π2 Bk., σπουδασμάτων Ridgeway

30 8h Susem., 8è I' II Bk, Susem. I in the text

1336 b <την> μέχρι ? Susem., but see Bonitz Ind. Ar. 109 b 44 ff. | 2 droλαβείν Γ (absumere William) Susem. 1.2, ἀπελαίνειν Π2 P6 Bk. | 3 ἀνελευθερίαν | τῶν ανελευθέρων P8 La Ar. Ald. Bk.2 and P4 (1st hand), των ανελευθερίαν P4 (corr.) | 4 ώσπερ] είπερ Lambin Bk.2, wrongly | τι after άλλο (so avoiding histus) H2 P6 Bk. | 7 μεν οδν] δε Susem., approved by Schmidt | 8 δε] δη Susem., μεν οδν Schmidt (with colon after 12 ydos) 9 ἀπηγορευμένον] τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων Π2 P3 Ar. Bk. || έλεύθερον <μέν> Koraes

§ 7 41 δτι ήκιστα μετά δούλων έσται] Comp. § 9 π. (962). Here then Aristotle refuses to adopt the idea of common games for children, in which the children of aliens and slaves of this age also take part, as was proposed by Plato, here again the more humane of the two, and briefly mentioned in n. (957). His refusal is on the ground that by means of these infant schools Plato begins the public education as soon as the third year has been reached, while he follows the Spartans in

reached, while he follows the Spartans in postponing it to the seventh year: see Schömann p. 271 (Eng. tr. p. 205). Further see § 5, n. (958). SUSEM. (960) 1336 b 2 «Whoyor ofer diractions with This and the two following sentences with the double use of pipe sing gave occasion to many critical doubts, for which see Bonitz Ind. Ar. 540 b 55 ff., Vahlen Poetics2 p.

190 f., Busse op. c. p. 28, Susemihl Quaest. *
crit. coll. p. 416. Unquestionably άπολαύεω, which William of Moerbeke mistook, not only here but in 1335 b 18 and toom, but only deteroin in 1335 b and 1303 b 31, for $dwo\lambda a\beta \epsilon i\nu$ (in pronunciation $\nu = \xi$, $\beta = \nu$), is correct and means to derive influence of any kind, good or had: Busse cites δέδωκα $\mu \nu$) $dwo\lambda a\delta v \nu \tau \nu$

φλαῦρον Isocr. 8. 8τ. § 8 4 ώσπερ τι άλλο] With the utmost vigilance. A variation upon the more usual είπερ τι άλλο which recurs VIII(v). 8. 2, 1307 b 31 in the same order, ωσπερ άλλο τι, which H² gives here. γ άκούωσι] Plut. De rocta ratione au-

diendi c. 2, 38 B, bib kal Zevokpárns rois παισί μάλλον ή τοις άθληταις έκέλευς περιάπτειν άμφωτίδας ώς έκείνων μέν τὰ ώτα ταίς πληγαίς, τούτων δέ τοίς λόγοις τὰ ήθη διαστρεφομένων.

10 ήξιωμένον εν τοῖς συσσιτίοις [ἀτιμίαις] κολάζειν καὶ πλη-(XV) γαίς, του δὲ πρεσβύτερου τῆς ήλικίας ταύτης ἀτιμίαις ανελευθέροις ανδραποδωδίας χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι ε τῶν τοιούτων εξορίζομεν, φανερον ὅτι καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ή

§ 10 γραφάς ή λόγους ἀσχήμονας. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς 15 άρχουσι μηδέν μήτε άγαλμα μήτε γραφήν είναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν, εί μη παρά τισι θεούς τοιούτοις οίς καὶ τον τωθασμόν αποδίδωσιν ο νόμος πρός δε τούτοις αφίη-

10 [artulats] Bücheler Susem.9-8, rightly if artulate is not corrupt: entrulate or έπιτιμήσεσι ? Susem. formerly, aleiaus ? Schmidt who further approves [καλ πληγαίs] Schueider | 14 έστω PLS Ar., έστι ΓΜ* Π2 | 17 πρδη...νόμος omitted in P4-6 SbVb | τούτους Reiz Bk.2 | παρίησω P5 over an erasure, έφίησω Koraes

§ 9 11 druplais dvelevbépois] Meier, De bonis damn. p. 103, understands by this their exclusion from sacrificial festivals in which slaves could not take part, that is, from the state sacrifices (lepà δημοτελή) proper: for which cp. Böckh Staatsh. 18. p. 269 (ed. 2, p. 298). SUSEM.

12 ανδραποδωδίας χάριν] "Το punish him for his degrading conduct." Comp. c. 15 § 5 n. (926) and especially n. (43) on I. 5 § 8: and in regard to this whole section c. 12 § 5 n. (863), and more particularly Introd. p. 52 n. (3). Susem. (962)

§ 10 14 έπιμελές μέν ούν...16 μίμη-7 § 3 n. (1084). The magistrates here mentioned are of course the Haudovbuos, as before; see n. (958). SUSEM. (963)

16 πράξεων=scenes, κ. (1084).

εί μη παρά τωτι θεοίς...17 ὁ νόμος]
As, for instance, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Priapos, Eileithyia (Kapp). Aristotle himself, it is well known, traces the origin of Comedy to the worship of Dionysos, namely, to the improvised speeches added to the choral ode by the chief singer or leader of the chorus in the singer of leaster of the clottes in the phallic songs; such phallic songs, he says, were still customary in many places (γενομένη ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ἔξαρχοντων), Poet. 4 § 14, 1449 a 11 ff. These improvised speeches certainly contained improprieties of the sort here mentioned. But that even in the phallic songs properly so called there was often much that was positively indecent might hardly be doubted, even apart from the specimen we have in Aristoph. Ach. 263 ff., where

Dikaiopolis sings a burlesque of one, as he himself says (261). Other facts relative to this matter are mentioned by Athenaeus XIV. 621 d-622 d, on the authority of Sosibios and Semos. Both writers mentioned certain reciters, called αύτοκαβδαλοι, who delivered monologues or even dialogues (μήσειε) from the stage crowned with ivy according to Semos, and were at a later date called Γαμβοι, like their poems. It is beyond all doubt that Archilochos, n. (788), found similar iambic lampoons in current use at the merry festivals of harvest and vintage, and therefore in the worship of Dionysos and Demeter, which was especially cultivated in his home of Paros and her colony Thasos, where Archilochos settled. Comp. Homer Where Architectors settled. Comp. Homes Lifymus to Demate 496, Paus. X. 28. 1, Steph. Byzant. s. v. Ilápos, Hesych. s. v. Káßagova; Welcker Kf. Schrift. I. p. 87 ff. It was out of this natural popular poetry that he fashioned his own artistic sambie poetry. Aristotle himself men-tions directly afterwards (§ 11) the recital of such artistic compositions (taμβοι), which certainly took place at such religious festivals at Athens and elsewhere at the proper season, probably in contests between rhapsodes. For it would appear from the pseudo-Platonic Ion 531 A that a contemporary rhapsode might include Archilochos in his repertoire; in any case his iambic poetry, on the analogy of the present passage: whether also his elegies, is doubtful. About that time also the burlesque epos and its recitation by rhap-sodes were brought into vogue by Hegemon of Thasos, in contests at festivals of this kind. SUSEM. (964)

σιν δ νόμος τοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας ἔτι τὴν ἱκνουμένην καὶ (XV) 19 ύπερ αύτων και τέκνων και γυναικών τιμαλφείν τούς θεούς.

§ 11 τούς δὲ νεωτέρους οὕτ' ἰάμβων οὕτε κωμωδίας θεατάς θετέον, ε πρίν ή την ήλικίαν λάβωσιν έν ή κατακλίσεως ύπάρ-(ν. 10) ξει κοινωνείν ήδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γινομένης βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιήσει πάντας. § 12 νθν μέν οθν έν παραδρομή τούτων πεποιήμεθα του λόγον·

25 ύστερον δ' έπιστήσαντας δεί διορίσαι μάλλον, είτε πρώτον είτε δεί διαπορήσαντας, και πώς δεί: § 13 παρόντα καιρόν έμνήσθημεν ώς άναγκαῖου. ἴσως κακώς έλεγε το τοιούτον Θεόδωρος ο της τραγωδίας ύπο-

18 τούς...Ικνουμένην Μ° P1, τούς έγοντας ήλικίαν πλέον προήκουσαν Γ P5 Bk. (πλέον Po over an erasure), iam homines factos Ar., τοὺε πρεσβυτέρους Bas.3 in the margin, omitted by II Bas. 1.2 and the text of Bas. 1 871 fon ? Susem., iam Ar., [871] Welldon | 10 αὐτῶν P1-5, αὐτῶν P Mo Π2 | καὶ γιναικῶν omitted by Π1 (supplied by corr, in the margin of P1), hence [και γυναικών] Susem. 1 | τιμαλφάν Μ° P1 | [τούς θεούς] ? Susem. | 20 θετέον] θετητέον Μ°, νομοθετητέον Π° P6 Bk., <elva> ĉarĉov Jackson, probably right | 23 ἀπαθής Ma and apparently P1 (1st hand) | πάντας suspected by Jackson, πάντως ? Susem. | 24 νθν μέν οδν...27 avaγκαίον transposed by Susem, to follow 35 δυσμένειαν | 27 [ίσως ...37 abroos Bocker | 28 κακώς καλώς ΓΜ3 | Eleye suspected by Camerarius, there or there? Schmidt

18 Enl The word cannot have arisen from 180, nor is it likely to have crept into the text. However dissimilar, this must apparently be added to the passages in which ere means iam. Susem.

§ 11 20 οὐτ' ἰάμβων] See n. (964) and n. (788) Ιν(νΙΙ). 7 § 6. SUSEM. (965) 21 κατακλίστως ὑπάρξα κτλ] The term μέθη which recurs v(VIII). 5 § 2, π. (1019) denotes the advanced stage of the banquet, at which men's spirits were more elevated and they began to drink wine undiluted (aкратог); cp. Plato Laws II. 271 E, Ath. II. 40 a (J. G. Schneider). Comp. also V(VIII), 5 \$ 8, n. (1028), 7 \$ 13 f. n. (1067), also n. (113). But, as was remarked in Introd. p. 55, κατάκλισις, or admission into συσσέτια, in all probability commenced with initiation into military service from the seventeenth year onwards: see V(VIII). 4 § o Exc. I. to B. v(VIII): but when recruits have a compulsory diet prescribed for them (Exc. to B. v[VIII]) they certainly have syssitia of their own, and only when their education has been completed, from their twenty-first year onwards, are they admitted to the syssitia proper, at first those of the soldiers, and allowed the other liberties here mentioned. Susem.

22 καλ τής άπο των τοιούτων κτλ] Plato on the contrary even in the Laws VII. 816 D, E, XI. 935 E wholly banishes comedy and Iambos, and only permits comic dances by foreigners or slaves. SUSEM. (967)

§ 12 25 totepov & emotheranas] -Another point the discussion of which is missing: see Introd. p. 49 n. (4), p. 53 n.

(1). SUSEM. (969) § 13 28 Θεόδωρος] It is beyond all doubt that Theodoros is here treated as one deceased: but I fail to see that he is spoken of Rhet. III. 2 § 4, 1404 b 22 ff. as if he were still living and on the stage, as Zeller II. ii. p. 131 n. (1) maintains. From the latter passage it is very clear that he was the greatest tragic actor of recent times. Aelian, V. H. XIV. 40, relates a story of the powerful impression which his acting made on the tyrant Alexander of Pherae. Plutarch mentions him along with Polos as a famous protagonist actor in leading parts in De regim. 21, 816 F, and with Nikostratos, Kallippides, Mymniskos, Polos in De Gloria

κριτής οὐδενὶ γὰρ πώποτε παρῆκεν ἐαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ (ΧV) 30 των εύτελων υποκριτών, ως οἰκειουμένων των θεάτρων ταῖς πρώταις άκοαις· συμβαίνει δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων όμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων. § 14 πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν τὰ πρώτα μάλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιείν ξένα τὰ φαύλα, μάλιστα δὲ δσα αὐτών

35 έχει ἡ μογθηρίαν ἡ δυσμένειαν. § 12 b 24 <νθν μέν οθν έν παραδρομή τούτων πεποιήμεθα τον λόγον. <25 ύστερον δ' ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ δεῖ <26 πρώτον είτε δεί διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πώς δεί· κατά δὲ τὸν < = παρόντα καιρόν έμνησθημεν ώς άνανκαῖου.> = διελθόντων δὲ τών 36 πέντε έτων τὰ δύο μέγρι των έπτὰ δεῖ θεωρούς ήδη γίνεσθαι 37 των μαθήσεων ας δεήσει μανθάνειν αὐτούς.

§ 15 δύο δ' είσιν ήλικίαι πρός ας αναγκαίον διηρήσθαι την παι- 11 39 δείαν, μετά την από των έπτα μέγρις ήβης και πάλιν μετά την

20 προσάγει» P4-6 Le Ald. Wb and probably P6 (1st hand) [<ούδα»>, ούδε Bothe (on Terent. p. 619) | 30 θεατών Π2 P6 Ar. Bk. and (with γρ. prefixed) corr.1 of P1 in the margin | 34 δσα after αύτων P1-5 Π2 Bk. | 35 δυσμένειαν Π Bk. Susem.1-3 in the text, inhaesionem William, improbitatem Ar., burylessay Schmidt, Susem.2, δυσχέρειαν Koraes.

1336 b 24-27 24 70070v P1 and (transposing it before ev mapaopouri) P4 Ald., τούτων Γ Ma Ar. and (transposing it before & παραδρομή) all other authorities Bk. 25 διωρίσαι P4-5 L4 Ald. Wb | 26 πρώτω] πρότερου? Koraes, needlessly

36 Hôn omitted by II1 wrongly, [Hôn] Susem. 1 Cp. 1268 b 21, 1280 a 6 | 38 Th omitted by Ma and P1 (1st hand, supplied by corr. 1 in P1), [την] Susem. 1 | 30 μέγοι Π² Bk. Susem.¹

Athen. VI. 835 F (cp. also De Audiendis Poetis 18 C). Demosthenes De Falsa Leg. § 246 f, p. 418, 4, mentions him along with another great protagonist of the time, Aristodemos, with the remark that both shone in the rôle of Sophocles' Antigone, but did not appear in the Phoenix of Euripides; that Aeschines acted under them as tritagonist and had represented Creon in the Antigone. In his private life Theodorus appears to have been very wild, to judge by the nickname given him no doubt by the comic poets (see Hesych. s.y. πελεθόβαξ or πελεθοβάψ). An idea of his habits may also be gathered from or his rabits hay also be gameted to his Hesych. s. v. Θεοδώρους έλεγον οι κωμικοί τούς πρωκτούς, από Θεοδώρου τυθο ούκ εὐ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ώρας χρησαμένου. See also Hesych. s. v. ᾿Αριστόδημον οι κωμικοί τὸν πρωκτόν, και Θεόδωρον και Τιμησιάνακτα theyov. Diog. Laert. 11. 104 calls him a tragic poet: but this must rest either on a

false reading or an error-more probably the latter, as Aelian also calls him & rife

The first period is to be wholly taken up

The first period is to be wholly taken up with gymnastic, three years of the second with the remaining subjects of youthful training, the following years again with severer bodily exercises; see V(VIII). 3 § 13. n. (1003), 4 § 9 n. (1015) Exc. Here Aristotle only partially follows Plato [see nn. (1015, 1016)]. In the Republic the latter divides the educational course into three parts. The first begins with gym-nastic, preceded by the narration of mythes, legends and tales, much as Aristotle also prescribes (see § 20, n. 958): gymnastic is followed by music and poetry together with reading, writing and arithmetic, and certain elements of

40 ἀφ' ήβης μέγρι τῶν ἐνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἐβδομάσι (ΧΥ) διαιρούντες τὰς ἡλικίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ λέγουσιν οὐ κακώς, 1337 = δεί δὲ τη διαιρέσει της φύσεως ἐπακολουθείν πάσα γὰρ τέγνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπου τῆς φύσεως Βούλεται ἀναπληροῦν.

40 & P4.5.6 Sb Vb L. | 41 κακώς Muret, καλώς Γ II Ar. Bk. Susem. I in the text 1337 a 2 της φύσεως after βούλεται Π2 P6 Bk.

mathematics generally: this lasts until the seventeenth or eighteenth year. The next two or three years, until the twentieth, are to be spent in military exercises. The second course of ten years for the more highly qualified students is in the higher mathematics, pure and applied; the third or philosophical course, which is only for the most richly endowed natures, lasts five years longer, as we had occasion to mention in n. (182) on IL 5 6ccasion to Inention in M. (182) on II. 5 § 25. See Rep. II. 376 Ef., III. 403 C, VII. 534 C—535 A, 536—537 D, 539 D ff. In the Law (see VII. 794 C—795 D, 809 E —813 C, 817 C—822 D, cp. 813 C ff.). Plato prescribes the elements of gymnastic from the sixth to the tenth year (cp. s. 956); reading and writing from ten to thirteen; music, singing, and at the same time the really severer instruction in dancing and gymnastic from 13 to 17; lastly, the elements of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy-no doubt from seventeen to eighteen. It has been explained in n. (193) on 11. 6. 5 that even in the Laws the better endowed natures were afforded opportunity, after the age of thirty, for the same higher education as that furnished in the Republic by the second and third courses, or at least for something similar to it. Susem. (970) 40 οί γάρ... 41 οὐ κακῶς] Cp. c. 16

§ 8 n. (947). SUSEM. (971)

1337 α 1 πάσα γάρ τέχνη... 2 άνα-

πληρούν] Eaton compares Phys. II. 8 § 8, 100 a 15 f. δλως τε ή τέχνη τὰ μέν έπιτελεί α ή φύσις αδινατεί άπεργάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ μιμεῖται: "and in general it is art which either brings to completion what nature is unable to effect or else imitates nature": on which passage see Döring op. c. p. 81 ff. Further comp. Nic. Eth. I. 6. 15 (i.e. I. c. 4 Bk., 1097 a 5) where we are told of all arts and sciences that each seeks to meet a definite want, 70

ένδεἐς ἐπιζητοῦσαι. Susem. (972)

"The context here, in its reference to education, limits the scope of τέχνη to useful art. Useful art supplements nature and at the same time follows her guidance. He who would be a master in any art must first discern the true end by a study of nature's principles, and then employ the method which she suggests for the attainment of that end" S. H. Butcher, Some Aspects, p. 241). He adds: "in the passage from the Physics also it is probable that the distinction is not, as would at first sight seem, between useful and fine art, but between two aspects of useful art. The sentence is not quite logical in form, but the meaning is that useful art on the one hand satisfies those needs of man for which nature has not fully provided, on the other hand its processes are those of nature.

EXCURSUS I.

ΟΊ ΈΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ.

NOTE ON IV(VII). I. 2, 1323 a 22 (687).

It would take us too far out of our way to give a detailed or perfectly complete account, supposing it were even possible, of the meaning of this expression which recurs in III. 6. 5, 1278 b 32, and in six other passages 1. Inquiry has not by any means as yet disposed of the subject. The one point which has been conclusively established is that in general 'outside discussions' (or discourses) are opposed to strictly scientific discussions (of κατά φιλοσοφίαν λόγοι, III. 12, 1, 1282 b 19, see π, 584). But whether they are (1) discussions by others, or by Aristotle himself: whether, in the latter case, the reference is to (2) Aristotle's dialogues and popular works, or to (3) dialectical discussions, in Aristotle's sense of the term dialectic as the tentative solution of problems2, in his scientific writings, and whether they should be sought in another work or, as in Physics IV. 10. 1, 217 b 31, in the same work3: whether in fact writings of any sort, or merely (4) oral controversies and expressions of opinion are intended, must on each occasion be decided from the context, if at all4.

Now here, as at III. 6. 5, n. (527 b), it appears to me that the only meaning which really suits the context is 'discussions in daily life' or 'in ordinary intercourse.' Aristotle appeals (see n. 689) to what has already become the common property of the ordinary cultivated consciousness and

stoteleae (Treptow 1877).

¹ Nic. Eth. I. 13. 9, 1102 a 26, VI. 4. 2, 1140 a 3; Metaphysics XIII(M). 1. 4, 1076 a 28: Physics IV. 10. 1, 217 b 31: Eud. Eth. I. 8. 4, 1217 b 22, II. 1. 1,

¹²¹⁸ b 34-² See Zeller Philosophie der Griechen II ii p. 242 ff., Thurot Études p. 118 ff., Tegge De vi ac notione dialecticae Ari-

⁸ See Bonitz Ind. Ar. 105 b 16 ff. 4 This is a point quite rightly empha-sized by Vahlen. But how is it con-

sistent to say e.g. that 'the division of

^{&#}x27;goods which follows has furthermore been laid down and explained in the outside discussions and does not require

^{&#}x27;to be repeated in detail here' (cp. Vahlen p. q), when Vahlen at the same time in this passage accepts as possible the interpretation of the phrase 'outside discussions' accepted by me? And how can the supposition of a previous explanation be got out of the words? They contain nothing but an appeal to what is universally admitted. Cp. n. (688).

has developed into a permanent conviction of universal validity; what is treated as a settled and generally accepted fact in the conversations and discussions on such subjects in educated circles1. In other words he calls in good sound common sense. Bernays on the other hand, Dialoge des Arist. p. 60 ff., 158 ff., finds here a quotation from an Aristotelian dialogue and thinks that the very lively fluent style of this chapter, which presents a marked contrast to the remainder of the book, should be explained by assuming that Aristotle in the main borrowed and transferred it from that dialogue, reproducing even the very words. Vahlen², Aristotelische Aufsätze II. (Phil-hist, Sitzungsber, der Wiener Akad, LXXII, p. 5 ff.) has conclusively shown how weak is the foundation for this hypothesis (cp. also the review by Susemihl Philol. Anzeiger v. 1873, p. 673 ff.). He has not made another attempt on his own part to clear up this fact, but only remarked that this chapter forms a complete whole by itself, which must be retained or condemned as a whole-a statement which no one would be likely to controvert. Still for a right decision of the matter considerable importance attaches to his pertinent observation, that Bernays appears not to have fully met the difficulty of the surprise we naturally feel⁸ that for a question discussed in the Ethics Aristotle should quote his popular writings in preference to that treatise.

This difficulty remains the same, even though we substitute an appeal to the popular judgment for the appeal to popular writings. In the Edita the whole investigation turns on the inquiry, "What is the best life, or human happiness?" and that this factor also should be utilized was perfectly in point. In the Pointie Aristotle might have done in starting this inquiry what he has done on several other occasions (II. 1.5, III. 5 § 9, 7 § 1, v(V). 9 § 2, v(V). 10, v(V). 10, v(V). 11, v(V

¹ For Bernays' proof of the impossibility of this interpretation, though advanced with full confidence in its success, can be easily refuted. And Zeller op. cit. If it p. 119 n· (2) reads into this passage something very different from what is there. If does not state that ordinary opinion agrees with the outside discussions merely in holding that mental goods are says:—"as we believe many of the statements current in ordinary conversation respecting the constituents of the best life.

to be perfectly correct, we should in the present instance make use of them. For one thing at any rate is universilly conceded, that there are three kinds of goods, and that all three are necessary to the best life, or in other words, to happiness. But of course our agreement with ordinary opinion (Foregond Moya) goes no further: opinion (Foregond Moya) goes no further: i.e. the virtues, as subsidiary, whilst we make them the principal thing.

² And more recently Diels: see helow.

See Krohn op. cit. p. 37.

Now already at c. 8 § 4, cp. n. (799), and at c. 9 § 3, § 7 Aristotle has returned to the position, that the state has for its aim the best possible life, and that the best constitution is the one by which the state attains the greatest happiness (cp. n. 806). In the first of these passages it is merely stated what constitutes the best life or happiness without any such addition as "according to our previous inquiry," and equally without any reference to the investigation of this question in the Ethics. In the second passage there is a reference, but apparently it is to the former passage, c. 8, and not to c. 1 at all; see nn. (807, 813). There is this further and more serious difficulty, that c, 13 (cp. n. 872) begins, just like c. I, with the statement that, as the best constitution is that which enables the state in the highest degree to attain happiness, the precise nature of happiness must not be left obscure. For the general character of this transition is not in the least altered by the fact that c. 13 treats, not of the best life, but of happiness, and the happiness of the state in particular. But in this the non-existence of c. 1 is expressly implied: the other course-of a reference to the results of the Ethics-is quite gratuitously adopted, and thus the matter is settled. However if the genuineness of c. 13 is not quite above suspicion (see nn. 876, 870, 8811), there only remain the other and minor objections to c. I in its present place upon which dependence can be placed.

But taking everything into consideration, are we to decide offinand that c.1 is spurious? There is nothing in the following chapters which is materially inconsistent with it?, and there is nothing to disturb the suggestion made in the Intrade pp. 12, 15, 45, that in his oral lectures on Politics Aristotle was accustomed to effect the transition to the description of the ideal state in the very words before us, however different may laws been his procedure when committing his thoughts to paper. If this be so, we have before us in this heapter a portion of some careful hearrs's notes which the editor has inserted, although it stands in no organic connexion with the rest of the work. Cp. also n. (2)11. SUSEM, (e32)

The oldest view of this much disputed phrase, which implied a twofold form of the Aristotelian teaching, had long been felt to be unsatisfactory when Bernays, in 1865, in the work already cited, put forward the brilliant and attractive theory that the Aristotelian dialogues are meant. Subsequent writers were much influenced by this theory, but very unequally. Thus Grote, who discussed the expression Aristotelle 1, pp. 63—75, not content ou understand by it 'discourses outside the subject,' thinks a negative character, dialectic not diductic, is intended, appealing especially to Phys. 1v. c. to where all the difficulties which beset the notion of time are noticed and traced out. For this view, which is substantially that of Thurot, Etudop p. 213, be can cite Alcander in Topica Buchersine's by the below, sie or worky or propagating (the Topica) and is visit proposets, and is visit propagation and is Article warming propagation of the Topical and is a visit propagation, and with the Plantidis. So too Simplicities, with descriptions and in Article warming propagation.

On the other hand this is the very utmost that can be conceded: see n. (881).
For the inconsistencies which Krohn

thinks he has discovered are too deep for me to detect.

Grote then understands the term "extraneous to philosophy" (because dialectical) to include not merely oral debate but writings, whether Aristotle's own or the Platonic and other dialogues.

Zeller also in the third edition (1879) of his great work has advanced beyond his earlier standpoint, by recognising in \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) when the beyond his real \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) when \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) is a when applied to \(\text{ork}\) \(\text{der} \) \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) and so unquestionably used by Eudemus who paraphrases Aristotle's own \(\text{der} \) when \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) is \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) is \(\frac{\text{der}}{\text{der}} \) \(\frac{\text{d

In the view taken of these six passages we trace the influence exerted by the theory of Bernays, that the 'exoteric discourses' are Aristotle's own dialogues; a theory adopted, in the main, by Heitz and by Bonitz (Ind. Ar. 104 b 44 ff.). More recently this theory has been vigorously attacked by Diels in a paper entitled Ueber die exoterischen Reden des Aristoteles reported in Monatsberichte der Berl. Akad. 1883 pp. 477-494, in its turn followed by a note from Hirzel, defending Bernays, Rhein. Mus. XXXIX. p. 178 f. n. I, and an article by Susemihl in Fahrb. f. Philol. CXXIX. 1884, pp. 265-277. Diels insists that the term is a technical term in the Perinatetic school, and holds it to be indispensable that its meaning should be constant wherever it occurs. The explanation he gives is 'discussions carried on outside the Peripatetic school,' τὰ ἔξωθεν λεγόμενα, including such as were customary in the Academy or had been held of old by philosophers or laymen. He rejects the view of Grote (and Thurot) that the imperfect form or the dialectical character, is intended by 'exoteric,' arguing that if evidence from without confirms Aristotle, in what form it is stated or how obtained is not the essential point: though doubtless a Peripatetic will attach to it no more credit a priori than to tobaka generally. Moreover, if the difference of method is emphasized in the formula of citation, why is not the appeal to λόγοι διαλεκτικοί? (cp. λόγοι ἐπιχειρηματικοί, 451 a 19). Diels allows that when contrasted with οί κατά φιλοσοφίαν λόγοι all outside discussions present a character of their own. Not that they are all to be rejected: on the contrary the Peripatetics are unwearied in their use of the wisdom of the ancients, philosophers and famous men, verses of the poets, sophistic declamations: but in such 500050 we have only the raw material of knowledge: only true scientific method, viz. that in use inside the Peripatetic school, can properly test the alloy and extract the ore from it.

This view is based in the first instance on a detailed examination of our present passage and comparison with Nic. Eth. 1. c. 8, where a similar in-

tention is announced, 1098 b 9 σκεπτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συμπεράσματος καὶ έξ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν λενομένων περὶ αὐτῆς τῶ μὲν ναρ άληθει πάντα συνάδει τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τῶ δὲ ψευδεί ταχὰ διαφωνεί τάληθές. The evidence got from the use of terms, from popular or philosophic views, is to be set side by side with the syllogistic conclusion and philosophic definition. Then follows the threefold division of goods, as in our Politics passage. Diels pronounces it a current Academic division, familiar to Plato (Laws III. 697 A, B), adopted by Xenocrates and his successors, and points triumphantly to the words 1008 b 16 ff. ώστε καλώς αν λέγοιτο κατά νε ταύτην την δόξαν παλαιὰν οὖσαν καὶ ὁμολογουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ΦιλοσοΦούντων. "Thus he has found support for his definition in this old opinion. Observe the ve: 'at least this Stalperus is wholly recognized': the particle recurs in Pol. IV(VII). 1. 3, 1323 a 24, while the confidence in general recognition is repeated § 5, 1323 a 34, ταύτα μέν λεγόμενα ώσπερ πάντες αν συγχωρήσειαν. That he had the Ethics in mind is shown by the words of 1323 b 39 έτέρας σχολής, and by the citation c. 13. Returning to 1323 a 22, we see that the emphasis is on improc: believing that a sufficient account of the best life can be drawn from much of what is found in Outside Discourses, we must now also make use of it: καὶ νῦν, here in the Politics as before in the Ethics1."

Working on these lines, the temptation becomes irresistible to find a parallel in the older literature for all the passages where the phrase (or all flagses shops and the like) occurs. Eg. Alcmaeon (Felpcharmus) is suggested as the authority for the dichotomy of the soul in N.E. 1.13, 1102 a 26; Plato Charmides 163 A for N.E. VI. 4, 1140 a 3; Hesiod, Homer, or the Sophists for 1276 b 32 ft. Thus Diels succeeds in satisfying his own postulate of a technical term with constant meaning, and for consistency he is bound to infer that the disoplus concerning Time in Phys. IV. c. 10 have come down to Aristode from his predecessors.

It may however be gravely questioned whether the interpretation in all passages should be so strict. "With the same fundamental meaning the phrase may have had different shades of meaning in different connexions: not only is it external and "repring to shad it external, but in contradistinction to al serve holocopy had hope, it would naturally be used for non-philosophical discussions." What all men say may be a part of the deverageal Alope though it is not necessarily the whole. Certainly in Eucl. Elm. 11. it is just="what all the world says." And this meaning makes both Politics passages, 1276 by 2 as well as 1373 a 22, more logical. But on the other hand with regard to Meta. 1076 a 22—28, Eucl. Elm. 1217 b 23, and Physics IV. to it can plausibly be maintained that the reference is not so much to Arylyses as to something lying 'outside of philosophy' by reason not of its origin, but of its method."

puted phrase of êv κουψ̂ γιγν ομενοι λόγοι De Anima I. 4. I, 407 b 29, is eac disputationes quales homines elegantiones instituere solent. This at least does justice to the present participle.

Monatiber. der Berl. Akad. 1883, p. 480f.
 Susemihl Jahrb. f. Philol. 1884, p.

^{[3} Torstrik's rendering of another dis-

NOTE ON IV(VII). 11. 6, 1330 b 26.

δυσέξοδος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. Aristotle here recommends the older sort of street architecture on the ground that it makes it difficult for strangers who are within to get out, and for enemies who are without to attack, thus echoing the latter part of the precent ποδο μέν ούν τὰς πολεμικάς αὐτοῖς μέν εὐέξοδον είναι γοή, τοῖς δ' έναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον 1330 b 2, but at the same time amplifying it, in so far as account is taken of the case in which strangers are endeavouring to make their escape, as for example Thucyd. II. 4. It seems strange however that, whereas the case in which the stranger or enemy wants to get out (1) cannot occur until he has first got in, and (2) is exceptional and comparatively unimportant, Aristotle should give it both precedence and prominence. Should we not expect δυσείσοδος? and if so, would it not seem that δυσεξερεύρητος should correlate with ξενικοίς, δυσείσοδος with emerifications, rather than developodos with Ferrois, developionros with emeriθεμένοις? Ι conjecture therefore δυσεθερείνητος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς θενικοῖς καὶ δυσείσοδος τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. Η. ΙΑCKSON.

EXCURSUS II.

THE AGE OF SUPERANNUATION.

ετι δε ή διαδοχή των τέκουν τοις μέν άρχομένοις έσται τής άκμής, έων χίνηται κατά λόγον εύδις ή χένεσις, τοις δε ήθη καταλελυμένης τής ήλικίας πρός τον τών έβδομήκοντα έτων άρφιμόν. 1V(VII), 16. 10, 1335 a 32—35.

The sense is: Furthermore supposing the birth of children to follow upon the marriage as early as may reasonably be expected, the eldest (or only) sons will succeed their fathers at a time when the former (i.e. the children) begin to enter on their prime, while the latter are already in their decline towards their seventieth year.

Aristotle has in view simply the normal case: the eldest son, born nine months after the maringe, grows up to manhood. If the number given in the text, 1335 a 29, for the man's age at marriage (37) were correct, the eldest son would be only about 32 at the time when the father is about 12 but it is in the highest degree improbable that he should succeed to his father's civic rights (so I take babbyg) before he is himself permitted and obliged to marry. Besides, Aristotle approves (37, rs. 047) the division of human life into periods of seven years. Now suppose that, with Spengel, we replace 32 by 35; in that cases, by the time the eldest son reaches 34 the father's age will be, on the foregoing assumptions, 70% years. The father may then be relieved from active citizenship and give up the two family properties: his son steps into his place, while he as priest is superannuated, c. 9 § 0, 1320 a 30-34. It might certainly be supposed to be in favour of the number 37, that Aristotle demands the simultaneous cessation of the reproductive faculty for husband and wife and fixes the limit in the one case at seventy, in the other at fifty years: if a man of 37 marries a wife at 18, this calculation is fairly exact, since when the husband is 69, the wife will be 50: whereas if the man marries at 35 he reaches the limit three years before his wife. To this we may reply, that beyond all doubt a mere approximation is quite sufficient, especially as the husband is forbidden to have children after his 55th year (\$\square 16, 17, 1335 b 26-38). In the whole question, the younger sons, if any are born, are left out of account: there is no place for them on Aristotle's scheme, except to fill the vacancies caused by death or to be adopted into childless families, where the head of the house finds himself after his fifty-fifth year without male offspring (\$ 15, 1335 b 21-26, II. 6, 10-13, 1265 a 38-b 16, cp. II. 7, 5, 1266 b 9 ff.). Further, the remark in Introd. p. 54, that the citizens do not serve on the jury-courts or become members of the popular assembly until they are fifty, requires now to be modified; even as early as at thirty-five, it appears, they become qualified for these functions and must take them. But it may be doubted whether their obligation to military service ceases then, and unquestionably Aristotle intended to fix a higher age, presumably 50, as the qualification for serving on the Council and filling the magistracies (with the exception of military commands). What arrangements were to be made in case the heir did not attain the age of 35 until from one to twenty years after the superannuation of his father, or adopted father, is a matter which receives no elucidation either in our incomplete sketch of Aristotle's ideal of a state or elsewhere in his writings. The only conceivable solution is that the exercise of political rights in this family is dropped in the interval, and the family properties are managed by guardians, though not necessarily for the full term until the heir becomes thirty-five. If we remember that full civic rights are exercised only from the age of fifty to the age of seventy, it still remains true that their possessors are only a minority of the whole civic population, n. (817).

The above explanation premised, a word or two of criticism on the views of Ridgeway and Jackson. The former (Transactions of Cambridge PhiloLogical Society I. p. 146) would read *rais pie depositors, thus opposing the
wife's physical prime to the husband's intellectual prime (about 49). That
his is unsatisfactory is pointed out by Jackson (i.b. p. 118), who in his turn
retains depository (i' and corr. P'), but, while rightly referring depository in
depip as well as survolvolpting i'plauface to the father, takes roin pie to be the
older, rois do the younger children by the same marriage, and explains i'
deology rive rivews as the children's attainment of the age of puberty. Had this
been the sense we should have expected roin pie...rive do instead of the
datives, and perhaps the addition of roin various after ripi assign and of sessions
for Puberty would then have condood to telearness. This however is a small

matter. The chief difficulty is the strange sense given to § hadrog's review; as if it meant that the children succeed (not their father but) one another, i.e. they successively attain puberty between the thirty-eighth and fifty-sidth years of the father's age. This presupposes several children, comparatively speaking a large family: whereas the passage quoted above from B. II. as well as the whole of the present chapter make it abundantly clear that Aristotle is committed to the system of small families—in the normal case, one son and one daughter,—in order to keep the population stationary. SUSEM.

§ 16 πρώτον μέν οθν σκεπτέον εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινα περί τούς παίδας, έπειτα πότερον συμφέρει κοινή ποιεί-5 σθαι την επιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ή κατ' ἴδιον τρόπον (δ γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν 7 τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην.

1 11 ότι μεν οὖν τῷ νομοθέτη μάλιστα πραγματευτέον Ι περί την τών νέων παιδείαν, οὐδείς αν αμφισβητήσειεν, καὶ γάρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γινόμενον τοῦτο βλάπτει τὰς πο- (ρ. 130)

§ 2 λιτείας (δεί γὰρ πρὸς ἐκάστην παιδεύεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἦθος

1337 a 3 πρώτον... 7 ταύτην first separated from B. IV(VII) and rightly prefixed to B. v(vIII) by Spengel | 7 δείται Ma, δεί είναι Susem. 1-2 following William's translation (oportet esse) | 14 παιδεύεσθαι Αι., πολιτεύεσθαι Γ II Bk., πολιτ<είαν παιδ>εύεσθαι Jackson, yet at c. 6 § 5, 1341 a 1 Γ Ms have πολιτευομένοις for παιδευομέvois (cp. 1260 b 15, 1310 a 14)

B. v(vIII). The same subject con-

tinued: the true system of state educa-This book joins on so closely with the preceding that it is not easy to make a parting at all. Undoubtedly Spengel's proposal to begin at πρώτον μέν is in full accordance with the usage of Aristotle. The same thing frequently happens at the commencement of a chapter. Aristotle recapitulates before starting a fresh subject. The worthy people who divided his books into chapters ignore this: see e.g. cc. 3, 5, and 7 of this book, which more properly should begin at 1337 b 22, 1338 b 39, and at 1341 b 9 respectively. The alternative commencement has actually been marked in this edition at II. c. 12, p. 314, III. c. 2, p. 359. c. 1. Three points to decide: (1) Should there be a systematic education? (2) Should

it be a public system? (3) What subjects should it include? While (1) and (2) are soon settled in the affirmative, B. v(vIII) leaves off before we are far advanced

with (3). Cp. Anal. p. 118. § 1 12 Kal yap] Si nam et significat, pro altero sal a 18 post longam parenthesim adhibitum est en be, sed facilius fortasse kal yuo etenim esse sumemus: certe altera earum inducta est his, altera έτι δὲ particulis, et μὲν οῦν a 11 excipitur 8' conjunctione quae legitur a 21. SUSEM. 13 ού γινόμενον τοῦτο] The neglect of this: in Latin, hoc non servatum. Cp.

1324 a 36 n., VIII(V). 8. 2, 1307 b 33 f.
§ 2 14 δεί γάρ πρός έκάστην παιδεύεσθαι] What this means is explained VIII(V). 9 \$\ 11, 12, 1310 a 12 ff. Cp. n. (1641). Rhet. 1. 8. 6, 1366 a 12 f. (Eaton): δέοι αν τὰ ήθη των πολιτειών ἐκάστης Εγειρ ήμας το μέν γαρ έκάστης ήθος πιθανώτατος

προς έκάστην είναι. SUSEM. (973) τὸ ήθος τῆς πολιτείας] Às Plato in Rep. VIII. 544 D explains, any constitution (e.g. a timocracy) is due to the prevalence of a certain (e.g. timocratic) temper amongst the citizens: ib. 540 A. n ofer en

15 της πολιτειας έκάστης τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ φυλάττειν εἴωθε την (1) πολιτείαν καὶ καθίστησιν έξ άρχης, οδον τὸ μὲν δημοκρατικου δημοκρατίαυ το δ' ολιγαρχικου ολιγαρχίαυ αεί δέ τὸ βέλτιον ήθος βελτίονος αἴτιον πολιτείας), ἔτι δὲ πρὸς 2 πάσας δυνάμεις καὶ τέχνας έστιν â δεῖ προπαιδεύεσθαι 20 καὶ προεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστων ἐργασίας, ώστε δῆλον § 3 ότι καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς πράξεις ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τὸ τέλος τη πόλει πάση, φανερον ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν μίαν καὶ την αὐτην ἀναγκαίου είναι πάντων καὶ ταύτης την ἐπιμέλειαν είναι κοινήν καὶ μὴ κατ' ίδιαν, δυ τρόπου εκα-25 στος νθν ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ἰδία τε καὶ μάθησιν ίδίαν, ην αν δόξη, διδάσκων. δεί γαρ των κοινών κοινην § 4 ποιείσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν. ἄμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως, μόριον γὰρ ἔκαστος τῆς πόλεως ἡ δ' ἐπιμέλεια 18 βέλτιον M*P5 Ar., βέλτιστον the other authorities (viz. Γ P1 Π2) and Bk.1 II

24 [κατ'] Spengel, needlessly | ξκαστος after 25 μων Π2 P5 Bk. | 26 γλο Susem., καί M°, δè the other authorities Ar. Bk. Susem. 1 in the text 1 28 αὐτῶν Γ, ἀν M° | αύτοῦ P⁵, αύτοῦ or αὐτοῦ P⁰, αὐτοῦ P³ H³, αύτω Γ P¹, αὐτῶ M^{*} | 29 μόριω...πόλεως omitted by II1

δρυδς ποθεν ή έκ πέτρας τὰς πολιτείας γέγόρνος πόθεν η έκ πέτρας τας πολιτείας γέχ-νεθαι, άλλ ούχι έκ των ήθων τών το ταϊς πόλεσιν, ά ἄν ώσπερ βέψαντα, τάλλα έφελ-κύσητα; Comp. also Rep. 541 A. Law IV. 711 B. It is not the 'spirit of the constitution,' but the temper or character which originates and keeps up the constitution. Comp. the application of the term ηθος to άρμονίαι and δυθμοί c. 5 88 22. 23. 1340 a 40, b 7.
18 το βέλτιον ήθος] The nobler temper.

In other words, where the constitution is such as to permit the excellence of the individual considered as a citizen to coincide with his excellence considered as a man: cp. III. cc. 4—6 § 2, c. 14 §§ 7, 8: IV(VII). 6 § 1, c. 8 §§ 2, 5, c. 13 §§ 9, 10: v(1v). 7 § 2 with notes (468, 471, 684, 808, 1233). Also Plato Lows I. 641 E, el 8' Blus éportes maidelar rillo maideuθέντων, τί μέγα την πόλιν δυίνησεν, οδ χαλεκόν είπειν, ότι παιδευθέντες μέν εδ γίγνουτ' ἄν ἄνδρες άγαθοί. SUSEM. (974) As to the argument, it is much the same as in 1. 5. 2 f. 1254 a 25. It is perplexing to determine whether it merely guarantees

consistency in the use of the term \$\textit{\rm \text{NT100}}, or is intended for a material inference. έτι 8è] answers a 12 καὶ γὰρ, alleging

another reason.

19 Suvápas και τίχνας] An Aristo-telian periphrasis for the special sciences which has already occurred 11. 8. 18, 1268 which has already occurred 11. δ. 16, 1206 36. Comp. III. 12 § 1, 1282 b 16, where η πολετική δύναμις is one, the highest of ἐπιστήμαι καὶ τέχναι, b 14, which phrase is replaced in § 3, 1282 b 31, by ἐπιστήμαι καὶ δινάμεις; also VI(IV). I §§ 1, 2, with

21 καl πρός τ. τ. ά. π.] Therefore * there should be τάξις τις περί τούς παίδας: the first of the three questions is settled.
§ 3 21 êmel 8e] This corresponds to ότι μέν ούν of a 11.

25 τε καὶ] join tôla to διδάσκων. 26 δεί γὰρ] This sentence gives one reason why the education is to be public. The second point is quickly dismissed, but the third takes up the whole of this book. § 4 27 αμα δέ κτλ] The sacrifice of the individual to the state was carried out most completely at Sparta, but Periclean Athens did not fall far short in this respect. Aristotle accepts the principle along with the other fundamental postulates of the Greek state, and expresses it as clearly in I. 13. 15 as here. Comp. 1. 1 § 12 ff., 4 § 5, and Eucken Methode p. 80 f. Also the conception of rearing a family as λητουργία, Ιν(VII). 16. 16.

30 πέφυκεν εκάστου μορίου βλέπειν πρός την τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιμέλειαν. (Ι) έπαινέσειε δ' ἄν τις κατὰ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίους· καὶ γὰρ 8 πλείστην ποιούνται σπουδήν περί τούς παίδας και κοινή ταύτην.

ότι μέν οδυ νομοθετητέου περί παιδείας καὶ ταύτην κοινή ποιητέον, φανερόν τίς δ' ἐστὶν παιδεία καὶ πῶς 35 χρή παιδεύεσθαι, δεί μή λανθάνειν. νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητείται διά των έργων, οὐ γάρ ταὐτά πάντες ὑπολαμβάνουσι δείν μανθάνειν τους νέους ούτε πρός άρετην ούτε πρός τον

βίου του άριστου, οὐδὲ Φανερου πότερου προς την διάνοιαν § 2 πρέπει μάλλον ή πρὸς τὸ τής ψυχής ήθος έκ τε τής έμ- α 40 ποδών παιδείας ταραχώδης ή σκέψις, καὶ δήλον οὐδενὶ πότερου ἀσκεῖν δεῖ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡ τὰ τείνοντα

πρός άρετην η τὰ περιττά (πάντα γὰρ εἴληφε ταῦτα κρι-31 κατά Sylburg, καὶ Γ II Bk. Susem.1 in the text | 32 κοινή or κοινώς Γ Ar. (communiter), κοινώς M⁶, κοινήν Π² P⁵ Bk., perhaps rightly | 36 δεά] περί Π² P⁶ Bk. and pl in the margin | 40 outer III P4, outer the other authorities and Bk. (this may of course be right) # 42 elληχε Reiz, needlessly

30 The order πρός την τοῦ όλου βλέπειν extuence would avoid the hiatus and conform to 1. 13. 15, 1260 b 14, πρός τήν τοῦ όλου δεῖ βλέπειν άρετήν. Cp. Plato

Laws 903 B, C.
31 Emauréores 8' du res] Comp. N. Eth. X. 9. 13, 1180 a 24 ff. (Eaton). Susem.

32 και κοινή ταύτην] On the αγωγή or public training of Spartan citizens see

Schömann Eng. tr. I p. 255 ff.
It was the same for all vI(IV). 9. 7, 1204 b 22 ff. (except the kings' eldest sons or next heirs, Ps-Pl. Alc. I. 122 B, Plut. V. Agerilai c. 1), and without it mere birth from Spartan parents did not constitute any one a citizen: cp. the wellknown story of the hostages; Έτεακλης έφορεύων εἶπε 'παίδας μὲν οὐ δώσειν, ໂνα μη ἀπαίδευτοι γένωνται, τῆς πατρίου άγωγῆς ἀτευκτήσαντες ούδε πολίται γαρ αν εξησαν,' Plutarch Apophth, Lac. 54, 235 B. Co. Inst.

c. 2. Conflict of views as to what should be taught: divergent theories of Conflict of views as to what the end of education: § 1, 2.

The knowledge needed for affairs of life must be imparted, but only within certain limits. Even in scientific studies there is much which a gentleman would not pursue, or only as means to a given end: \$\$ 3-6. 37 ούτε πρός αρετήν-αριστον] But Aristotle would not recognise any such dilemma as 'virtue or happiness,' unless we here limit virtue to mean moral virtue only. This limited meaning occurs in § 2,

42, see n. (978). SUSEM. (976)
38 ούδὲ φανερόν—ἡθος] Cp. IV(VII). 14
§8 ffwithn. (903) and Introd. p. 45 ff., 47 ff. As here τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ήθος, 'character of the soul' is a fuller form of expression for #θος, so also in c. 5 § 16 we have τοῦ περὶ την ψυχήν ήθους cp. n. (1043). SUSEM.

§ 2 39 της έμποδών παιδείας] From the standpoint of the ordinary, current

40 ταραχώδης = perplexing: ταραχή for ἀπορία in 11. 8. 12, 1268 b 4. The three theories of the end of education are that it should be (t) directly utilitarian i.e. subservient to a livelihood, or should cultivate (2) the moral, or (3) the intellectual faculties. They still find supporters in the modern controversies on the subject. 42 πρός αρετήν] Here and in the fol-

lowing clause (b 1) doern is evidently restricted to 'moral virtue' combined with φράνησις, practical wisdom. Susem. (978) ή τα περιττά] The fragment which has

come down to us does not include a discussion of the question whether and to what extent these higher sciences should also be taken into account in the education of the young, cp. c. 3 §§ 10, 11, with n. (999) and n. (1015), Exc. 1; also Introd. 50 ff. SUSEM. (979)

είληφε ταύτα κριτάς τινας! Have found

1331 ο τάς τινας)* περί τε τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδέν ἐστιν ὁμολογούμε- (κ. 131) νου (καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς πάντες τιμῶστι, ἄστ' εὐλόγως διαφέρονται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτῆς).

§8 στι μέν οδυ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρησίμων, II ς οὐκ δίθηλου ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάστα, δυρρημένων τῶν τε ἐλευθέρων ἐργων καὶ τῶν ἀνελευθέρων ἀρακερὸν ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ μετέχειν ὅσα τῶν χρησίμων ποιήσει τὸν μετέχοντα μὴ §4 βάκανσον. βάκανσον δὲ ἔργων εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταίτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ 10 τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ

§ 6 σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρον [ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν] ἡ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ τάς τε τοιαύτας τέχνας ὅσαι παρασκευάζουσι τὸ σῶμα χεῖρον διακείσθαι βαναύσους καλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰς μισθαριν-

1337 b 4 $\delta \tilde{\alpha}$ omitted by Γ M* \parallel 5 $\delta \Lambda \epsilon \epsilon \theta \epsilon \rho t \omega$? Schneider (perhaps the reading of Γ Ar.) and δ $\delta \epsilon \nu \Lambda \epsilon \epsilon \theta \epsilon \rho t \omega$? Φ and perhaps $\Lambda \epsilon$.; both possibly right \parallel 11 $\{\bar{\eta}^* \tau p^* \nu \nu \nu \rangle \bar{\eta}^* \rangle$ Susem. \parallel 12 $\tau \epsilon$ omitted by M^* Pi and perhaps Γ , hence $[\tau \epsilon]$ Susem. \parallel \parallel $\tau \mu \nu \mu \nu \nu \nu \omega$ $\bar{\eta}^* \rangle$ \bar

partizans, supporters; literally 'umpires to decide for them.' The metaphor is clearly taken from the dramatic contests: cp. Metaph. 1. 8. 5, 989 a 6 ff.

cp. Metaph. 1. 8. 5, 989 a 6 ff.
1337 b 2 οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς πάντες]
See 1332 a 2 n. and for the thought cp.
N. E. 1. 3. 2, 1004 b 14 ff.

3 πρός not περι, after διαφέρευται, as after διφισβητεύ in III. 13. 1, 1853 a 23, 24: with regard to '(cp. 1938 b 15). What is δικησιε διφτήρι? Learning by practice, practical training in virtue: cp. 1341 a 8, πολεμικαί και πολιτικαί ασκ., 1333 b 30, 38, των πολεμικών δικησεν...

§ 3 The first theory is only partially accepted. Some 'utilitarian' studies are indispensable, but we must exclude all which bear the taint of βασαυσία.

4 By the really indispensable parts of useful knowledge he may be supposed to mean much what we mean by the three Rs. Here in fact we return to the starting-point, IV(II). 14, 14, 1333 b I--4. There is no need to limit the expression to rå ἀσαγατά τῶν ἔργων as in

1. 7, 3 It. 6, 5, III. 4, 11.
5, 8 rt. 8] There is nothing strange in the repetition of \$\tilde{\sigma} \text{ the taylor for after \$\sigma \text{comp.}\$. Comp. III. 13, 7, 128 \text{ b 16}, where \$\tilde{\sigma} \text{ is picked up by \$\tilde{\sigma} \text{ vi, as also in \$P\$ys. 1, 7, 9, 190 b 17, 19: other instances from \$P\$ys. 11, 2, 9, 233 a 13, VIII. 7, 1, 360 a 23, 36 (Bonite). We may render: "as to all not being required, in view of the distinction to thein grequired, in view of the distinction."

tion made between liberal and illiberal occupations, it is clear that such useful subjects only should be studied as will not degrade the student." τῶν τοιούτων limiting as in 1260 a 40.

§ 4 8 The article omitted with εργον, because τοῦτο is predicate.

The form of the first of the soul, we should expect \$\tilde{\text{for for \$\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\psi_{\s

a gloss upon διάνοια», ultimately incorporated in the text. See p. 622 ft. SUSEM. § 5 13 βαναίστους What is meant by παρασκευάζουσι χείρου διακείσθαι comes out in I. 11. 6, 1258 b 37 πλ σύμανα λωβίανται. See n. [103]. SUSEM. (980) This is the best description of "sordid

compagition." one Newman 1, n. 1814.

reis juerflagsweide spyworfeld, "Trades pleid for hire" including all kinds of paid abour, mental as well as manual. See manual. See the seed of the

κὰς έργασίας. ἄσχολου γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τα-(II) 15 πεινήν, ὅστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλειθερίων ἐπιστημῶν μέχρι μὲν τ τινὸς ἐνίων μετέχειν οἰκ ἀκλειθέρου, τὸ δὲ προσεθρείων λίαν § πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν ἐνοχου ταῖς εἰρημένας βλάβαις. ἔχει δὲ πολλήν διαφορὰν καὶ τὸ τίνος ἔνεκον πράττει τις ἡ μανθάνει: τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰτοῦ χάρυ ἡ φίλων ἡ δὶ ἀρετὴν οἰκ το ἀνελεύθερον, ὁ ἐκινὸ τοῦτο πράττων πολλάκις δὶ ἄλλους θητικὸν καὶ διολικοὰ ὰν δέξεις πράττεν πολλάκις δὶ ἄλλους

15 < m²> Δεπέρμας or ἀνολοτέρμας l'Getting (wrough), ἀνολοτέρμα Ridgeway; but wec Comm., κ(98) | 1 de δεναθείρας perhaps [λπ. 1] de λπ. α απόλοτόρμα conitted by II' (supplied in the margin of F°) | π λ δε προτεθρείου conitted and an leanna left by II' (supplied in the margin of F°) | π λ δε προτεθρείου conitted and an leanna left by II' (stat hand), προτεθρείου λεί (supplied by α later land in F°) BL. | 17 de βεθρείου λεί (supplied by α later land in F°) BL. | 18 de βεθρείου λεί (supplied by α later land in F°) BL. | 18 de βεθρείου λεί (supplied by β

15 for Si. . . . 7 Bödfass] The tenge, which Göttling and Ridgeway have mistaken, is: "And even as to studies not in themselves illiberal, while (ab) there are the studies of the studies

16 προσέδρεύει»] to work closely at: II. 5. 6, 1263 a 29; infra c. 4 § 4, 1338 b 25. Comp. ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι I. 11. 5, 1258 b 34-

\$6 17 ξγα 6 πολλήν διαφοράν πολύ διαφέρει, it makes a great difference; p. 11. 8; 25. Otherwise c. 6 § 1 below. 19 πο μόν γάρ αύπου χάρων κπλ (500, 901). \$USEM. (983), 17(VII). 4, 7 m. (900, 901). \$USEM. (983) Comp. n. (103) 20 δ δί...πράτταν] Comp. n. (103)

20 δ δέ...πράττεν] Comp. n. (103) and Metaph. XII (Λ). 10. 3, 1075 a 19 ff. (Eaton). Susem. (984) πολλάκιε] This word goes with δυ δέτεα while δι άλλοπο (=in obedience to others) goes with πράττων as contrasted with usire 'χάων ἢ άλλων, and accordingly l' have transposed it. But the hyperbaton is not stranger than in many other

passages. Cp. 1838 b 3.

11 Sprawing (Dp. 1341 b 14. The
strait conjunction between fliewows and
strait conjunction between fliewows and
the day laboures, vije was mentioned tit.
5. 4, 1798 a 13, 18, 21; see see. (Ego.)
480). The word is used in De Roge, Ath.
of the lowest property classes, as recondebugile partycenes Agogie. See lead
treated spraw it be philosome shappeded
treated spraw it be philosome shappeded
the dayby, waiter these role, old of earlier
of Agogie, waiter these role, old of
the day of the day of the strained of the conce 3. Of the entineary mightet of in-

struction Grammar (Letters), Gymnastic, Drawing have a practical value: § 1. A consideration of Music leads us to determine the higher end of all Education, which is the right employment of leisure: §§ 2-7, as Homer attests: §§ 8, 9. Recopitulation: §§ 10, 11.

The proper treatment of subjects of practical utility: §§ 11, 12. Gymnastic should precede: § 13. Cp. Anal. p. 118.

3 αί μèν οὖν καταβεβλημέναι νὖν μαθήσεις, καθάπερ εἴρη- (II) ται πρότερον, ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν ἔστι δὲ τέτταρα σχεδὸν ἃ παι- 3 δεύειν εἰώθασι, γράμματα καὶ γυμναστικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ

25 τέταρτου ενιοι ηραφικήν, την μεν ηραμματικήν και ηραφικήν ώς χρησίμους πρός του βίου ούσας και πολιχρήστους, την δε ηνιμαστικήν ώς συντείνουσαν πρός ἀνδρίαν την δε μουσικήν 8 τήδη διαπορήσειεν ἄν τις. νύν μέν γάρ ός ήδοης γόριν οί

3 - ηνη ειαπορησείενε τω 145. νου μεν τημε νη ηνουργη χαρω οι πλείστοι μετέχουσια αύτης ο δ δ έξ άρχης επαχω έν παι-30 δεία διά τό την φύσια αύτην ζητεία, δπερ πολλάκια έξηται, μη μόνου άσχολεία όρθος άλλα και σχολάξεια δύνασθαι καλός. αύτη γάρ άρχη πάντου, ἵνα καὶ πάλω

νασθαι καλώς, αίτη γιλρ άρχη πάντων, ἵνα καὶ πάλων § εἴπομεν περὶ αἰτῆς. εἰ δ΄ ἄμφω μὲν δεῖ, μάλλον δὲ δ αἰρετόν το σχολάζεω τις ἐασχολίας καὶ τέλος, ζητητέον (τ. τω) 22 ἐψητα] διέχθη ΤΡ [9 ΙΚ. || 25 τὴν μλ.-, γραφούς conitted by Π' (supplied

§ 1 =2 καταβεθλημένω] Here and 138 a. 36 used for ordinary, current i.q., rê λγκέλια, or λγκέλια τακέδα. Αρparently from κατεβιθλικθεια - "lay down a foundation" mid. So Pl. Leuw 803 A. Late writers use the passive in the sense of 'to be published,' committed to writing, or already N.E. 1. 5, 8, 1056 a 10 c. cp., down the committee of the committee of the following Caryst. E. 4, 105 a 10 c. cp., down and the committee of the down the committee of the committee of the committee of the down the committee of the committee of the committee of the down the committee of the committee of the committee of the down the committee of the committee o

23 протероу] In с. 2 § 2, 1337 2 39 b 2. Susem. (985)

έστι δί...25 γραφικήν] Comp. Plin. N. H. XXXV. 10. 77 (Vettori): huius (Pamphili) auctoritate effectum est Sicyone primum, deinde et in tota Graecia, ut pueri ingenui omnia ante graphicen, hoc est picturam in buxo, docerentur, recipereturque ars ea in primum gradum liberalium: Plato Protag. 325 D, Crito 50 D, Rep. 11. 376 E, Laws VII. 795 D, Xen. De Lac. Rep. 2. 1, Pseudo-Plat. Theages 122 E (Eaton). SUSEM. (986) Under γράμματα came reading, writing, counting (λογιστική), and the elements of arithmetic. Most of the authorities given above recognize the threefold division e.g. Pl. Pret. c. (1) γραμμάτων τε καὶ (2) κιθαρίσεως, both in the διδασκάλειον (ib. els διδασκάλων πέμποντες) and (3) physical training (els παιδοτρίβου πέμπουσω) at first in the palaestra. So Theager Le. οίων (1) γρέμματά τε και (2) καθαρίξεν και (3) παλαίων και τὴν δλλην άγωνίων.

§ 2 30 Κητείν] Nature, personified, is said to aim at a right use of leisure, as

she is said to define, to make a division, to place at man's disposal: I. 8. 5, 1256a 26£, IV(VII). 14. 5, 1332 b 35£, I. 10. 1, 1258 a 23.

1258 2 23.
πολλαίκε] Ε.g. 11. 9. 34, IV(VII). C. 14,
8 9, C. 15 8 6. SUSEM. (987)
32 αὐτη] "This is the principle which

32 abra] "This is the principle which determines all." The pronoun is attracted into the gender of the predicate. See IV(VII). I. S. 1323 b 15, n., Vahlen Aufs.

II. p. 34. Another instance IV(VII). 7. 5, 1321 b 4.

1. P. 34 - Instance is assume (V(vi)), r ≥ y = y = 0.9 |
y = y = 0.9 |

SUSEM.

35 ο τι δεί ποιούντας σχολάζειν. οὐ-γὰρ δὴ παίζοντας τέλος (ΙΙ) § 4 γάρ άναγκαιον είναι του βίου την παιδιάν ήμιν. εί δε τουτο άδύνατου, καὶ μᾶλλου ἐυ ταις ἀσχολίαις χρηστέου ταις παιδιαίς (ὁ γὰρ πονών δείται τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, ἡ δὲ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεως ἐστίν· τὸ δ' ἀσχολεῖν συμβαίνει 40 μετά πόνου καὶ συντονίας), διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ παιδιὰς εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφυλακοῦντα την χρησιν, ώς προσάγοντα φαρμακείας χάριν. άνεσις γὰρ ή τοιαύτη κίνησις της ψυχής, 1338 1 καὶ διὰ τὴν ήδονὴν ἀνάπαυσις. τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν έχειν 5 αὐτὸ δοκεῖ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ ζῆν § 5 μακαρίως. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τοῖς ἀσχολοῦσιν ὑπάρχει ἀλλὰ τοῖς σχολάζουσιν ό μέν γὰρ ἀσχολών ἔνεκά τινος ἀσχολεί 5 τέλους ώς ούχ ύπάρχοντος, ή δ' εὐδαιμονία τέλος ἐστίν, ήν

ού μετά λύπης άλλά μεθ' ήδουης οἴονται πάντες είναι. 35 δ τι Susem., τί P6 Bas.3 Bk., δτι the other authorities 1 δεί after ποιούντας Γ (if William has translated closely quod facientes oportet vacare) P5 Bk. Susem.1 in the text | 36 < dν > dναγκαΐον Schneider, dναγκαΐον < ήν > Spengel; one or other seems needed | 38 ή τε ? Susem. | 41 καιροφυλακούντας Π2, which may also be right, καιροφυλακτούντας P6 Bk. # προσάγοντας Π2 P6 Bk., which may also be right

1338 a 3 vdo Susem., & F II Bk. Susem.1 in the text

33-36] With the punctuation now adopted (comma after \(\tau\ellow\): "If both are necessary but leisure more desirable and more truly the end than occupation, we must next inquire what should employ our leisure. Certainly not amusement, or else amusement would be made the end of life." With ἀναγκαΐον there is the less need to express av.

35 οὐ γὰρ δή κτλ] Comp. Nic. Eth. x. 6. 6, 1176 b 27 ff.: oin ès maidia apa i ευδαιμονία και γὰρ άτοπον τὸ τέλος εἶναι παιδιάν και πραγματεύεσθαι και κακοπαθείν τον βίον απαντα τοῦ παίζειν γάριν (Eaton). Also infra c. 5 § 10, n. (1033), § 13 n. (1038). SUSEM. (988)

§ 4 41 φαρμακείας χάριν] Cp. N. E.

VII. 14 § 4, 1154 α 26 ff., διά τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῆς λύπης, ως οδοης Ιατρείας, τὴν ἡδουήν διώκουσι; §§ 6, 7, b 9 ff. εξελαίνει δε ήδουή λύπην...κατά συμβεβηκός ήδεα τὰ Ιατρεύουτα (Eaton). See below c. 5 § 10, n. (1031). SUSEM. (989)

42 ανεσις γάρ...της ψυχής] This is seen most plainly in the case of sleep, which is sweet because it affords pleasure of this kind: c. 5 § 3 (cp. n. 1021). Further comp. N. Eth. VII. 7. 7, 1150 b 17 f. ή γάρ παιδιά ανεσίς έστιν είπερ ανάwavers: 'amusement is recreation, and consequently of the nature of relaxation. SUSEM. (990)

1338 a 2 καλ την εύδαιμονίαν Here nal is explicative; translate, 'and indeed, 'and what is more.' For the pleasure here mentioned is not something apart from Happiness (i.e. Wellbeing), but is contained in it. It is incredible that Döring op. c. p. 155 (cp. p. 109 f.) should have been satisfied with the absurdity "happiness," or as he says, the life of happiness (which is much the same), "consists of happiness accompanied by pleasure." To complete the logical absurdity he

should have added "together with the sense of existence." SUSEM. (991) § 5 3 The violent hiatus—νπάρχει .

άλλά—can he removed by emendation, or we may relegate the whole clause τοῦτο...

σχολάζουσω to the margin.
6 μεθ' ήδουῆς Pleasurable. use of merà and a genitive as an equivalent for an adverb or adjective is noticed in the lexicons s.v. Ast II p. 310 f., Bonitz Ind. Ar. 458 a 2 ff. Döring's difficulty (see n. 991) partly arises from overlooking the fact that Happiness is a misleading term for εὐδαιμουία. The English reader need not be reminded that Welfare, Wellheing (of which 'well-doing' is the primary

8 airū ij F⁴Ald. and corr.\[^1\$ of F¹, air ij M\[^1\$ and F¹ (1st hand) \|^1\$ to \$\tau\$ \tau \frac{1}{2} \text{ expoy} \tilde{p} \text{ Kornes, Cf. § 8, a 2., } \[^{i} F^{2} Europer\[^{i} groke \text{ Suppose} \text{ or } \text{ Engaged, or } \text{ for expoy} \text{ for } \text{ for } \text{ expoy} \text{ for } \text{ for

constituent), or even Real Interest, would often better express man's ultimate good, because these terms do not necessarily imply "a whole of which the elements are pleasurable feelings". Prof. H. Sidgwick Methods of Ethics p. 76 n. 1, History of Ethics p. 48 n. p. 56 n.

Ethics3 p. 48 n., p. 56 n. z. 7 ταύτην μέντοι... 9 καλλίστων] Comp. Nic. Eth. 1. 8. 10 ff., 1099 a 7 ff. (Congreve). I cannot understand how Döring p. 109 f. is able to prove from these words, that the pleasure which belongs as a necessary condition to the life of happiness is not the pleasure which arises from virtuous action and theoretical knowledge, but something which taken by itself is an integral factor of happiness. (To this view Döring's reviewer Walter, Jen. Litts. 1877 p. 29, rightly took exception.) From what other source can it arise? Every pleasure, as Aristotle rightly maintains (see Zeller op. c. II ii p. 617 ff.), can only be conceived as a consequence of some bodily or mental activity-even the pleasures of taste or the agreeable sensation of falling asleep: for eating and drinking are bodily activities, and the very act of falling asleep (inasmuch as the cessation of a movement is itself a movement) is also an activity. Döring is no less mistaken when he goes on to state that the pleasure which is introduced as an integral factor into the end of life itself contributes to the highest intellectual enjoyment (ἐωτωντή), whereas the latter is really due to the cognitive finculties and the pleasure inseparably associated with their strenous exercise. The thought of Aristotle is a very simple one: that those activities alone can belong to happiness, which naturally produce the purest possible joy with the smallest admixture of pain. Comp. further c. 5 § 10, m. (1032). SUESEM, (896)

The control of the co

sued in leisure time.'
§ 7 14 ds παιδείαν έταξαν] Ranked
under, with: so 1339 b 14 and θετέον ets,
1339 b 12. But § 8, 1338 a 23, ἐν ταύτη

17 Some St mal ypadpun] "While drawing too has its use in making us better judges of works of art," so that we are less liable to be taken in when purchasing such works, c. 3 § 12, 1338 b 1. Susem. (994)

(VIII). 0. 10] 10008 1—10008 00

χυντών έργα κάλλιον, οὐδ΄ αὖ καθάπερ ή ηυμναστική πρὸς (II)
20 ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν (οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων ὁρώμεν γικόμενον
88 ἐκ τῆς μουμικής), λείπεται ερίων πολο κοιν το πολο δ

§8 έκ τῆς μουσικῆς) λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ σχολῆ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παρόγουτες αὐτήν. ῆν γὰρ οἴουται διαγωγήν είναι τιῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτη τάττουσιν. διάπερ "Ομπορο όῦτως ἐποίποευ" (κ

ο. διόπερ "Ομηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν (P. 133)

25 άλλ' οἷον μέν ἐστι καλείν ἐπὶ δαίτα θαλείην, § 9 καὶ οὕτω προευπών ἐτέρους τινάς, οἷ καλέουσιν ἀσιδέω

27 φησίν,

ο κεν τέοπησιν δπαντας.

28 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν 'Οδυσσεὺς ταύτην ἀρίστην εἶναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

30 δαιτυμένες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ ἤμενοι ἐξείπε.

§10 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἔστι παιδεία τις ἡν οὐχ ὡς χρησίμην παιδευ- III 32 τέον τοὺς υἰεῖς οὺδ΄ ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλήν, φανερὸν ἐστίν πότερον δὲ μία τῶ ἀριθμῶ ἡ πλείους, καὶ τίνες αὕ-

§ 8 a 1 Adererua voluvo septo reju be vig yazab Şavayviy) See n. (921). Aristotle seems mistaken in asserting that the only remaining end, which music can subserve, is to educate mean is still the end of moral training, and below c. § §§ 1—8 he goes so far as to still the end of moral training, and below c. § §§ 1—8 he goes so far as to the consistered in this is the only object to be considered in the education of the young. He has then expressed himself to the considered in the education of the educat

23 διαγωγήν εξυνα τών θεσεθέρων] Intellectual enjoyment worthy of free men. So a 28, δεβστην διαγ. the noblest enjoyment. References to both passages will be found in n. (921) on IV(VII). 15. 2, 1334 a 17. SUSEM. (996)
25 Though not found in our texts, nor

25 Though not found in our dates, for cited in Plato Ref. 389 D, in Aristotle's Odyssey this line must have followed XVII. 383 (Spengel). SUSEM. (996) § 9 27 φησίν] This is Od. XVII. 385.

H.

Our present texts give delδων instead of dπανταs. Susem. (997)

We may conjecturally restore Aristotle's text as follows: τίς γάρ δη ξείνον καλεί άλλοθεν αὐ-

τίς γάρ δή ξείνον καλεί άλλοθεν αύτὸς ἐπελθών |

383 άλλον γ', el μή τῶν οἱ δημιοεργοὶ ξασι; | < άλλ' οἶον μέν τ' ἐστι καλεῦν ἐπὶ

δαΐτα θαλείτη»> 384 μάντιν ή Ιητήρα κακῶν ή τέκτονα

δούρων | ή καλ θέσπεν ἀοιδόν, ὅ κεν τέρπησιν

The discrepancies in the Homeric citations (indicated by Bonitz Ind. Ar. s.v.) are numerous enough to exclude the hypothesis that slips of memory would sufficiently account for all of them. See Wachsmuth De Arist. Studiis Homericis

p. 12 ff. 28 'O8worels] Odyss. IX. 7 f. With all this comp. n. (1021). SUSEM. (998)

§ 11 ται καὶ πῶς, ὕστερον λεκτέον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν (III) 35 είναι πρό όδου γέγονεν, ότι και παρά των άργαίων έγομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν έκ τών καταβεβλημένων παιδευμάτων ή γάρ μουσική τοῦτο ποιεί δήλον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι ε δεί τινα παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παίδας οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, 39 οίου την των γραμμάτων μάθησιν, άλλα και δια το πολ-§ 12 λας δι' αὐτών ἐνδέχεσθαι γίνεσθαι μαθήσεις ἐτέρας, όμοίως 41 δε και την γραφικήν ούγ ίνα εν τοις ίδίοις ώνίοις μη διαμαρτάνωσιν άλλ' ώσιν άνεξαπάτητοι πρός την τών σκευών 1338 ο ωνήν τε καὶ πράσιν, η μάλλον ότι ποιεί θεωρητικόν τοῦ περί τὰ σώματα κάλλους, τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταγοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ήκιστα άρμόζει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις.

36 * * êx Conring, rightly, if, as Reiz and Schneider thought, the passage needs any alteration: but this is extremely doubtful. < δτι τὸ καλὸν οἰκ ἐξεῦργον> ἐκ ? Susem. | 37 τῶν χρησίμων after ὅτι δεῖ Γ (if William has translated accurately quod oportet utilium) P⁶ | 40 δι' αὐτῶν after γέγνεσθαι (γίνεσθαι Bk.2) Π² P⁵ Bk. (in P1 ἐνδέχεσθαι is omitted) | 42 ἀλλ'] ἢ Reiz | [ὧσω...b 1 ἢ] Koraes

1338 b 1 η transposed by Postgate to follow μάλλον | η δ άλλά Ar. (?) Reiz Thurot | πράσιν. η μάλλον... 2 κάλλους ; Jackson formerly | θεωρητικήν (θεωριτικὴν Sh) H2, θεωρητικούς P6 | 3 άρμβττει H2 P6 Bk. | έλευθερίοις ? Susem.

§ 10 34 vortepov] Another of the un-

fulfilled promises. See Introd. p. 49 n. (4). Susem. (999) § 11 νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον...37 δῆλον] The sequence of thought here is liable to be misunderstood. In §§ 2-9 Aristotle has proved, or tried to prove, that the an-cients bad regarded poetry and music as being preeminently a means to intellectual training, which in his eyes is more important than moral training, and to the highest intellectual enjoyment associated with it. It is true the evidence he has produced suffices for no more than the inference that the ancients considered music and poetry in the light of higher rational amusements for men of riper age, but not that they adopted music in the education of the young with the view of training them for this rational enjoyment in the future: cp. nn. (993, 1024). He does not, in §§ 2-9, touch upon the question, see n. (993), whether this art may not be utilized for the development of character: this he discusses later on, c. 5 § 1, where he expressly states that he will resume the inquiry of c. 2 § 3—c. 3 § 11, which had been left incomplete: see ms. (1017, 1018). Hence he is here contrasting the intellectual and theoretical aim of education not with its moral aim, the

development of character, but only with the third and lowest aim, a knowledge of what is absolutely necessary and prac-tically useful. All three aspects are more intimately concerned with the mental side of education. The third is disposed of in 88 11, 12: in \$ 13 Aristotle reverts to the difference between intellectual and moral training, without however pursuing the inquiry more precisely into particulars. his attention being at present especially directed to the proper development of the body. SUSEM. (1000)

25 elvar Lobeck in his ed. of Phrynichus p. 275 treats this as a case of the absolute inf. See n. on 1330 a 37. § 12 42 mpos This preposition as in

1261 a 13, 1262 b 3, 1284 a 1, 1336 b 31, 1338 b 2.

1338 b 2 **περί τα σώματα**] The prepositional phrase an equivalent for the adjective 'corporeal.' So Plat. Timaeus 35 A, Phaedr. 246 D. See Ast Lex. s. v. of whose exx. Soph. 251 C nevlas The week

φρίσησω κτήσεως = 'poverty in mental endowment' is perhaps the best.
τὸ δὲ ζητών κτλ] See III. 8. 1, 1279

b 13 f., Eucken Methode p. 35. 3 7058 µeyalowixxos] Editors comp. N. E. IV. 3. 33, 1125 a 11 f. SUSEM.

§13 ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν πρότερον τοῦς ἔθεσιν παιδευτέον ἢ τῷ (III) 5 λόγῳ εἰναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ὅτι παραδοτέον τοὺς παίδας γυμναστική καὶ παιδοτριβική: τούτων γὰρ ἢ μὲν ποιών τινα ποιεῖ τὴν

εξιν τοῦ σώματος, ἢ δὲ τὰ ἔργα.
4 νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμε-δ το λεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἷ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν εξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λω-

4 πρότερον P^1 (corr. 1), πότερον Ar. with all the other authorities \parallel παιδευτέον after 5 Μτγμ Π^* P^5 Bk., avoiding hiatus \parallel 5 εἶναι omitted by Π^1 \parallel 6 < πρότερον> παιοδεύτον P Susem.

§ 13 4 πρότερον] IV(VII). 15 № 6—10. SUSEM. (1002)

SCHEM, (1009) and). From what for, Twelvery and produced with refurth control as a compared with refurth control as a first control as plant that the produced with refurth control as a first control as a

. .

wouldy row would. The phrase recust is \$ 3, 139 a 31, 5 \$ 44, 1340 b 11, ... \$ 8, 13, 134 b 18. The solution (so to \$ 8, 134 b 18. The residence (so to \$ 8, 134 b 18. The residence (so to work reserved a definite character' is determined by the context in 1330 a 4, 5 determined by the context in 1330 a 4, 5 determined by the context in 1330 b 13, b 13,

c. 4 Alhletic training. Two errors to avoid: we do not desire to make professional athletes, or to realise the Spartan type: §§ 1—7. Bodily exercises to be relaxed in favour of other studies for three years

after puberty: §§ 7—9.

The censure of an athletic training was passed Iv(VII). c. 16 §§ 12, 13, 1335 b 2—12. The criticism of the exercises of the Spartans widens into a condemnation

of their political system in general on the lines of B. II. c. 9, IV(VII). c. 14 §§ 15—

22, C. 15 § 6.

10 al μλν...μμποιούστ] Some endeayour to make their sons professional athletes. Aristotle evidently considers that such a career is βάναμνου: cp. § 6, b 33, n. (1012), § 9, n. (1015), i.e. Exc. 1., and n(VIII). 16. 12, 1335 b 5 ff., n. (944).

SUSEM. (1004) In his condemnation of the mania for sports, Aristotle had predecessors in Xenophanes Frag. 2, Euripides Autolyc. Fr. I, as well as Plato Rep. III. 404 A, 407 B, 410 B-D, VII. 535 D, IX. 591 C. The judgment of poets and philosophers was confirmed by practical soldiers like Epaminondas and Alexander, and later Philopoemen (Plut. Vita Phil. c. 3, p. 357 c), by medical authorities like Galen (Протр. Абует сс. 9-14, 1. р. 20 ff. К.; cp. Plut. De sanit. tuenda c. 16, p. 130 A ff.), and by the Romans. On the degradation of the athletic sports, see P. Gardner New Chapters pp. 300-303, Mommsen The Provinces I. p. 269, 287 —289 Eng. tr. The chief causes for the prominence of the professional element were (1) the increasing popularity of the heavier sports, boxing and the pancra-tium; (2) the change of diet, see n. (1015); (3) the progress made in the science and art of training. "But it was Herodicus of Selymbria who ruined athletics, by introducing elaborate rules for eating and drinking and exercise. He first discovered that the human body can by scientific tending be made, not healthy and beautiful, but muscular and adapted to this or that special service: he improved the speed of the races and the skill of the wrestlings, but spoiled athletics as a means of education for life and happiness" (Garduer). The evil

increased until in Roman times no pro-

βώμεναι τά τε είδη καὶ την αύξησιν τῶν σωμάτων, οί (ΙΙΙ) 12 δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ήμαρτον τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, θη-

ριώδεις δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ώς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν § 2 μάλιστα συμφέρου. καίτοι, καθάπερ εξρηται πολλάκις, ούτε (p. 134)

15 πρός μίαν ούτε πρός μάλιστα ταύτην βλέποντα ποιητέον την επιμέλειαν εί τε και πρός ταύτην, ούδε τούτο εξευρίσκουσιν. ούτε γάρ εν τοις άλλοις ζώοις ούτε έπὶ τῶν εθνῶν

όρωμεν την ανδρίαν ακολουθούσαν τοῦς αγριωτάτοις, αλλά § 3 μάλλον τοῖς ἡμερωτέροις καὶ λεοντώδεσιν ἤθεσιν. πολλά 4 20 δ' έστι των έθνων α πρός το κτείνειν και πρός την ανθρωποφανίαν εύγερως έγει, καθάπερ των περί του Πόντου 'Αχαιοί τε καὶ 'Ηνίοχοι καὶ τῶν ἡπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ἔτερα,

τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως τούτοις τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἃ ληστρικὰ μέν ἐστιν, § 4 ἀνδοίας δὲ οὐ μετειλήφασιν. ἔτι δ' αὐτούς τοὺς Λάκωνας 15 μlaν <dperhy> Susem. (after Alb. and Ar.), μlaν <ξω> Ridgeway. It is better to understand ταύτην | 20 δ'] τ' or γάρ Susem., que Ar. | 23 ληστρικά Μ*

P1 L* Ald., Anorusa Bk, with all the other authorities | 24 rols omitted by P4 L* Ald. vince of the empire possessed so many professional athletes, and none supplied so few soldiers.

12 The statement that the Spartans were prohibited from boxing and the pancratium is found in Plutarch V. Lacurg. 19, Apophthegm. Lycurg. 4, 189 E, Seneca De Benef. v. 3. 1, Philostr. De Gymnast. 9, 58. It is not certain that it applies to classical times. Xenophon says και γάρ πυκτεύουσε διά την έρεν όπου δυ συμβάλωσι, Rep. Lac. 4 § 6. Epaminondas saw the difference between the corpulent athletic habit and that of a spare, wiry soldier: Plut. Apophth. Ep. 3, 102 C. 13 τοῦς πόνοις] Cp. 11. 9. 24, 1270 b

33, ὑπερβάλλει (ἡ δίαιτα) ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν. § 2 14 πολλάκις] Π. 6. 34 π. (344), IV(VII). 14. 15 ff., n. (910), c. 15 § 5; cp. IV(VII). 2. 9, 11. (719). SUSEM. (1005) 15 With μίαν understand ταύτην: 'neither to this alone, nor to this prinneither to this alone, nor to this prin-cipally (Ridgeway). An omission of deras to be found 1. 13, 9, 1260 a 24, 19 λεοντώδεστν] The character of the lion is given Hist. Animal. IX. 42, 2—6: 629 b 8 tf. & τη βρώσει μεν χαλεπώτατος

έστι, μή πεινών δέ καὶ βεβρωκώς πραύτα-τος, έστι δὲ τὸ ήθος ούχ ὑπόπτης οὐδενὸς ούδ' ύφορώμενος ούδέν, πρός τε τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη σφόδρα φιλοπαίγμων καὶ στερ-κτικός. ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήραις δρώμενος μὲν οδδέποτε φεύγει οὐδὲ πτήσσει, άλλ' ἐὰν και διά πλήθος άναγκασθή τῶν θηρευίντων ύπαγαγείν βάδην ύποχωρεί και κατά σκέλος, κατά βραχὸ ἐπιστρεφόμενος. Plato, whom Aristotle here follows in the treatment and criticism of γυμναστική (see Rep. III. 404-412), gives the dog as an example of the 'spirited' temperament in Rep. 11. 375 C ff.; comp. also III. 410 E. to which Aristotle alludes in IV(VII), 7, 5, n. (783, ff.). SUSEM. (1006) § 3 21 εὐχερῶς ἔχει] "are indifferent to (think little of) bloodshed and canni-

balism." These wild races lead the 'natural' ληστρικός βίος of 1. 8. 7 f., 1256 b μ (Newman). καθάπερ τῶν...24 μετειλήφασιν] Comp Nic. Eth. VII. 5. 2, 1148 b 21 ff (Neyw 88 τάς θηριώδεις).. οίοις χαίρειν φασίν ένίους των απηγριωμένων περί του Πόντον, τούς μέν ώμοῖς τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων κρέασιν, τοὺς δέ τὰ παιδία δανείζειν άλλήλοις els εύωχίαν: Herod. IV. 18, 106, 'Ανδροφάγοι δέ άγριώτατα πάντων άνθρώπων έγουσι ήθεα, ούτε δίκην νομίζοντες ούτε νόμιφ ούδενί χρεόμενοι, νομάδες δέ είσι: Scylax Peritl, 7 s f. p. 60 (Müller). Nevertbeless the Greeks

took these tribes to be of kindred origin with themselves: Strabo IX. 416 A (colonists of the Orchomenians, who had wandered thither with Ialmenus after the capture of Troy), X1. 495 f. cast 8 άπὸ τῆς Ἰάσονος στρατιᾶς τοὺς μὲν Φθιώτας ᾿Αχαιοὺς τὴν ἐνθάδε ᾿Αχαΐαν οἰκίσαι (Eaton). With courage, as with every other virtue

25 Ισμεν, ἔως μὲν αὐτοὶ προσήδρευου ταῖς φιλοπουίαις, ὑπερ-(III) Κροντας τῶν ἄλλων, νῦν ἐδ καὶ τοῖς γημυκοῦς ἀγὰστ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς λειπογείους ἐτέρων οἱ γιὰρ τὰ τοὺς κόσις 28 γημμάζειν τὸν τρόπου τοῦτου διέφερου, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνου πρὸς μιὶ ἀποιῦττας ἀπκεῖυ. 36 < δεῖ δὴ οἰκ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων 31 ἔργων <κρίνειν ἀλλ ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἀπταγωνιστός γὰρ τῆς 38 παιδείας νῦν</p>

§ 5 < Ε΄χουσι, πρότερου δ΄ οικ εἶχου.> 25 ώστε τὸ καλὰν ἀλλ' οἰ τὸ θηρι- 5 30 οἰδες δεί πρωταγωνιστεῖν οιὐδε γὰρ λίνος οιὖδε τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων ἀγωνίσαιτο ἀν οιὖδενα καλὸν κιθυνου, ἀλλὰ μάλλον § αἰνηρ ἀγαθός, οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνώτες τοὺς παΐδας

as airel <abr/>dense Encken; but why should not sirva alone have the sense of three, as often ? I do preserves IT PE Bit. I plyor, after a γ robquest IT PE Bit. I I γ) retruséres M°PE I de γke) set δes ? Suscen. doubtfully I de pleor vig Reiz I glo de β-0., 36 eyes transpored by Suscen. and Bicker to praced as givers of ...36 ethpur. Set Intrud. p. 8gl. I glo δ) Suscen., δt ΓΠ Ar. Bit. Suscen.¹ in the text II γραγικορ γείνησεν Sprangel, needlessly.

30 οδόξ γὰρ IP, οὐ γὰρ IP P⁵ Bk. || τι inserted after θηρίων by Vettori Bk.; Camot inserted οδότε, Koracs οδότο || 31 οδότο|| οδότο Göttling, <οδότο > οδότοι Csusem., but perhaps no change is needed

(see Nic. Eth. 1v. 2. 7, 1122 b 5, and often), the motive must be purely the noble, the beautiful, the good: the virtue must be exercised red nobel from, cf. § 5, nr. (toog). See N. E. III. − γ § 6, 1115 b 19 fl., § 13, 1116 a 10 fl., c 8 № 1−17 (Congreve). Sustem. (1007) § 4 Cp. Pl. Protag. 342 n, c, where Wroschel suys: hace Platonis verbs tam-

§ 4 Cp. Pl. Protag. 342 E, C, where Wroschel says: hace Platonis verba tangit, opinor, Aristoteles Pol. vIII. 4 25 αὐτοὶ] By themselves, alone: αὐτὸ: =μῶνο. Very near to this is the sense αὐτὸ (but is it right) would bear. II. 0.

=µbros. Very near to this is the sense abrh (but is it right?) would bear, II. 9. 15, 1270 b 8 "iam per se" and I. 1. 2, 1252 a 14, I. 6. 4, 1255 a 18. SUSEM. Add 1335 a 39. 27 λευτομένους έτέρων] This criticisch.

repeated from 11. 9 § 16, § 34, IV(VII).
14 § 8 16—18; see nm. (308, 345, 912).
SUSEM. (1008) The simple verb here in the sense of ὑπολείπεσθαι, IV(VII). 16.
3, 1334 b 39.

28 πρός μή ασκούντας] So Xen. De Rep. Lac. 13 § 5, τούς μεν δίλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστάς είναι των στρατιστικών, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μένους τῷ δυτι τεχνέτας τῶν πολεμικών.

§ 5 20 τὸ καλὸν] With this and b 30 καλὸν κίνδυναν, cp. n. (1007). Susem. (1009)

30 ούδὲ γὰρ λύκος κτλ] Comp. Nic. Eth. 111. 8. 11, 1116 b 30 ff. (Eaton). Susem. (1010) τῶν ἀλλων θημίων] With this genitive should be compared I. 13 % , 1250-a 25, \$ 13, 1260-b 2, III. 5 % 7, 1276-a 27, 13 % 11, 1284-b 11 (fi II gives the true reading); 'genetivus partitivus non addito e quo pendeat vel ἔκαστος vel pronomine indefinitivo'. SUSEM.

§ 6 32 οί δὲ λίαν κτλ] In Sparta, reading and writing were not included among the subjects taught by the state. But this did not prevent individuals from learning them on their own account, if it seemed expedient to do so (Plut, Lw., 16), and it is therefore a rhetorical exaggeration for Isocrates to make the sweeping assertion (Panath. § 209) that in the most ordinary education they were so backward as not even to know their letters (Schömann Eng. tr. p. 259). Yet the author of the Hippias Major (258 C) says very few Spartans understood figures (Eaton). Plato Rep. VIII. 548 B f. conclusively proves that they attached far greater importance to gymnastics than to music. Chamaeleon in Athen. IV. 184 D asserts that all the Lacedaemonians learnt fluteplaying, but this cannot be accepted in the face of Aristotle's statement, c. 5 § 7 n. (1026), that they were not taught music. This disposes of Schömann's assertion to the contrary. And yet strictly speaking this would include singing as well; but the expression should probably

καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγώγους ποιήσαντες, βαναύσους (ΗΙ) κατεργάζονται κατά γε τὸ ἀληθές, πρὸς ἕν τε μόνον ἔρ-35 γου τη πολιτική γοησίμους ποιήσαυτες, καλ πρός τούτο γεί-87 ρου, ώς φησίν ο λόγος, έτέρων. δεί δή οὐκ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων έργων κρίνειν, άλλ' έκ των νύν ανταγωνιστάς γάρ τής

παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οἰκ εἶχον.

ότι μεν οδυ χρηστέου τῆ γυμναστικῆ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέου, όμο- ΙΥ 40 λογούμενον έστίν (μέγρι μέν γάρ ήβης κουφότερα γυμνάσια προσοιστέου, την βίαιον τροφήν και τούς πρός ανάγκην πόνους 8 8 απείονουτας, ίνα μηδέν έμπόδιον ή πρός την αύξησιν, σημείου 1220 1 γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύνανται τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς όλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις αν ή τρείς εύροι τους αυτους νενικηκότας άνδρας τε καὶ παίδας, διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (p. 135) § 9 την δύναμιν ύπο των αναγκαίων γυμνασίων όταν δ' αφ's εήβης έτη τρία πρός τοις άλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε άρμόττει καὶ τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις κατα-

33 ἀπαιδαγωγήτους P² Bk. Susem. 1-4, perhaps rightly | 34 ἀπεργάζονται P¹ | 40 μέν omitted by Γ M*, perhaps rightly, [μέν] Susem.1 | κουφότερα Γ M* Ar., κουφοτέρα Pl.2.4 Th Vh L*, κουφοτέρα Ald. Wh | γυμνασια P2, γυμνασία M*Th Vh Ald. Wb. γυμνασί La

1330 2 1 δίνανται H1 L4 Ald. Wb, δίναται P2-8-4-5 Sb Tb Bk. | ταίς H2 Pb | 2 όλυμπιονικικάs P2 and P8 (later hand) | du du du pp II1 (corrected by p1) | 3 ασκούντας | άκοντας Γ | 5 γίνωνται Π1 | 6 άναγκοφαγίαις | ξηροφαγίαις Γ, from a gloss which is retained as such in the margin of Po from corr.3

not be pressed. Singing, no doubt, formed part of the prescribed course of study. Many too must of their own accord have learned to play the lyre and flute, or else it would be difficult to explain how the choregus of whom Aristotle tells a story, c. 6 § 12, #. (1026), could have attained such mastery of the flute. From Aristotle's language c. 5 § 7, it may be inferred that the Spartans who simply listened to others, as well as those who could themselves play, held music to be a means of moral training, and not simply a source of pleasure and amusement. Susem. (1011)

33 The form ἀπαιδαγώγητος appears N. E. IV. 1. 36, 1121 b 11.

βαναύσους] Comp. nn. (103, 1004). SUSEM. (1012) 35 xespoy érépoul Comp. again the passages quoted in n. (1005). Susem.

(1013) § 7 40 μέχρι μὶν ήβης] Comp. Plato Laws VIII. 833 C: τρεττὰ δή ταῦτα ἀθλή-

ματα διανοηθώμεν, έν μέν παιδικόν, έν δέ

άγενείων, έν δὲ ἀνδρών καὶ τοῦς μὲν τῶν άγενείων τὰ δύο των τριών τοῦ μήκους τοῦ δρόμου θήσομεν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ τὰ τούτων nuloea (Eaton). Susem. (1014)

Το the "lighter" course are opposeds the "heavy" or "violent" (βίακα) contests: έστι τούνιν άγωνίας ξυμπάσης τὰ μὲν κοῦφα ταῦτα στάδιαν, δόλιχος, όπλιται, δίαυλος, άλμα τὰ βαρύτερα δέ, παγκράτιου, πάλη, πύκται, πένταθλος δὲ άμφοῦν συνηρμόσθη Philostr. De Gymnastic. These terms are also applied to the athletes, 'heavy-weights,' 'light-weights,' Galen vr. 487 K.

§ 8 1330 R 2 800 TIS QV T TORS EUPOL The order is artistic; four short syllables.

§9 6 ариотта] But 1338 b 3 ариоја ΙΙ1, άρμητα ΙΙ2.

ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις] The compulsory diet of the athletes consisted principally of vegetable food: dried figs, porridge, cheese. Only in later times was meat allowed: Dromeus of Stymphalus in Arcadia is credited with the change, Pausan. VI. 7. 10 (according to Pliny

λαμβάνειν την έχομένην ήλικίαν, αμα γάρ τη τε διανοία (IV) καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονείν οὐ δεί, τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἐκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε των πόνων, έμποδίζων ο μέν το του σώματος πόνος την διάνοιαν ό δὲ ταύτης τὸ σώμα). .. 5 περί δὲ μουσικής ἔνια μὲν διηπορήκαμεν τῶ λόγω καὶ ε πρότερου, καλώς δ' έγει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγείν, "ν' ώσπερ ενδόσιμον γένηται τοίς λόγοις οθς § 2 αν τις είπειεν αποφαινόμενος περί αυτής, ούτε γαρ τίνα 15 δύναμιν έχει βάδιον περὶ αὐτῆς διελεῖν, οὕτε τίνος δεῖ χάριν μετέχειν αὐτής, πότερον παιδιάς ένεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ ύπνου καὶ μέθης (ταύτα γάρ καθ' αύτὰ μεν ούτε τών σπουδαίων, άλλ' ήδέα, καὶ αμα μέριμναν

11 diggraphsames H^2 P^6 Bk. | 13 W] for M^a H^2 Bk. | γ fuggest? Susem., and so perhaps ΓAr. | 14 εξπειεν P2, εξποιεν the other authorities | 15 δύναμιν after Eyes H2 P6 Bk., allowing a slight hiatus (cp. 1341 b 2) | 16 Eyese P1, Ydow P5 | 18 οδδέ or οξτε <τών καλών οδτε> Reiz, rightly | αμα...19 αὐτήν first sus-

N. H. XXIII. 7 (63). 121 and Diog. Laert. VIII. 13 a trainer named Pythagoras, dhelaras rud, not the philosopher). Cp. Favorinus in Diog. Lacrt. VIII. 12, Ισχάσι ξηραΐε και τυροΐε ύγροῦε και πυροῖε σωμασκούντων. Plato Rep. III. 404 A says that their mode of life made them sleepy, and that any departure, however slight, from the prescribed regimen made them liable to long and serious illness. Aristotle himself states De Gen. Animal. IV. 3. 42, 768 b 29 ff., that a disproportionate and abnormal growth of certain parts of their bodies resulted from the large quantities of food which they consumed (Eaton). In Problems XXXVII. 5, 967 a 11 ff., VIII. 4, 887 b 22 ff., they are described as pale and chilly (ἄχροα, δόσριγω): and Probl. 1. 28, 862 b 21 ff. it is said that athletes and all very healthy people seldom get ill, but when once they fall ill are very likely to succumb (Bonitz). With this passage generally comp. c. 4 § 1, n. (1004), IV(vII). c. 16 §§ 12, 13 n. (944) and Exc. I. p. 619. SUSEM. (1015)

7 ἄμα γάρ... το σῶμα] Plato practically lays down the same principle: Rep. VII. 537 Β. έν πᾶσι δή τούτοις τοῦς τε πόνοις και μαθήμασι και φόβοις δε αν έντρεχέστατος del φαίνηται, els άριθμόν τινα έγκριτέον ... ήνίκα των άναγκαίων γυμνασίων μεθί-ενται. ούτος γάρ ὁ χρόνος, έάν τε δύο έάν τε τρία έτη γέγνηται, άδύνατες τι άλλο πράξαι. κόποι γὰρ καὶ ὕπνοι μαθήμασι πολέμιοι. He differs slightly in his mode of carrying it out; see IV(VII). 17. 15. n. (990) and Exc. i. SUSEM. (1016) cc. 5-7 discuss the place of Music in education. See Anal. p. 119. The corresponding passages in Plato

are Rep. III. 398 B-403 B, 404 E, 410 B-412 A, IV. 424 B, C, VII. 522 A; Laws II. esp. 653-660 C, 664 B-671 A, VII. esp.

796 E-804 B, 809 E-813 A. § 1 11 καλ πρότερον] In c. 3 § 1-11. SUSEM. (1017)

12 καλ νθν άναλαβόντας κτλ] The discussion breaks off, c. 3 § 11, 1338 a 34 ff, with the sentence beginning viv δέ τοσούτον ήμων είναι πρό όδου γέγονεν οτι κτλ. See n. (1000). SUSEM. (1018)
13 [y] The variant bα M*II² is valuable for the treatment of elision and crasis in the manuscripts.

14 amoquivouros] For the absolute use Bonitz Ind. Ar. s. v. quotes I. 13. 16, 1260 b 23, VI(IV). 1. 5, 1288 b 35. With 00705 1289 b 5: with the direct object (The abithe Bolar), IV(VII). 14. 16, 1333 b 12. In IL 12. 1, 1273 b 27, there is a variant.

§ 2 15 Suckeiv] As in III. 13. 6, 1283 b 11, "decide." Ex distinguendi significatione abit in notionem disputandi, explorandi, explicandi: Bonitz s. v. who quotes 1299 a 12,1300 b 18. Also V(VIII). 7. 2, 1341 b 31: but see note.
16 The first use: for amusement and

recreation merely. 17 μ(θης] See IV(VII), 17, 11, n, (ο66),

SUSRM. (1019)

§3 παύει, ώς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης: διὸ καὶ τάπτουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ (IV) 20 χρώνται πάσι τούτοις ὁμοίως, ὕπιφ καὶ μέθη καὶ μυσική: τιθέαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁργησιε ἐν τούτοις, ἡ μάλλον οἰητέω ὁ πρὸς ἀρετήν τι τείνειν τὴν μουσικήν, ώς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ἡ γιμικαστική τὸ σώμα ποιών τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν αι μοικικήν τὸ ἐθος τι ποιέω. ἐθίζονασι δίνασβαι ναι-

pected by Vettori, $\delta_0 \omega$ rusks $\mu \rho_0 \mu \nu \omega$ III P BR. λ revicing histure, describe $\mu \delta_0 \mu \omega$ Getting BR. λ not bothly $\delta_0 \omega$ to manage of by Schmidt to follow to $\delta_0 \delta$ at $\delta_0 \omega$ L fault here, but to β . Call $< \delta_0 \omega$ at $< \delta_0 \omega$ reviews $\sim t^2 \tau \omega$ at $> t^2 \tau \omega$ reviews $\sim t^2 \tau \omega$ at $> t^2 \tau \omega$ reviews $\sim t^2 \tau \omega$ reviews $\sim t^2 \omega$

19 The quotation is from the Bacches 381, aromained τε μετμινια. The preceding line is μπά τ' αὐτοῦ γελάσια, and the choral ode continues ὁπότων βότρων 600 μ | αὐτοῦ τὸ διατὶ θεώς, | καστοφόροις δ' ἐν θαλίκια | ἀὐτράσε κρατὴρ ὑπινα ἀμφωάλλη. SUSEM. (1020)

33 & Mal derrowers with) The cause of this corrupt passage is quite plain. Lembins has perhaps made the best attempt at its restoration. Postgate would explain the text as it stands, taking stresses. 18: ""and so it (music) is also spointed for the purpose of revenation and analysis. The propose of revenation and an annual three things are employed in like manner." But them the words in littles have to be supplied. With Finds intitude have to be supplied. With Finds to they rank music with all these, and employ then all allike. "SURM. (2009)

cuspoy, ucern an anne. Sexual-flowed so that he of it in illustration of the peasage, but he should not have adduced Get. I if £ f., for in Homer's description of dancing and singing as "ornaments of the form of the state of the state of the state preceives, c. § 8 nate (apr. 8). In higher estimate of these arts as a means or ferinded amounted and the best inteltectual enjoyment. In F2-Flato Adis. I, wideat sense to embrance the whole of the rhythmic arts, music, poetry, and dancing; and wideat sense to embrance the whole of the rhythmic arts, music, poetry, and dancing; and the Hato himself only uses the word to include music and poetry. Her makes for [73] A. YII. 795 S. 813 A E; and distinguishes between imitative dancing and non-imitative, called 'gymnastic' dancing in the narrower sense of the term, 705 E της δρχήσεως άλλη μέν Μούσης λέξιν μιμουμένων, τό τε μεγαλοπρεπές φυλάττουσα άμο και έλεύθερον, άλλη δὲ εὐεξίας έλαφρότητός τε ένεκα και κάλλους τών τοῦ σώματος μελών (Eaton). Aristotle Poet. 1. 5. 6, 1447 a 27 f. finds it necessary to lay special stress on the fact that either this first kind of imitative dancing—or artistic dancing properly so called—or else (as I have assumed) all dancing belongs to the group of imitative arts of the rhythmical or musical class (the defective text of the Poetics admits of more than one explanation, and one explanation can be extorted from the words as they stand, see Vahlen Beiträge zu Arist. Poet. 1 p. 3 [267]). As

to sleep, see n. (990). SUSEM. (1021)
η μάλλον] The second use: for moral
training and formation of character, as

gymnastic tains the body.

4. 88(gower sheards, xafqaw iqhisə)
According to Aristoli's theory, which is
According to Aristoli's theory, which is
aliametrically opposed to that of Kant,
moral vittue is only found where love of
the design of the state of the state
sure and delight. The main thing in the
formation of Chanteter, as Plato transless
sure and delight. The main thing in tendes,
Lamu II. 653 B, C, is to awaken and
render habitual this right feeling of pleasure: see Nic. ESB. II. 9, 1, 100, 15 Gr.
auxiliary and below of \$5.75 without (100, 15).

The state of the

§ 4 ρειν ὀρθῶς, ἡ πρὸς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καὶ πρὸς (IV) φρόνησιν (καὶ γιὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων).

ότι μέν οθν δεί τούς νέους μή παιδιάς ένεκα παιδεύευι, ούκ άδηλον (ού γάρ παίδουσι μαυθάνοντες μετὰ λύπης γάρ ή μάθησις)· άλλλ μην οὐδό διαγωγήν τε παιούν άρμόττε με και ταϊς ήλικίαις άποδιδόναι ταϊς τοιαύταις (οὐδό γάρ βα άτελεί προτήκει τέλου, άλλ ἴσου δι δέξευν ή τών παί» τ

25 fil v PAAd. and P* (later hand), v <ab href="cellpotensistangle">cellpotensistangle, (lat spee heighorius) Design Pathogaru XVIII p. 24. So Heidenhain (De destrinus artium dristations principitis p. 49) who considers the words as a gloss upon 2 spee jacepts. See Comm. n. (1023) in 29 or resurb IP P* (rea over an ensamp) Bit. Susem. in the text, ye much P* Newman Class. Rev. VII. 365 n. 11, resurb Mr. perir William, First parents Bit. Pearler Filled, rich results Rev. VII. 365 n. 11, resurb Mr. pearir William, First parents Bit. Pearler Filled, rich results Reis, r e cellpotensisting pearler Villam, First Pearler Villam, Pearle

\$ 24, b 30, c. 2 \$ 8, 1122 b 7 f., and many other passages. In the same way the moral judgment is confused and moral preception hindered by the wrong and harmful feeling of pleasure and pain, see Wik. Elb. 111. 4. f., 11, 12, a 29 ff., v1. 5. 6, 1140 b 12 ff., and even ordinary pleasures of sense, which are permissible and within the limits necessary, easily debude within the limits necessary, easily debude so that the second seed of the second seed to the second s

§4 The third use: to promote rational enjoyment and the culture of the intelli-

gence. 26 φρόνησιν] Bonitz Ind. Ar. 831 b 4: φρόνησες latiore sensu, syn. γνώσες, έπεornun. The passages cited, amongst them 1288 b 22, 1280 a 12, are sufficient proof that the term is found in Aristotle with the meaning 'intellectual culture,' which is here appropriate, as well as in the kindred sense of 'knowledge' or 'science.' By this additional term Aristotle emphasizes the fact that rational activity as well as rational enjoyment is one element of our highest satisfaction: while c. 5 § 8 he can equally well emphasize the other element by inserting εὐημερίαν και before διαγωγήν έλευθέριον: see n. (1027). There is nothing therefore to justify alteration, bracketing, or transposition. Spengel's suggestion εὐφροσύνην, on the analogy of the second passage, is least open to objection: yet amusement, as well as music, is εὐφροσύνη and Aristotle would hardly have designated amusement as eliquepla. SUSEM. (1023)

27 παιδιάς ένεκα] Comp. Nic. Eth. x.

6 §§ 3—8, 11/6 b 6ff.
28 μετά Μέτημ But Happiness is of μετά Μέτημ But Happiness is of μετά Μέτημ But Happiness is of μετά Μέτημ But Happiness is painful, teaching is difficult: 1,338 a. G. The inference is obvious. If learning is painful, teaching is difficult: belief that effection is no more than cramming: see PL Μέτη. 345, 8, 518 G. and Aristotle's own comparison of the sale of ready-made commodities De Soph. El. 33 § 17, 18 a. 3—8 (Butchen). On the pleasures of learning see Kheft. 1. 17, 1371 a 31 ff. b, 4 ff., also the application.

tion to art, Poet. c. 4 § 4, 1448 b 12 ff. 29 Tel See IV(VII). 3. 1, 1325 a 19, n. 30 οιδέ γαο ατελεί προσήκει τέλος] Döring p. 137 is right then in saying that the young are incapable of enjoying art either as an amusement (παιδιά) or by deriving from it the highest intellectual gratification: although it is really only in the latter sense that the 'enjoyment' of art can be spoken of. For the rest of the passage cp. c. 6 § 2, n. (1062). In IV(VII). 14 § 9 ff., 15 § f., cp. n. (903), Aristotle says intellectual training is the highest aim of education, and moral training only a means thereto; while v(vIII). 3. 6 he says that even for the highest intellectual gratification we need to be educated and to learn certain things, adducing (c. 3 § 2 f.) the fact that the ancients considered Music in this sense a part of education: cp. n. (993), n. (1000). This inconsistency can only be reconciled by assuming (a) that in the passages from IV(VII),— παιδευτέου 1333 b 4, την τών έθών μελέτην 1334 b 16, την έπιμέλειαν b 25-be does δων σπουδή παιδιάς είναι χάριν ἀνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ (IV) τελειωθείσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ᾶν ἕνεκα δέοι

μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ (p. 136)
35 Μήδων βασιλεῖς, δὲ ἄλλων αὐτὸ ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν

εστής ηδουής καὶ τής μαθήσεως; καὶ ηὰρ ἀναγκαίου βόλτιου ἀπεργάζεσθαι τους αὐτό τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργου καὶ τέχνην τῶν τοσούτου χρόνου ἐτιμελουμένου ἄσου πρός μάθησιν μόνου, εἰ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖ διαποιεῖα αὐτούς, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν

40 θύρων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς ἀν δέοι παρασκευάζειν ἀλλ. 8 τ ἄτοπου. την δ΄ αὐτην ἀπορίαν έχει καὶ εἰ δύναται τὰ ήθη « βελτίω ποιείν ταύτα γὰρ τί δεὶ μανθώνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ. 1333-b οὐς ἐτέρου ἀκούονται ὁρθῶς τε χαίρειν καὶ δύνασθαι κρίνειν, ἄσπερ οἱ Διάκανες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ μανθάνοντες διμο δὲύ.

ώσπερ οι Λακωνες; εκεινοι γάρ ου μανθάνοντες όμως δυνανται κρίνειν δρθώς, ώς φασί, τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ §8 χρηστὰ τῶν μελών. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κάν εἰ πρὸς εὐημε-

33 δέα! δέι Π¹ (emended by corr.¹ of P¹) || 35 δε omitted by P² Ek. || 36 καὶ < δενεν Susem., [καί] Spengel, κού Madvig || 39 τὰ τοκαίτα after δεί Π² P² Ek. || 40 δε omitted by Π¹ || 1330 b 1 καὶ transposed to follow δένσσθει Spengel, perhaps rightly if § 3, a 24</p>

1339 b 1 καł transposed to follow δίνασθαι Spengel, perhaps rightly if § 3, a 2. δίνασθαι is to stand \parallel 4 εt Π^1 P⁴, εξη $\mathbb{P}^{2.3.5}$ Sb Tb Ar. Ald.

not use education in the corbaries sense in which it is neglicied to the education of the young up to their twenty-first year, and $\{\theta\}$ that, as appears from c, $c \le 8$, δ , m, $to(x_2)$, $\delta \le m$, $\delta \le$

n. (875) on IV(III) 13; S. SUBBLI (1089) § 8 32 milest yelpe whopfen yeroµlewed] In itself this is really not incoµlewed] In itself this is really not inco-\$ \$ 11, n. (1005). SUBBLI, (1020) 3.5 \$ 80nAvta] So Philip of Macedon: I PILL Pitz Perific c. p., p. 23 s. f. o & ΦOMBRIC upon the desire for the detripe ψharms and regueste ferrer "Oke along the substitution of the substitution of the White was the substitution of the substitution of the Adh. and who these rate Moderns tripes άγωνιζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα θεατής γιγνό-

§ 6 37 dπεργάζεσθαι] The absolute use: give a performance. Note that πεπουμένουν is perfect of the middle ποιείσθαι (έργων).

39 τὰ τοιαῦτα] All such subjects as afford an amateur enjoyment.

40 δψων] We find δψοποιητική an example 1. 7. 3, 1255 b 26, and condemned as δουλική ἐπιστήμη. Comp. also III. 11. 14, 1282 a 17—23, III. 4 \$\frac{8}{2}\$! 11—13, 1277 a 23—b 7; on the whole varieties by VIIII. 8 \$\frac{8}{2}\$ a 2.6

principle v (viii) 3 §§ 3-6.
§ 7 41 Sourau] The subject is $\hat{\tau}$ powerdy, but to find it expressed we must
return to § 3, a 22—24, though it is obscurely indicated a 37 by abrò robro, i.e.
the execution.

1339 b 2 ékélvol ydp kth] See notes (1011, 1024): also c. 5 § 17 nn. (1022, 1044, 1045): comp. c. 6 § 1 ff. with nn.

(1061, 1066). SUNEMA. (1098)
§ 8 4 6 8° Cárðes hóyos (17h). Here
the concession already made with regard
to amusement and recreation (§ 5, m.
1025) is extended to intellectual enjoyment, see m. (1024); namely that musical
instruction during youth may possibly

5 ρίαν καὶ διαγωγήν έλευθέριον χρηστέον αὐτή· τί δεῖ μανθά- (IV) νειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκο-7 πείν δ' έξεστι την υπόληψιν ην έχομεν περί των θεων ού γάρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀείδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῦς ποιηταῖς. ἀλλά καί βαναύσους καλούμεν τούς τοιούτους καί τὸ πράττειν οὐκ το ανδρός μη μεθύοντος ή παίζοντος.

§ 9 άλλ' ἴσως περὶ μὲν τούτων ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον: ἡ δὲ πρώτη V ζήτησίς έστι πότερον οὐ θετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡ θετέον, καὶ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παι-14 δείαν ή παιδιάν ή διαγωγήν, εθλόγως δ' είς πάντα τάττεται § 10 καὶ φαίνεται μετέχειν. ή τε γάρ παιδιά χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς έστι, την δ' ανάπαυσιν αναγκαίον ήδείαν είναι (της γάρ διά τών πόνων λύπης ιατρεία τις έστίν), και την διαγωγήν όμολογουμένως δεί μη μόνον έγειν το καλον άλλά καὶ την 19 ήδουήν (τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐστίν): 811 την δε μουσικήν πάντες είναι φαμεν των ηδίστων, και ψι-

6 γρωμένων] γειρουργούντων Flach | 8 άδει P6, άδει Bk. | 13 παιδιάν ή παιδείαν Vettori¹, perhaps rightly | 14 παιδιάν | άρετην ? Jackson

serve as preparation for the elevated enjoyment of music in riper years. Cp. also nn. (Q21, 1023). SUSEM. (1027)

γ ὑπόληψιν] See Bonitz ad Meta. 1. 1. 2, 981 a 7, b 6, p. 41, p. 47 f.: Waitz ad 66 b 19, Org. 1. p. 523. Such 'un-proved assumptions,' like other & books,

contain a germ of truth.

8 ô Zeòs] Schlosser thinks that here Aristotle has forgotten Apollo. On the contrary the mention of Zeus, the highest divinity, alone, is quite intentional. As to representations of Apollo and other gods with the cithara or lyre (cp. n. 1071), see particularly L. van Jan De fidibus Graecorum (Berlin 1859), pp. 17, 20 f., 24 ff. Zeus is not among the

1,7 at 1, 24 n. Zeus is not among the number. SUSEM. (1028) d\lambda \text{kn} \text{ kn} \ See n. (982), Exc. 1. to this book, and c. 6 \(\) 4, c. 7 \(\) 8 13, 14 with n. (1067). SUSEM. (1029)

10 Plato Laws II. 665 Df. πῶς που γεγρόμενος πρεσβύτερος δένου πρὸς τῶς φδάς μεστός, και χαίρει τε ήττον πράττων τούτο καὶ ἀνάγκης γεγνομένης αἰσχύνοιτ' άν μᾶλλον.

§ 9 11 ботеров] I.e. с. 6 § 1, 1340 b 20 ff. where this point is again taken up. See n. (1060). SUSEM. (1030)

13 παιδείαν] The end to which

Plato confined all poetry and all art: see Butcher Some Aspects p. 317 ff.

"Aristotle allows that for childhood the use of poetry and music is to convey moral instruction"...but "for the grown man the poet's function is not that of a teacher, he is only so by accident" p.

§ 10 17 larpela rus] This has been

s to 17 corpan vog 1 ms has been set forth c. 3 § 4, φαρμακείας χάρν: cp. n. (989). Susem. (1031) 18 μη μόνον έχειν το καλόν κτλ] The highest intellectual (or aesthetic) enjoyment implies the highest nobleness (το καλόν), because it is the highest activity of soul: it implies the highest pleasure, because from this highest human activity flows the pleasure appropriate to

it: see n. (002) on c. 3 § 5. Susem. 19 \$ξ duφοτέρων τούτων] Cp. c. 3 \$\$ 3, 4 (μεθ' ήδουῆε), with nn. (988, 991, 999): also IV (VII). I. 6, 1323 b I f. τδ tῆν εὐδαμώνων ετ' ττ τῆν χαίρων ετ' ἐν ἀρετῆν ετ' ἐν ἀμφοῦν, n. (698). SUSEN.

(1033)§ 11 20 41/1/2] Instrumental music. unaccompanied by the voice: § 17, 1340 a 12 ff. ἀκροώμανοι...χωρὶς τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ των μελών αὐτών.

Comp. Nic. Eth. 1. 9. 1, 1098 b 25, IX. 8. 9, 1169 a 20-25: also VII. 11. 2, 1152 b 6, c. 13. 2, 1153 b 14 (Newman).

λην οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ μελφδίας (φησὶ γὰρ καὶ Μουσαῖος εἶναι ε βροτοίς ήδιστον ἀείδειν-

διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγάς εὐλόγως παραλαμβάνου-24 σιν αὐτὴν ώς δυναμένην εὐφραίνειν), ώστε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολάβοι (> 137)

§ 12 αν τις παιδεύεσθαι δείν αὐτήν τοὺς νεωτέρους. ὅσα γὰρ ἀβλαβή τών ήδέων, οὐ μόνον άρμόττει πρὸς τὸ τέλος άλλά καὶ πρὸς την ανάπαυσιν έπει δε έν μεν τω τέλει συμβαίνει τοίς άνθρώποις όλιγάκις γίνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ άναπαύονται καὶ χρώνται ταῖς παιδιαῖς οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον ἀλλά καὶ 30 διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, χρήσιμον αν είη διαναπαύειν εν ταις ἀπὸ

21 γάρ Π¹, γοῦν Π² Bk., δὲ P6 | 24 ὑπολάβοι after 25 ἄν τις Π² Pδ Bk., avoiding hiatus | 28 γενέσθαι? Susem. | 29 καὶ διὰ] δι' αὐτήν Spengel, but the text can give the same sense

21 Movoulos] Not an historical character, but a mythical personage. Under this name went a variety of ancient poems, the real authors of which were poems, the real address of which were unknown, including (a) hymns—Pausanias, 1V. 1. 4, maintains that a hymn to Demeter is by Musacus, and is the only genuine fragment of his which has been preserved—(β) oracular responses (χρησμοί); collected by Onomacritus of Athens under the direction of Hipparchus and esteemed of such importance that Onomacritus was banished from Athens for the interpolation of a single line, which was discovered by Lasus of Hermione: Herod. vII. 6, vIII. 96, IX. 43: also (γ) a gnomic poem addressed to his son Eumolpus, referred to by Plato Repub. 11. 363 C, called 'Eumolpia' by Pausanias, x. 5. 3, but 'Υπο-θῆκαι, 'Precepts' or 'Advice,' by Suidas. Susem. (1034)

23 διαγογάs] The plural has a concrete meaning 'social gatherings,' 'the more playful forms of social intercourse,' approximating to wastels, from which disγωγή is in general carefully discriminated. Comp. n. (921), and III. 9. 13, Nic. Eth. x. 6 § 3, § 8 there cited. SUSEM.

24 και έντεύθεν] In order that in mature life they may find in music a recreation: cp. c. 5 § 5 with nn. (1024, 1025). The difficulty there raised, as to why in that case boys should learn to sing and play themselves, has been postponed for future discussion: § 9, n. (1030). SUSEM. (1036)

The order of the words in H1 must be modified. There is authority for \$\$\psi_{\pi 0}\$ λάβοι τις αν, 1265 b 6: or we might comp. 1277 a 32, κάντεῦθεν ἀν κατίδοι τις. Yet as at § 14, b 39, all MSS. give ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι, we should probably adopt

the same order from Π² here. § 12 25 άβλαβη τῶν ἡδίων] A Pla-tonic conception: Phil. 51 A—52 B, 66 C, Rep. II. 357 B al ήδοναί δσαι άβλαβείς, Laws II. 667 D, E. The harmless pleasures, especially those of imitative art. "conduce both to our great end, Happiness, and to rest by the way. Few men have the fortune to find themselves at the goal. All, however, take frequent rest

goal Ani, nowered, take request test and pastime" (Jebb).

27 ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει γίνεσθαι] An unusual phrase, which must mean τοῦ τέλους τυχών, to achieve that highest end of life. Possibly the following is a burlesque of some encomium on music: εὐθὺς ἀπο-λαύει τῆς τέχνης ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μανθάνειν, καὶ άμα τε άρχεται και έν τῷ τέλει έστίν, Luc. De Parasito 14.

29 ούχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον] "Not merely for the sake of a good beyond it, but also for the sake of the pleasure." Even the man who spends his leisure in contemplative activity requires a change: the most cultivated would then seek repose not in difficult but in easy music, though not perhaps such music as is described c. 7 § 7, 1342 a 22 ff., cp. nn. (1097— 1099). But Congreve is right in calling attention to the fact that in Nic. Eth. x. 6. 3, 1176 b 6 ff., virtuous activities and pleasant pastimes (al ἡδεῖαι τῶν παιδιῶν) are declared to be the only two things

which men pursue purely for their own sakes and with no other end in view. Susem. (1037)

\$13 ταιτηνς ήδουαίες, συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῖς ἀπθρώπους ποιεῖσθαι ὁ τὰν παιδιάς τέλος ἔχει γάρ Ισως ήδοθρώγι τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ. οὐ τὴν τιχοῦται, ξητοῦντες δὲ ταίτην, λαμβάνουσω ὡς ταίτην ἐκείνην, διὰ τὸ τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων 3 εξων ὁμοίωμά τι. τό τε γάρ τέλος οἰδενὸς τῶν ἐσομένων χάρν αἰρτόν, καὶ αὶ τοιαίται τῶν ήδουῶν οὐδενός εἰοτ τῶν

33 δè omitted in II¹ (supplied by corr.¹ of P¹) || 34 τψ̂ omitted by P⁴-6 S⁵ L⁰ Ald. || 35 ὁμοίωμα (μα over an erasure) P⁵, ὁμοιώματα II³

31 radwys] rijs passusju. 31 incident to men to regard their pastimen sa neid. The expression night have been an end. The expression night have been the result of the res

38 Yea vig. ... 37 Mersyl. "The true med, no doubt, it insught with pleasure too,—though not of the commonplace pleasure, men mistake it for the true pleasure, some mistake it for the true pleasure, because it is a limit image of that to which all their actions tend. The true end is desirable independently of things to come desirable independently of things to some the common state of the common state o

With of vip regionize cp. 18(VII). 6, 8, 128 b 17 (where Affices of r broych does not mean an extraordinary number, but a 128 b 17 (where Affices of r broych does not mean an extraordinary number, but a 18, 15, 15 fb 1, 16 of by of vir progions and vip secondary blowly result for the progions of the proceedings of the polaryter. Take referredary 30As the polaryter. Take referredary 30As the polaryter. Take referredary 30As the polaryter of the

a 2 f. 34 δud τὸ τῷ τίλια... ἔχειν ὁμοίωμα τι) One consequence of the similarity here explained is that men forget the essential difference, viz. that the higher intellectual pleasure contains its end in itself, whilst ordinary sensuous pleasure, so far as it is

harmless and necessary, has its end in recreation, becoming (when used at the right time and in moderation) something positively useful and not merely harmless Cp. c. 3 §§ 1-4 with n. (988). Döring op. c. p. 107 f. points out the apparent inconsistency with the parallel passage Nic. Eth. x. 6. 6, 1176 b 27 ff., quoted in that note, but without attempting to clear it up. In the Ethics Aristotle says: Happiness does not consist in amusement. For amusement is closely connected with recreation, and man needs recreation because he is not capable of supporting unbroken exertion. Consequently recreation is not an end but a means to activity. ούκ ἐν παιδιά ἄρο ή εὐδαιμονία. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὸ τέλος εἴναι παιδιάν, και πραγματεύεσθαι και κακοπαθείν τὸν βίου ἄπαντα τοῦ παίζειν χάριν. άπαντα γὰρ ώς εἰπεῖν ἐτέρου ἔνεκα αἰρού-μεθα πλήν τής εἰδαιμονίας. τέλος γὰρ αὕτη. σποιδάζειν δέ και πανείν παιδιάς χάρις ήλίθιου φαίνεται καὶ λίαν παιδικόν. παίζειν δ' δπως σπουδάζη, κατ' 'Ανάχαρσιν, δρθώς έχειν δοκεί, άναπαύσει γάρ ξοικεν ή παιδιά: άδινατούντες δὲ συνεχώς πονείν άναπαύσεως δέονται. οὐ δὴ τέλος ἡ ἀνάπαυσις: γένεται γὰρ ἔνεκα τῆς ἐνεργείας. Here the end of recreation is said to consist in the work to be done, not the work already done, and rightly enough: recreation is naturally to lead from the labour of the past to new labours. But although a man may know this very well, nevertheless, in the midst of recreation (if it is to be a real and enjoyable rest) he will forget the fact, and without any thought of future labour give himself up entirely to a feeling of satisfaction at having happily ended the past toils, for which the present holiday is a recompense and restorative. This appears to me to be the idea which Aristotle wishes to express in the Politics in contradistinction to the idea in the Ethics. Cp. also n. (1143). Susem. (1038)

εσομένων ένεκεν, άλλα τών γεγονότων, οδον πόνων καλ λύ-(V) § 14 πης. δι ήν μέν ούν αιτίαν ζητούσι τήν ειδαιμονίαν γίνεσολα διά τούτων τών ήδονών, ταύτην είκότως το τις ύπο-40 λάβοι την αιτίαν πεολ δε τού κοινωνεύν της μονσικής, ού «

διά ταίτητην μάνην, άλλα καὶ διά τό χρήσιμου είναι πρόξε \$18 τός ἀναπαίσεις, εἰς διοιεει. οἱ μήν άλλα ζητητέου μή ποτε τινο τοῦτο μόν συμβέξηνες, τιμωσέρα δι αὐτῆς ή φίσεις ἐστιν ή τίνο κατά τὴν εἰρημένην χρείαν, καὶ δεὰ μὴ μόνου τῆς κοιυῆς ἡδενηῆς μετέχεια ἀπ΄ αὐτῆς, ῆς ἔχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (ἔχει γὰρ ή μουσική τὴν ἡδονηὴν φισικήν, διὸ πάσαις ἡλιείανες 5 καὶ πάσιν ἡθέσιν ἡ χρήσις αὐτῆς ἐστι προσφιλιής), ἀλλ' ορᾶν ἐπ με αὶ πρός τὸ ἡδος συντένει καὶ πρός τὴν ψυγήν.

§ 16 τοίτο δ΄ ἀν εἴη δῆλον, εἰ ποιοί τινες τὰ ἤθη γινόμεθα δι΄ 37 οἰω omitted by II¹ (supplied by corr.¹ in P¹), [οἰω] Susem.¹ penhaps rightly II 39 εἰσέτνα after ἀν τα II'Pē Bk. II 40 τὴν εἰτίεν transposed by Flach to follow 41 μόνν pl. 41 διά....4 εἰων supposed to be defective. [διά] Spregel: Syltmer conjectured a lacuna after 42 ἀναπώνευς Κοπαεί οπο επίθε 42 διακον, Schmidt the loss of «οἰωθε hê διώ» before 4 du δτ. Susemill of «οἰωθεν ἀντίν» after 4 μίνα».

Yet it may be sufficient to understand βηνούσω (αὐτὴν) from the preceding | <πάντων μάλωτα> χρήσιμων οι χρησιμώνταν Flach, perhaps rightly 1340 a 1 ἡ φύσιε αὐτῆν ἐστω P¹, ἐστῶν ἡ φύσιε αὐτῆν Γ M² Susem.¹. a | 6 πχ] τι P¹ and P⁴ (corrector) | The second πρὸν is omitted by M² P¹, [πρὸν] Susem.¹, perhaps rightly

1341 8 10

§ 14 38 & fiv plu of alrian kth. Sec § 1339 a 41 fm. (1021). Susset. (1089) Notice the repetition of alrian, and the omission of a verb with repl & rol recvered. It is best with Flach to repeat elidrus & res brokdfor, understanding spreaded or riberfor. Sec Quaest. crit.

call, p. 449.

§ 15 42 pri ποτε τοῦτο μὰν σταβββηκε, πημιαντίρα δ' κτλ] For the use of μένε while, see π. (828) on c. 2 § 5, 1337
b 15. "Let it be granted that such service is incidental to Music. Still we must ask,—Does not the nature of Music range above this sphere of service?" (βebb). The real complement to χνηντέον is the

clause introduced by δέ.
1340 a 3 ἔχουσι...αίσθησιν]=αίσθά-

1340 ii 3 * *χουντ...αμογρισμού με αυσομοτικα 1. 2. 2, 1253 a 17. 4 διό πάσαις...προσφιλής] Cp. c. 6 \$8, 1341 a 15, τῷ κουψ τῆς μουτικῆς π. (1069). SUSEM. (1040) The pleasure is natural, i.e. it is κατὰ φόσω. In this sense used of self-love ii. 5, 8, 1263 b 1; and

III. 6. 5, 1278 b 30.
6 et πη και πρός το ήθος συντείνα]
"Whether Music has not somehow a bearing on the character." So c. 6 § 7,

sad spis vyb wyxfo). Evidently an emphatic expression, 'the scale's depthatery and the scale of the scale of the pastime of recreation results also affects the scale it is the scal and not the body which feels pleasure [ep. N. E. x. 6. 5. and the scale of the scale and the body which feels pleasure [ep. N. E. x. 6. 5. and feer the preciping comparison between all feers or e-four face of feet of \$0.00 MeV. After the preceding comparison between templative enjoyment of elevared mental scale of the scale of the scale of the scale of the method of the scale of the scale of the whether Music is explained for whether Music is capable of producing a higher chical delight, as well as & support,'t contains the scale of the scale o

for it is this with which Aristotle in the context is chiefly concerned. Susem. (1041) § 16 7 πουοί τινε τὰ τῆθη] So c. 6 § 16, 1341 b 18, πουοίν τινει τὰ σύματα. Cp. also 11. 5. 23, 1364 a 30, where τὸ ποίουν τινει είναι τούτους whether they are to be communists or not. The idiom are to be communisted or not. The idiom

αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γινόμεθα ποιοί τινες, φανερὸν διὰ τ πολλών μὲν καὶ ἐτέρον, οἰχ ἡκιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τόν 'Ολύμιιο που μελών ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογουμένος ποιεῖ τὰς γυχὸς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ΄ ἐνθουσιασμός τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡθους ξι πάθος ἐστίν. Επ. δὲ ἀκρούμενα τῶν μυμήσιων γύνωνται πάντες στημπαθείς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ράψων καὶ τῶν μιλῶν αἰτῶν ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκε τὴν μουσικήν εἰναι τῶν ἡδέου, (α. 15)

15 την δ' άρετην περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθώς καὶ φιλεῦν καὶ μισεῦν, <καὶ> δῆλον ὅτι δεῦ μανθάνειν καὶ συνεθίζεσθαι μηδὲν οὕτως ὡς

8 road...9 δè roi conitet by PES-Te Ar. Ald. and P²⁶⁴ (1st hand, supplied in enargin of P² and by a later hand in the mangin of P², afterwards created) | ψωτρίν] δίβων P² | 1 g δτήρως D.λων P² | 1 z δτι δè] δτεπδή Sinsent. who transposes 1z δτεπδή...t, 4 σδτών to follow 13 rossferos, a transposition approved by Spender 1se Interd. p. 90 | 11 g δτα δè] δτ δè vida change in the punctuation (a series of separate clauses replacing the one long protosis); or if the punctuation tentined, fro δ δ-σδτο Sinsent | 1 τ γρ μουκερό pater des un IP-Pi B. | 1 fo sal added by Sustem. | δ δρω δτι δε Γ P. δε δέβων δτι Bit., δε δεβωνίτι M·III Ar. and P(corr.), δολοκτίτ P. Ita hand).

is used to include two alternatives, e.g. πότερου πρῶσι ἡ ὀργίλοι, ἀνδρεῖοι ἡ ὀειλοί (Newman).

9 διά τῶν 'Ολέμπου μελῶν] On this exciting ecstatic music, see Excursus II. p. 621 and c. 7 § 4, 1342 a 8, n. Susem. (1042)

10 ταύτα γάρ κτλ] "It is undeniable that they rouse the soul to esstasy, but to esstasy is an emotional state of the moral nature." On ecstasy and ungovernable excitement generally as wrought by Greek music, see Excursus III. p. 622 ff.

Susem. (1043) § 17 The clause ἔτι δὲ...αὐτῶν is not a further reason for inferring woods rwas διά της μουσικής γίνεσθαι: it gives the ground for the reason already alleged in § 16. If the melodies of Olympus inspire ecstasy, that is because they express ecstasy: quod rhythmis et modulationibus eundem animi affectum exprimebant. And why does such an effect follow upon such a cause? 'Quia eosdem omnino semper in auditoribus omnibus excitant affectus, qui eis exprimuntur, rhythmi atque modulationes': Quaest. crit. coll. p. 420. Hence #71 requires emendation, and the whole clause finds a better place below. There is no difficulty in taking xwpls as an adverb: apart from the words, when the performance is instrumental solely (ψιλή). Susem. There is possibly a tacit correction of Plato who in Laws II. 660 E condemns instrumental music without words: & οίς δή παγχάλεπον άπευ λόγου γεγνόμενον βυθμόν τε καί άρμονίαν γεγνώσκαν, δ τί τε βούλεται καί ότω δους το δελλένου το πολοτί

focer the decolorus μισματιων.

14 that θε... bi 3 vlovs] This is all one portentous period (monstrum periodi, perhaps the most extended in Aristotle), employed to formulate the second reach of the inference ποιοδε τιναι διά τῆς μουσικής τ/ρεσθα.

The first clause Ped., rive Webs Infina necessity 32, 349, 515, 717. The succeeding clauses are continually interrupted by parenthetical remarks: still the logical conference, if harder to detect in a 1, reconstitution of the conference of the continual flat of the continual flat of the conference o

be used to educate the moral nature, § 24.

15 την δ' άρετην...μισείν] With this and what follows comp. n. (1022). Observe that moral, not intellectual, virtue is here intended. SUSEM. (1044)

16 δεί μανθάνειν κτλ] "and clearly

το κρίνειν όρθως καὶ το χαίρειν τοῦς ἐπιεικέσιν ἤθεσι καὶ (V) \$18 ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν, ἔστι δὲ ὁμοιώματα μάλιστα παρά ε τὸς ἀληθωὰς ἡύσεις ἐν τοῦς ἡυθμοῖς καὶ τοῦς μέλεσιν ὁργῆς το καὶ πραότητος ἔτι δ΄ ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάντανν τῶν ἐναιτίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλοων ἡθικῶν (δῆλον δ΄ ἐκ τιτῶν ἔργον» μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ την ψυχηλ ἀκροόμενοι τοιούτων, 13 < ἐπειδὸ ἀκροόμενοι τῶν μιμόσεων γἰνονται 13 <πάντες συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὸς τῶν μυθμῶν καὶ τῶν μελῶν \$19 <αὐτῶν >), 33 ὁ δ΄ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίως ἐθισμός τοῦ λυπτάσθαι καὶ

12 frach) Susem, et à l' Π Ar. Bk. Susem. în the text. See Comm. crit. cell.
p. 419 f. !! depoduereu untranslated by William, poduereu emitted by the 1st hand of Bh', leaving a lacuna, supplied by a later hand || 13 των before μόμων omitted by Γ and M' (1st hand, supplied by a later hand), ~των λόγων δελ> των 2 Susem. 1-2, pechass ighthy.

no study, no self-discipline is so important as that of rightly judging and rejoicing aright in worthy characters and noble actions." Evidently the term μανθάνειν is used in a narrower sense here for the development of the intellect. Although we are only concerned with the education of \$60s, character, still no iffuri doern, no moral virtue = excellence of character, exists apart from φρόνησις, practical wisdom or insight: and the converse is true, Nic. Eth. VI. c. 12 § 8-c. 13 § 6, 1144 2 20b 32. Also there is no true pleasure apart from a right moral and aesthetic judgment. But judging is a function of the intellect and not of the will. Comp. also c. 5 § 7, n. (1026), c. 6 § 1-4, nn. (1061, 1066), and Excursus I. SUSEM. (1045)

17 το κρίνειν όρθως] Cp. Nic. Eth. Χ. 9. 20, 1181 a 17 fl.: ώστερ οὐδε...τό κρίνειο δρόδι μέγιστον, ώστερ ότ τός κατὰ μουσικήν. οἱ γὰρ ἔμπειροι περὶ ἔκαστα κρίνουσιν όρθως τὰ ἔργα (results: in music, the performances).

xalpear rols letraskieru RtA] Comp. n. (1101); le. Excursis v. SUSEM. (1048) § 18 However true it is that melody has an emotional import, a comparison of popular airs soon reveals a wide diversity in the means employed for its expression. Even in the rendering of joy and melancholy different races may be altogether opposed. Some prefer minor keys for iovous airs.

19 τds dληθινds φύστας] The real things, objects. As in 1256 b 14, γdλακτος φύσω (see n.), the content of φύσις is greatly reduced.

21 και τῶν ἄλλων ήθικῶν] Music can

give the fullest expression to all the moral virtues and vices, and to all the emotions without exception, e.g. fear and pity. Such is Aristotle's view (Liepert). Cp. Excursus III. and n. (1089). Susem.

§19 Aristotle fully believes, as Plato had done before him, that an educated ear and correct musical taste are no inconsiderable aids to a right discipline of the emotions. On the other hand, the Epicurean Philodemus maintains a negative attitude to all the fundamental propositions of the Peripatetics and Stoics respecting Music. He appears to be controverting in his De Musica the arguments of Theophrastos and Diogenes of Babylon. He denies that Music is ulunous and musical strains ομοιώματα τῶν ἡθῶν. He further denies that music can effect any change in character; fr. 55 Kemke τας δὲ μειμήσεις... αὐτό πως άγαν καὶ κί[νεῖν] τὸ πάθας. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ λελεγμένα τ[ην] μουσικήν και το μιμοί με να ύπ αθτής πρός άρετην [έπ]ωφελείν τι, μάλλον δέ ή [με]τά τών μυρίφ μιμητικώ[τέ]ρων, διεψευσμένον έδείκνυμον, also B. IV. col. III. 23 ff. αὐδὲ γὰρ μιμητικὸν ἡ μουσική, καθάπερ τινὲς ὁνειρώττουσω, οὐδ΄ ὡς... οῦτος [Diogenes, the Stoic] ὁμοιότητας ήθων οθ μιμητικάς μέν έχει, πάντως δέ πάσας των ήθων ποιότητας ἐπιφαίνεται τοιαύτας έν αις έστι μεγαλοπρεπές και ταπεινόν και άνδρώδες και άνανδρον και κόσμιαν καὶ θρασύ, μάλλον ήπερ ή μαγαρική (Kemke's restoration De Musica p. 65). Though we too have the saying, 'Let me make the songs of a country, and I care not who makes its laws,' the belief in a peculiar ethical influence of music is quite

χαίρειν έγγύς έστι τώ πρός την άλήθειαν τον αὐτον έγειν (V) 25 τρόπου (οίου εἴ τις γαίρει τὴυ εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος μὸ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μορφήν αὐτήν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτω και αὐτην ἐκείνην την θεωρίαν, οῦ την εἰκόνα θεωρεί, § 20 ήδειαν είναι), συμβέβηκε δὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοις 7 άλλοις μηδέν υπάρχειν ομοίωμα τοις ήθεσιν, οίον έν τοις 30 άπτοις και τοις γευστοις, άλλ' έν τοις όρατοις ήρέμα (σχήματα γάρ έστι τοιαύτα, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μικρόν, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα όμοιώματα [τῶν ἡθῶν], ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γινόμενα

27 καί] κατ' Μ' PI, καθ' Γ | αὐτήν Γ, αὐτοῦ Ar. Lambin Scaliger Bk,2, perhaps rightly | ἐκείνου Lambin Scaliger Bk.2, perhaps rightly | οῦ after τὴν εἰκόνα Μ* P1 (thus causing hiatus). William translates 27 Kal aurip ... 28 elvas in this order: illam visionem, cuius videt imaginem secundum se esse delectabilem | 22 άλλ' έπί μικρόν after 31 τοιαθτα Γ Π Ar. Bk. Snsem.1, transposed to follow 32 κοινωνοθσιν by Spengel, Susem. 8-3. Ed. Müller (pp. 348-353) discovered the error, but conjectured <ού> πάντες without any transposition. Welldon transposes 31 και πάντες... 32 κοινωνούσιν to precede 28 συμβέβηκε, wrongly | έτι δὲ Γ Π Ar. Bk. Susem.1, έπει Heidenhain op. cit., έπειδή Susem.2, see Comm. n. (1050) | 33 [τῶν ἡθῶν] Flach Susem.8

foreign to the modern world. In fact, we suspect it to be based on an exag-

gerated estimate of the influence music has in its own sphere.

27 την θεωρίαν (έκεθνου) οῦ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ: the contemplation of the original

must also give him delight.

§ 20 This is maintained even more strongly in the Problems: XIX. 29, 920 2 3, διά τί οἱ βυθμοὶ καὶ τὰ μέλη φωνή οὖσα ήθεσιν ἔοικεν; ή ὅτι κινήσεις εἰσὶν ὧσπερ καὶ αὶ πράξεις; ήδη δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐνέργεια ήθικὸν καὶ ποιεί ήθος: so XIX. 27, 919 b 26 ff., esp. b 35 al 82 κινήσεις αύται πρακ-20 in, esp. 0 35 at or surpress at rat π partical elow, at δt πράξεις flows σημασία toris. This points to an exaggeration of the rhythmical element: see Butcher op. c. p. 271 ff. Ordered movements reproduce the moral life which is itself an activity, i.e. a movement.

1.c. a movement.

29 τοῦς τῆθεστυ] For the meaning see
Exc. III. p. 622 ff. Comp. also generally
n. (1084). SUSEM. (1048)

30 ἀλλ ἐν τοῦς ὁρατοῦς] We may

translate "The objects of sight do indeed in a slight degree, [present an image of moral affections]—since forms have this moral suggestiveness, and the perception of it is universal, though it does not go far. Besides, these forms are not images [of moral character]: forms and colours are rather symbols of the characters on

which they usually attend." It is not a little surprising to be told that the strongest impressions are not conveyed through the eye, but through the ear.
31-32] The words άλλ ἐπὶ μικρὸν are

a poor qualification of τοιαθτα, which they follow in the MSS. Moreover the next sentence needs some limitation, which fact led E. Müller to alter to ou mayres. The slight transposition makes all right. 31 σχήματα] There is no word which denotes all that is signified by σχήματα,

viz. forms, gestures, bodily motions generally, including figures and attitudes in dancing (cp. σχηματίζειν). Statuary, it should be remembered, imitates by forms only: painting by forms and colours, only: painting by forms and cooms, Port. c. 1 § 4, 1447 a 18 ff. with n. (4) of my edition. Cp. also Athen. xiv. 620 b, ξετι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων δημιουργών ἀγάλματα τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀρχήσεως λείψανα. SUSEM. (1049)

32 Eri &i] To make this a second point of dissimilarity is awkward. The slight alteration to exercit makes it the explanation of the preceding unlikeness. SUSEM. (1050)

ούκ ἔστι..όμοιώματα..άλλα σημεῖα]
"Painting and sculpture working in an inert material cannot indeed reproduce the life of the soul in all its variety and successive manifestations. In their frozen § 21 σχήματα καὶ χρώματα τῶν ἦθῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ (V) 35 σώματος εν τοις πάθεσιν ου μην άλλ' όσον διαφέρει και περί την τούτων θεωρίαν, δεί μη τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρείν τοὺς νέους, άλλά τὰ Πολυγνώτου κᾶν εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν γρα-

34 σχήματα omitted by SbTb and P4 (1st hand, added in the margin) | ταῦτ' Π2 P5 Ar. Bk., ταὐτ' Döring (Kunstlehre des Aristot. p. 151) wrongly | ἀπό] ἐπὶ Π2 Po Bk. and pl in the margin | 36 mds ones Pastos St To La Ald. and Pd (1st hand)

and arrested movement they fix eternally the feeling they pourtray... Still shape and line and colour even here retain something of their significance; and their meaning is helped out by symmetry, which in the arts of repose answers to rhythm." Butcher, Some Aspects p. 274 ff. The element lacking in painting and sculpture, but present in music, has been called "ideal motion." Plato, Phaedrus 250 A ff, makes the most lustrous copies of the ideas to be apprehended by sight: Thompson ad loc., "by ooa rima duyais he seems to mean moral ideas, among which he proceeds to show that beauty alone has its clear antitype on earth."

34 χρώματα] Blushing and paleness would serve for examples, Nic. Eth. IV. 2. 2, 1128 b 11 ff. (E. Müller). SUSEM. (1051)

καί τουτ'...35 πάθεσιν | I.e. in a state of emotion a man reveals his inner self by his outward appearance. These words are incorrectly explained by Döring op. c. p. 150 f. and the text is slightly altered by him to suit the meaning. But he does well in calling attention to the fact that, whilst Aristotle rightly enough makes music and the creative arts excite in the spectator the same states and processes of feeling as are represented, on the other hand the emotions evoked by tragedy and epic poetry are fear and pity, the object for representation in both kinds of poetry being that which excites fear or pity then the third that the third that the pay (Peet. c. 18 4, c. 14 § 1), just as in comedy it is that which excites laughter (cyklów, Peet. c. 5 § 1). Yet Aristotle nowhere expressly adds:—"and not fear or pity itself," or "and not that emotion itself which finds expression in laughter;" he nowhere expressly speaks of a difference in this respect between Tragedy, Epic Poetry, and Comedy on the one hand, and Sculpture, Painting, and Music on the other. It is therefore very doubtful whether he was ever conscious of this contrast, and Döring seems to have been the first to follow up this idea, suggested by Aristotle. However,

both Aristotle, in assigning to tragic and epic poetry as their only result the excitement of pity and fear, and Döring in insisting upon the difference between poetry and the imitative arts, have overlooked their similarity. Do we not, apart from fear and pity, take pleasure in the noble and high-minded characters brought before us? Does not the overpowering pathos of the emotions they exhibit take us out of ourselves, inspiring us with a faint measure of similar feelings Take the charming scenes between Odysseus and Nausicaa, which form an cospects and reasonal, which form an essential part of the plot: what have they to do with fear and pity? Their charm consists rather in the vividness with which they call up before us the noble disposition of the maiden in all its shrewdness and naïveté, its natural innocence and sprightliness, and the hero's feelings under this severest test of his constancy, with the manly spirit, at once firm and tender, which he displays on

in and tender, which he displays on this occasion. Susem. (1062)

36 δεί μη τὰ Παύσωνος...ἀλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου] Polygnotus of Thasos, the creator of the 'art' of Greek painting, flourished after the Persian wars. Cimon brought him to Athens, and he became an Athenian citizen. Thus his work falls in that stirring period so full of the rapidly unfolding promise of Attic art. Pauson was rather younger, as he is often Pauson was ratner younger, as he is often ridiculed by Aristophanes, Arh. 854.

Therm. 949, Plut. 606. See Poet. c. 2 § 1, 1448 a 5 f. Πολύγνεστος μέν γλα πρείττοις, Παύσων δὲ χείρους, Διονόσιο δὲ όμοίους εἰκαξεν: the one was a master of ideal representation, the other of caricature. In Fost. c. 6 § 15, 1450 a 26 ff. clor καὶ τῶν γραφέων Ζεῦξις πρὸς Πολύγνωτον πέπουθεν ὁ μὲν γὰρ Π. ἀγαθὸς ἡθογράφος, η δὲ Ζειξέδος γραφή οὐδὲν έχει ήθος. Polygnotus is held up for praise in contrast to Zeuxis. It would seem his strength lay in the portraiture of character and that he drew noble characters. We see then that a 38 ήθικός must be understood in the sense proposed Exc. III.

φέων ή τών ἀγαλματοποιών ἐστιν ήθικός), ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέ·δε
ξει λεσι αὐτοῖς ἔστι μιμήματα τών ήθων (καὶ τοῦτ ἐστὶ φανεκρόνε ιδικός γὰρ ή τών ἀρμονών διέστηκε φύσις, ὥστε ἀκουτος ἄλλως διατίβεσθαι καὶ αὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνειν τοόπον

41 έχειν after τρόπον P1 and perhaps Γ, έχει P4

ra (roca) p. 674. As the originator of the victical style, pure and self-contained, of which the Farthenon frieze is the highest embolisment, Folygorous, "the Raphast of antiquity," these the same complete. Fauncies of the self-contained and the self-c

June 2 natur. Donn. p. 199 if. Comp. also iv (VII). 17. 10 with π. (963) and Introd. p. 52. SUSEM. (1053)

38 έν δὲ τοῦς μέλεσιν αὐτοῦς κτλ]

"Melodies on the other hand contain in themselves imitations of character.13 Prof. Butcher has written an able commentary on this op. c. p. 267 ff. Premising that upon the Aristotelian conception of fine art as ulunous "a work of art is a copy or likeness of an original, and not a symbolic representation of it," he shows that "the various arts reflect the image from without by different means, and with more or less clearness and directness. Music in most of its forms was, by Aristotle, as by the Greeks generally, regarded as the most 'imitative' of the arts. It is a direct image, a copy, a reflection, of character....Not only states of feeling but also strictly ethical qualities and dis-positions of mind are reproduced by musical imitation, and on the close correspondence between the copy and the original depends the importance of music in the formation of character." He in the formation of character." He forcibly contrasts the exactly opposite modern view. "We generally think of nusic quite otherwise. The emotion it suggests, the message it conveys, corresponds but little with a reality outside itself. It is capable of expressing general and elementary moods of feeling, which will be variously interpreted by different hearers. It cannot render the finer shades of extra-musical emotion with any degree of certainty and precision. Its expressive power, its capacity to reproduce in-dependent realities, is weak in proportion

as the impression it produces is vivid and definite.' § 22 40 1 τῶν ἀρμονιῶν Φύσιs] Be-sides its general meaning of 'music,' 'musical sounds' (for which see § 25 below; the soul assumed to be a 'harmony' άρμονία has a special musical signification : scale, octave, definite succession of notes. Unfortunately 'harmony' in modern music has totally different associations: as a technical term in music it denotes the 'combination of simultaneous sounds' or parts-in fact, part-writing, something almost (not quite) unknown to Greek musicians, for which their word is συμφωνία. The best rendering for the technical term άρμωνία is not 'key' or 'scale', but Mode, a term which still survives in musical treatises where Major or Minor scales are more correctly designated scales 'in the Major or Minor mode.' Comp. the Miltonic description of the Dorian Mode, Paradise Lost 1. 550 ff. 'to the Dorian mood | Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised | To highth of noblest temper heroes old Arming to battle, and instead of rage Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved | With dread of death to flight or foul retreat; | Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage, | With solemn touches, tronbled thoughts, and chase | Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain.' See further Excursus IV on Greek Music generally, p. 624 ff. SUSEM. (1054) Trans. "So essentially distinct in nature are the several musical modes that they produce a corresponding variety of mood and do not affect the hearers alike. Some, like the mixo-Lydian, cast us into grief and gloom; others, the relaxed modes, soften the spirit; another will produce a sober and sedate frame of mind, an effect which seems peculiar to the Dorian mode: while the Phrygian excites to ecstasy." For the non-musical reader we may sum up thus: the Dorian was the old national minor scale of Greece; the Lydian and Phrygian two foreign major scales (from a modern standpoint abnormal), borrowed from their neighbours by the Greeks of

Asia.

πρὸς έκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν ἐνίας ὀδυρτικωτέρως (V) 1340 ο καὶ συνεστηκότως μάλλον, οίον πρός την μιξολυδιστὶ καλουμένην, πρός δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρως τὴν διάνοιαν, οἶον πρός τας ανειμένας, μέσως δὲ καὶ καθεστηκότως μάλιστα πρὸς 4 έτέραν, οΐον δοκεί ποιείν ή δωριστί μόνη των άρμονιών, ένθου- (p. 139) § 23 σιαστικούς δ' ή φρυγιστί—ταῦτα γὰρ καλώς λέγουσιν οί περί 9

την παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλοσοφηκότες λαμβάνουσι γάρ τὰ μαρτύρια των λόγων έξ αὐτων των έργων... τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπου έχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ρυθμούς, οι μέν γὰρ έχου-9 σιν ήθος στασιμώτερον οι δε κινητικόν, και τούτων οι μεν

1340 b 1 συνεστηκώτως P8 (1st hand), συντετηκότως Madvig, συνενοφότως Schmidt μετολυδιστή M^a and perhaps Γ. Similarly b 4 δωριστή M^a P⁴ S^b T^b and perhaps Γ | 5 φρυγιστή Sb Tb Mt (1st hand) and perhaps Γ | 6 παιδείαν Ar., παιδιάν ΓΠ η δè Π¹ Paris. 2042, γὰρ Π² Pö Bk., untranslated by Ar. | 8 τὰ omitted by Π³ Pö and P1 (1st hand, supplied by corr.1), untranslated by Ar., [72] Bk.2 | Exourt after o žθos Π2 P5 Bk.

1340 b 1 συνεστηκότως] Affect the spirit with restraint, 'oppressively'. For this effect of the mixo-Lydian mode Plato vouches and accordingly banishes it, Rep. 308 b 1. tives of physioless depurdus; Michaeleri, Epn. end eutromobility of the control of the cont ην δ' έγώ, άφαιρετέαι - άχρηστοι γὰρ καὶ γυναιξίν, ας δει έπιεικείς είναι, μη ότι άνδράσω.

2 Thy Siavoiav] Not the subject of the infinitive (έχειν or διατίθεσθαι) but the adverbial acc. after it.

3 Tas aventivas] The modes called here "relaxed" are obviously those which Plato calls xahapal, Rep. 308 E: Tives ούν μαλακαί τε και συμποτικαί των άρμονιών; Ίαστί, ήν δ' ός, και λυδιστί, αίτινες χαλαραί καλούνται. The terms refer to pitch: ἀναμένη (χαλαρά) = low, lowpitched, σύντονος = high, high-strung. See Pratinas Frag. 5: μήτε σύντονου δίωκε, μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν Ἰαστὶ μοῦσαν, άλλα ταν μέσαν...νεών άρουραν αλόλιζε τυ μέλει....πρέπει τοι πάσιν ἀοιδὰ λαβράκταις Alohis apporta (Athen. XIV. 624 F). Plainly the Aeolian mode or 'key' is described as intermediate to 'high-pitched Ionian,' and 'low Ionian,'

§ 23 5 οἱ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην π.] Amongst others, no doubt, Aristotle refers to Damon mentioned in n. (1054), i.e. Exc. IV p. 630, whose inquiry into the different effects (nos and masos) of the various modes and rhythms, probably a special work on the subject, is quoted as an authority by Plato Rep. III.

400 B (cp. IV. 424 C). Also to the author of that arrangement of the Modes which to that aringement is the incodes winco-he has adopted c. 7 § 3, (?) Aristoxenus, see n. (1083); probably also to his fellow-pupil Heracleides of Heracleia in the Pontus Athen. XIV. 624, C, who preferred to call the three chief Modes by Greek names, Dorian, Acolian, Ionian. Damon was also a politician, an associate of Pericles: most probably it was he who Pericies: most probably it was he who started the idea of providing pay for the Dicasts and Bouleutae (μωθθε δικαστικόs, μ. βουλευτικόs), as Wilamowitz Hermes XIII. 1880. p. 318 ft. has shown. Cp. II. 12. 4, π. (408). See 'Aθ. Πολ. c. 27 § 4, p. 76, 5 ed. Kenyon: πρὸς δη ταύτην την χορηγίαν (sc. την Κίμωνος) απολειπόμενος τή ούσία, συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Οίηθεν (δε ἐδόκει τῶν πολιτικῶν εἰση-γητὴς εἶναι τῷ Περικλεῖ, διὸ καὶ ἀστράκισαν αύτου Εστερου), έπει τοις ίδιοις ήττατο αυτον υστερον), επει τοις ισιοις ηττατο διδόναι τοις πολλοίς τὰ αὐτών, κατεσκεύασε μισθοφοράν τοις δικασταίς: also Frag. 364, 365 Rose in Plut. Per. c. 4, c. 9 and Plut.

I.c. c. 4. Steph. Byz. s.v. "Ou, Susem. (1055) Plutarch however may have confused

Damon the musician with a Damonides. the politician (Gomperz).

7 τον αύτον δέ τρόπον κτλ] "As with the different Modes, so is it with the different times or measures. Some measures have rather a grave character, some a brisk one; of the latter, again, the movements are sometimes less, sometimes more refined." On Rhythms in Greek Music, see Exc. IV. p. 632. SUSEM. (1056)

10 φορτικωτέρας έχουσι τὰς κινήσεις οδ δὲ ελευθεριωτέρας), (V) 17 < καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια ταῖς ἀρμονίαις καὶ 18 < τοις ρυθμοίς είναι (διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν, οί

§ 24 19 < μεν άρμονίαν είναι την ψυχήν, οι δ' έχειν άρμονίαν)> έκ τι μέν οὖν τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς 12 ήθος ή μουσική παρασκευάζειν, εί δὲ τοῦτο δύναται ποιείν,

δήλου ότι προσακτέου καὶ παιδευτέου ἐν αὐτή τοὺς νέους. § 25 ἔστι γὰρ ἀρμόττουσα πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἡ δι-15 δασκαλία της μουσικής οι μέν γάρ νέοι διά την ήλικίαν ανήδυντον ούδεν ύπομένουσιν εκόντες, ή δε μουσική φύσει των

10 έλευθερωτέρας apparently Γ Ar. | 17 καί τις...19 άρμονίαν transposed by Böcker to follow 10 ελευθεριωτέρας. See Introd. p. 90 | 17 cognatio ad animam one codex of William's translation, as if Γ had <πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν> ταῖς ἀρμονίαις || 18 < ήμῶν> εἶναι Ar., <μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς> εἶναι Conring, <πρὸς ἡμᾶς> εἶναι ? Reiz, <πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν> εἶναι Bk.2, adopting another conjecture of Reiz, perhaps the best | 14 έστι Γ P6, έστι P1, έχει all other authorities | γάρ Susem., δὲ Γ Π Ar. Bk. Susem. I in the text | approjówras P4L Ald. | 16 de Endurou P4, de ή divarde P1L. 17 Kal Tis Youke ... 19 donoviay The

transposition is recommended by Böcker for the simple reason that the words in the traditional order do not suitably follow on the remarks immediately preceding, that music is adapted for the education of the young. If we could be certain that Aristotle always fitted in his notes at the right point, and never turned back to a subject he had just dismissed, this would be ample justification: see Böcker's own remarks p. 32 (cited above

Introd. p. 95 n. 5).
17 συγγένεια] Butcher compares Pl.
Τίπ. 47 D, ή δε άρμονία ξυγγενείε έχουσα φοράς ταϊς έν ήμων της ψυχής περιόδοις. 'Musical tones and measures have a certain affinity'—the context plainly shows the meaning to be 'with the soul': but the extraordinary brevity and allusiveness of Aristotle's style seem to have permitted the ellipse. The Aristotelian text-books, οἱ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοι, were composed, it should be remembered, for the members of the school; in their peculiar terminology, Diels observes, they resemble a system of shorthand to which only the pupils possess the key: and he compares Galen De sophism. XIV. 585 K. σίνηθες δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο τάχος τῷ φιλοσόφω και καθέπερ έπι των σημείων έκφέρειν τὰ πολλά και διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκηκούτας ήδη γράφεσθαι.

18 πολλοί τῶν σοφῶν] This was a Pythagorean doctrine. After them two pupils of Aristotle, Aristoxenus, who had

previously been trained among the Pythagoreans, and Dicaearchus held this same view without any essential difference: same view without any essential difference: see Zeller Phil. d. Griechen 1.8 p. 444 (ed. 4 p. 413), H. ii.8 p. 888 ff. Eng. tr. Pre-Socratics 1. p. 476. SUSEM. (1007) The earliest evidence is Plato Phaedo 85 g. on which see the note of Mr Archer Hind who thinks Simmias must be the exponent of a widely received opinion. The examination of this doctrine in De-Anima 1 c. 4 assumes that ἀρμονία = κρᾶσις, a blending of diverse or opposite elements (λόγος τις τών μιχθέντων ή σύσθεσις): and so Simmias in one place of the Phaedo 86 B, though again he compares the soul to the music or tune i.e. something immaterial played upon the material lyre, which answers to the body. The present passage certainly favours the latter interpretation of the ambiguous term άρμονία.

19 of δ' έχειν άρμονίαν] Pl. Phaedo 93; the soul has in it virtue, which is a harmony. Cp. Susemihl *Plat. Phil.* I. p. 440 f., 443. SUSEM. (1058)

§ 24 11 φανερόν ότι κτλ] The problem of § 15, 1340 a b, is thus solved. And in b 16 we have an echo of 1340 a 14. § 25 14 fort ydo] Quae secuntur

causam afferunt, cur ad iuvenilem potissimum aetatem aptissima sit musicae exercitatio. Quare hoc quoque loco ydo pro 82 scribendum esse crediderim.

16 ή δὲ μουσική φύσει κτλ] "Music

ήδυσμένων έστίν. και τις ξοικε συγγένεια ταις άρμονίαις (V) και τοῦς ρυθμοῦς είναι (διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οῦ μέν άρμονίαν είναι τήν ψυχήν, οί δ' έχειν άρμονίαν).

6 πότερον δὲ δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἄδοντάς τε καὶ χειρουρ- VI 21 γούντας ή μή, καθάπερ ήπορήθη πρότερον, νύν λεκτέον. ούκ άδηλου δὲ ὅτι πολλήν ἔγει διαφοράν πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι ποιούς τινας, εάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνή τῶν ἔργων εν

24 γάρ τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡ χαλεπῶν ἐστι μὴ κοινωνήσαντας § 2 τών ἔργων κριτάς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους. αμα δὲ καὶ δεῖ τοὺς παίδας έχειν τινά διατριβήν, καὶ τὴν 'Αργύτα πλαταγήν

17 ήδυσμάτων ? Bywater || 20 τούs inserted before αὐτούs by Π¹ || γειραγωγούντας Sb Tb L. Pa Ald., χρηραγωγούντας P4 | 22 δη P1 2-3 perhaps rightly | 24 τοθε inserted before με by Susem.1, and perhaps by Γ | 26 doχύτου Π2 P6 Bk. and Pt (corr.1)

has this sweet seasoning in its nature." Nevertheless we were told, § 4, that the actual process of learning even music is

troublesome and painful. Susem. (1059) c. 6 Practical instruction in music is indispensable: §§ 1, 2. Nor is some measure of skill in execution unsuitable or degrading: §§ 3-8, provided wind-instruments and technical subtleties be ex-

cluded from the educational course: \$8916. Cp. Anal. p. 119.
\$ 1 20 Xepoupyourtas] Apparently only here and c. 78 3, 1342 a 3, in the sense of 'playing on a musical instrument,' 'becoming performers,' and so 23 received r viv bryow, where topic musical performances, as below b 36 f. and in

Nic. Eth. X. q. 20, 1181 a 20.

21 πρότερον] C. 5 §§ 4-8. Comp. 5 §§ 9, 10 with n. (1030). Susem. (1060) 22 πολλήν έχει διαφοράν] See c. 2 22 πολλήν έχει διαφοράν] See c. 2 § 6. Here 'it makes a great difference' =it is a great advantage: multum prae-

23 ξν γάρ τι κτλ] This is directly opposed to the Spartans' boast, c. 5 § 7, 1339 b 2 ff. cp. nn. (1026, 1045). SUSEM. (1061)

25 κριτάs] Amplified below, § 4, 1340 b 38 f. Cp. c. 5 § 17. § 2 26 διατριβήν] Occupation; somewhat analogous to a pastime for re-creation, and still more like the highest intellectual pursuits of the adults: though in the case of boys neither the one nor the other is yet possible, c. 5 § 4, n. (1024): cp. Döring p. 137. Susem.

'Aoxúra] A famous Pythagorean phi-

losopher of Tarentum.-For the foundation of Tarentum, see VIII (v). 7. 2 n. (1592), for its fortunes ib. 3 § 7 n. (1517), for its constitution VII(VI). 5. 10 n. (1441): also n. (141).-Archytas was a friend and contemporary of Plato, and also renowned as a mathematician, general, and statesman. He was seven times στρατηγέε, the highest political and military office in his native city, an honour not usually conferred more than once upon the same citizen; he led the army to victory in several wars (Diog. Laert. VIII. 79, 82) and was for a long time the leading statesman of Tarentum (Strab. VI. 280). Plato made his ac-quaintance on his first voyage to Sicily, and it was through his diplomatic mediation that Dionysius the younger at last allowed Plato to depart in safety on his third journey (Diog. Laert. VIII. 70, III. 22). Archytas was a man of excellent character, and his interest in education as well as his kindness towards his slaves is shown by the story that he delighted to get their children about him and teach them himself (Athenodor, in Athen, XII. 510 b). The rattle which he invented became proverbial (Athenodor, I. c.), cp. Aelian Var. Hist. XII. 15, Suidas s. v. Apxiras, Poll. 1x. 127). No very definite opinion can be pronounced upon his merits as a man of science, since the writings bearing his name were for the most part forgeries. Fragments of several of them are extant: of these the fragments from the beginning of a work upon Mathematics can hardly be assailed, whilst the work upon Acoustics was cerοδεσθαι γενέσθαι καλώς, ήν διδόασι τοῦς παιδίως, ὅπως (VI) χρώμενοι ταὐτη μηδὲν καταγρίωστ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ γὰρ δύναται τὸ νέον ἡσυχάζειν. αὕτη μὲν οὕν ἐστιν ἀρ-3ρ μέττουσα τοῦς νηπίως τῶν παιδίων, ἡ δὲ παιδεία πλαταγή τοῦς με(ξοι τῶν νέως).

§3 ὅτι μὲν οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ κοινωνών τῶν ἔργων, φαιερὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ 2 3 μη πρέποτ ταῖς ἡλικίαις οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι, καὶ λῶσαι πρὸς τοὺς \$4 φάσκοντας βάναυσον εἰναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. πρόπον μὲν γάρ, (1-140 ἐπεὶ τοῦ κρίνειν χάρν μετέχειν δεὶ τῶν ἔργων, διαὶ τοῦτο χρὴ νέους μὲν ὅντας χρῆσθαι τοῦς ἔργους, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ γειομένους τῶν μὲν ἔργων 'ἀφείσθαι, δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ

a7 reverbus Γ Pl. Myeofbus Koraes, wrongly \parallel a9 depairreous after 30 role reprinted Π^{2} Pl Bis. \parallel 30 resultine Pl. and also Pl Aid. We with all other authorities Ar Bis. \parallel 31 and consisted by Π^{2} , [car] Semen. \parallel 32 ry respectors Reis Bis. 2 per haps Mr, yerposhoves P^{1} , younghous P^{1} , younghous P^{1} , younghous P^{2} ,

tainly not genuine, see Westphal Marze ed. 1, p. 71. But at any rate the science of Icometry was substantially at waced by him (Frock on Each p. 19). tempt at solving the problem of squaring the cube (Enden. Fr. 110. Speng. Eratosth, quoted by Eatok. in Archim. Key Sph. 715; 413, 60. and Dieg Laert. Lee, p. 870-87. Sph. 30. and Dieg Laert. Lee, p. 870-87. Sph. 1975; 417. Sph. 1975; 417. Mechanics methodically according to geometrical principles (Dieg. Laert. Lee, p. Favor in Gell. X. 12. 9, 1, Vitrov. VIII. 178-41). See Harrissein De Archysta Ti-178-41). See Harrissein De Archysta Ti-178-41). See Harrissein De Archysta Ti-178-41. See Harrissein De Archysta Ti-178-41. See Harrissein De Archysta Ti188-41. Carrispe 'On the France Leening 178-32. Carrispe 'On the Ti178-41. See Harrissein De Archysta (Testin 1840). Zeller 94. 1. 1. p. 267. III. ii. p. 88 f., 91 f., 178 f. SUSSEAL (1085).

30 Learning to play an instrument will keep them out of mischief.
§ 3 33, το δε πρέπων] The fortifications of the city are to serve as an ornament, IV (VII). It. II, 1331 a II. The Lydian Mode suits youthful singers

δεί τὸ δένασθαι κόσμον έχειν ἄμπ καὶ παιδέας, τ. 7 § 15, 1342 b 30. L. Aristotle's σονι πασοαπι ο Τέτρητίκη Τράβε ν. 5. δ, 135 ε 15, is ναμαι: παίτον έντι τὸ καλύν απι ερέτον. The above usages in this consistent of the above usages in this End. (III. δ. 1, 1933 a 34, τὸ μὸν τὸς πέρτον ἐκ κόμον μέτον, ζοι. 1933 b γ κατ άξιων έντι» (in making grace or charm the leading feature).

34 Stopferus sad Morual Define and refute the objections of those who maintain that to take up music practically is detended to the property of the country of the country of the country of the country of the sphere fluckeries ref bybye, Reful. II. 25. 1, agon 23. 46. 25. 1692 a 36. Artistotle's agon 23. 46. 25. 1692 a 36. Artistotle's capital enough of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the country of the country of the Artistotle's agont of the country of the count

Meta. B. 1. 2, 995 a 28.

35 βάναυσον] Repeated § 5, b 41, § 6, 1341 a 7. Comp. notes (103, 982, 1080). SUSEM. (1065) § 4 Some degree of skill in execution

§ 4 Some degree of skill in execution is needed to make a connoisseur.

36 τοῦ κρίνου χάρω] Comp. mn. (1026, 1045, 1051). SUSEM. (1066). 37 πρεσβυτίρουs δὶ γυνομίνους] Except at a drinking party, or in jest c. 58 m. (1027). See also c. 7 % 3, 14 w. 16 m. (1113); 1V(VII). 17, 11 m. (966). Comp. Introd. p. 56. SUSEM. (1087)

39 χαίρειν όρθῶς διὰ τὴν μάθησιν τὴν γενεμένην ἐν τῷ νεότητι (VI) § 8 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσειν ἢι τινες ἐπιτιμότιν ἀς πιοιόσης 3 τῆς μουτικῆς βαναύσους, οὐ χαλεπὸν λόσια σκεψαμένους μέχρι τε πόσου τῶν ἔργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν 1341 απαδευομένοις πολιτικήν, καὶ ποίων μελών καὶ ποίων ἡυθμῶν κοινωνητέοι, ἔτι δὲ ἀν ποίος ὁργάνοις τὴν μάθησιν § 6 ποιητέον, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρειν εἰκός, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ λύσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως οἰδὲν γὰρ κωλίει τρόπους τινὰς ς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀπεργάξεσθαι τὸ λεγθέν.

φανερου τοίντυ ότι δεί την μάθησιν αὐτης μήτε έμποδί « ξευ πρός τὰς ευτερου πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σύμα ποιεύν βάνουσον καὶ διχηριστου πρός τὰς πολεμικός και πολιτικός ἀστιγείς, πρός μός 81 τὰς μαθήσεις ήδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς χρήσεις ευτερου. συμβαίνοι δ΄ 10 ᾶν περί τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δηώνας τοὺς τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπουδείε, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ περιττά τῶν έργων, ὰ νύν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὸς ἀγώνος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν 8 ἀγώνου εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι περ ἄν δύνουται χαίρευ τοἱς καλούς μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ 15 μὴ μόνου τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν άλλαν ἔνια Κόων ὅτι δὲ καὶ πλήθος ἀνδοσπόδου καὶ παίδιον.

30 γινομένην Με Ρί

"341 a rankonschred" reArmosphora T Ne 1 g suchhora-xughene Boigenen, χρήσω-μαθρόνου Γ ΠΑτ. Bl. Sussem. ³ in the text. But Spengel transposed θήθη and
for-χρον, which is also possible. Schneider, who discovered the error, proposed to
transpose 8 πολεμακέν από πολεπικά derejeves από g χρήσετε; [χρήσεα] από [μαθρόνει]
(Gitting | 11 γ απόλε Μτ Ρ 1 | από inserted after Δολ λο μ Π Ρ Ρ βείν, "probably
right, though hard to interpret" Newman, Δλλά <πατλ> Madvig | 1 γ κουκωώ Μ*
P PH (corrected by p P)

§ 5 The censure passed on music implies that the pursuit of excellence as a performer degrades the youthful citizen into a professional. It is remarked in Exc. 1. p. 620, that the feeling of the Greeks in the fourth centry towards artistic specialists seems to have varied with the eminence of the artist much more than it does amongst us. While the more than it does amongst us. While the more, the ordinary artist was a mechanic, who had left the true political life for a bread and butter study.

§§ 6, 7 There must be no practising upon instruments which unfit the citizen for taking his part in war and in athletic exercises. Musical training must not be such as to fit the learner for contests of artists. 1341 a 11 rd θαυμάσια καλ περιττα]
"Brilliant pieces of extraordinary difficulty." Even in the present day it would be sound advice to leave these out of the musical education designed for the

young. Susem. (1068)
12 ά νόν θεήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγώνας
κτλ] Comp. Athen. Κιν. 629 δι, καὶ τὰ
σχήματα μετέφερον ἐντεύθεν (sc. ἐκ τῆς
χειρονομία) εἰς τοὺς χορούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χορῶν
εἰς τὰς παλαίστρας.

§8 13 τὰ τοιαθτα] I.e. the practice of pieces not thus excluded, on instruments (such as the lyre) which are not prohibited μέχρι περ=only until.

14 Comp. with this stock phrase c. 5 \$ \$17—10. This tends to form character.

15 τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς] Cp. c. 5 \$ 15, 1340 a 4 with n. (1040) on τῆν

(VI)

δήλου δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέου. \$
§9 οὕτε γιὰρ αὐλούς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέου οὕτ ἄλλο τι τεχνικόν
δργανου, οἶου κιθάραν κὰν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ἔστιν, ἀλλ'
πόσα ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἀκροατὰς ἀναθούς ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς παι-

18 π omitted by $\Pi^a P^s$ Ar. Bk. \parallel 19 Ello ésta Π^a , Ello ésta P^4 (corr.), étecén ésta with all other authorities Bk. \parallel 20 valdüs Γ M^a

whether h denotes h. Aristotle means that senson charm, that tickling of the ears, produced by every kind of music, good or add, simply as music by its native means of expression, harmony, melody, rhythm. Senson, 1998, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 1999, 199

τών άλλων ένια ζώων] The limits of any such appreciation of musical sound by the animals are strictly defined Ead. Εth. III. 2. 8, 1231 a 2 ff.: αθδεν γάρ, δ τι καὶ δέξων λόγου, φαίνεται πάσχωντα [sc. τάλλα θημία] αὐτη τῆ ἀκροάσει τὸν εὐαμβοτων, εἰ μὴ τὶ που συμβέβνηκε τερατώδει.

rober. See also being Usually translated by fant. But in reality the instrument land for the control of the co

of the negrotor end By these words Anistotle excludes every instrument except the dispus, or bye, also called φόρμες in Homer (as L. van Jan conjectured to be the case before Westphal; though on insufficient grounds, as appears to me, he afterwards withdrew the conjecture, and pronounced πίθαρε and φόρμως to be the same as πίθαρε to the stime.

from Mpa). The lyre was the most ancient and the most easily handled of Greek stringed instruments: beside those here represented Jan gives (p. 45) other shapes of the lyre and κιθάρα.



Kepion a pupil of Terpander, Plut. De musica c. 6, 1233 C, invented the καθέρα about 700 B.C. This was the ordinary instrument used by professional players and solo-singers. It possessed greater resonance, being of the shape here shown.



See Westphal Getch. der alten Musik p. 86 ft.; cp. L. van Jan De fiddius Graccerum p. 5 ft. Plato Rep. 1v. 399 D permits both Lyre and κιθόρα to be used in
teaching: on the other hand, he restricts
the instruction to be given to a yet greater
extent than Aristolde. Comp. Lares vit.
812 c ft., and infra c. 7 § 9, n. (1105).
SUSEM. (1971).

20 αὐτῶν=ὀργάνων. The gen. παι-

δείας ή τής ἄλλης ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ήθικὸν ἀλλὰ (VI)
μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τούς τοιούτους αὐτῷ καιρούς
χρηστέον ἐν οἰς ή θεωρία κάθαροιν δύναται μᾶλλον ή μά-

§ 10 θησιν. προσθώμεν δὲ ὅτι συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον πρὸς 25 παιδείαν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αἴλησιν. (p. 14: διὸ καλῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ

τών νέων καὶ τών ελευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι το πρώ-ε § 11 του αυτώ. σχολαστικώτεροι γιὰρ γενόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας καὶ μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον

21 β sal P | 8 rt & P Π Ar. Susem.³ in the text, fr. δ' Bk., êreabŷ Susem.³ ii our'n M, id ijnsen William | 23 δοσεπι before κάθαρου Γ, after μάλλου ΠΡ P Bk., thus allowing histus | 24 αντίγ after θενεπίοι ΠΡ PB Bk. αντίσιβη histus | 28 γσύρεσε Schneider, γυώρεσε M* P¹, γορσόμεσε ΠΡ PS Bk.³ | 29 τψ omitted by PS T Ad. Bk.

δelas must depend on ἀγαθοό: 'such only as will improve the hearers of them in respect of their musical or general education.'

21 The change of \$\vec{e}r_1 & \vec{e}t \text{ is the defended Quaest. crit. coll. p. \$\vec{e}21\$: Aristoteles disit quidem v. 17 sqq. \$\vec{e}p_1 & \vec{e}7\$: Ar notrue sea troots \$\vec{e}p_1 \vec{e}sos \vec{e}7\$: Ar notrue sea troots \$\vec{e}p_1 \vec{e}sos \vec{e}7\$: For a condum docuit cur hoc sit \$\vec{e}p_1 \vec{e}8\$: \$\vec{e}7\$: For a condum docuit cur hoc sit \$\vec{e}7\$: Secuntur demum hac causse. Eigo hoc quoque loco non \$\vec{e}7\$: \$\vec{e}7\$: Seripsis, set for a condum for the \$\vec{e}7\$: Seripsis, set for a condum for a c

έπειδή. Susem.

22 opytaorusóv] I.e. it produces an ecstatic frame of mind, it intoxicates with excitement and elevation of the feelings. This appears plainly from c. 7 §8 3.4 , 8, 0. Cp. also c. 5 §8 2.7 , 23, Excursus IV. p. 628 nn. (1054, 1092), and especially

n. (1107). Susim. (1072)
Susim. (1072)
Susim. (1072)
Susim should mean expressing orgies or fanatical excitement. It is because this wild, excited music interprets the excesses of religious frenzy, that it also accompanies and stimulates them. See

π. on c. 5 § 17.

"στε πρός τοὺς τοιούτους κτλ] " Hence
the flute should be used at such times
when the effect of the concert is to purge

 tion as to its relation to the recreation which music affords (παιδιά, ἀνάπαιστε), or the full aesthetic enjoyment which belongs to διάγωγή, the highest intellectual gratification. See p. 638, Excursus v.

n. (1101). SUSSIM. (1073)

Besides its literal meaning cleaning (cablepo) which is necessarily vague, eachtoper has two definite metaphorical actions of the control of the

26 Probably & implies that they not only 'disallowed its use' but excluded it or withdrew it from the hands of the

only disanowed its use but excluded it or withdrew it from the hands of the young. So 1336 b 7, 1321 a 25.
§ 11 28 σχολαστικώτεροι] More fitted for leisure, qualified to use it intelligently on with the conditions.

fitted for leisure, qualified to use it intelligentity: cp. viti(v), 11. S. enbMyose expolarization. Detter fitted by their intelligentity: cp. distributions after cocletions, even earlier as well as in the full flush of their achievements after the Persian wars they began to lay hold on every form of learning without dissiration, pushing their rerige vibrout dissiration, possing their rerigent possible vibrout and their contraction, active in striking out new paths. 30 καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, (VI) πάσης ήπτουτο μαθήσεως, οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες αλλ' ἐπιζητούντες. διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις.

§ 12 καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμουί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς ηὕλησε τῷ χορφ, και περί 'Αθήνας ούτως ἐπεχωρίασεν ώστε σχεδὸν οί 35 πολλοί των έλευθέρων μετείχον αυτής δήλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος δυ ανέθηκε Θράσιππος Έκφαντίδη χορηγήσας. ύστερον δὲ ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον?

31 ήποντο M* and apparently Γ, ήτταντο Sb | 33 αὐτὸs omitted by Π¹ (supplied in the margin by p1), [αὐτὸε] Susem.1 | 35 ελευθερίων Schneider, perhaps rightly | 26 έκφαντίδι P2.5, ένφαντίδη L*

§ 12 33 The χορηγός was a rich citizen, selected to defray the expenses incurred in the training and equipment of a chorus, whether for lyric poetry, or for comedy or tragedy. So a 36 χορηγήσαs. Susem. (1074)
τῶ χορῷ] This was undoubtedly a
lyric chorus. For dramas proper do not

appear to have been performed at Sparta.

SUSEM. (1075)

34 (mexuplace) As in 1335 a 16 m. The flute was more at home in Boeotia, where it is recorded of Epaminondas, as

something exceptional, that he had learnt to accompany his singing on the lyre.

35 δήλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος] There can be no question this appeal to the 'tablet' resembles that in 'At. #62. w. 7

§ 4 to the statue of Diphilus. 36 πίνακος δν ἀνέθηκε κτλ] The most ancient Attic comic poets of note were Chionides and Magnes, Poet. 3 § 5, 1448 a 34 (cp. 5. 2, 1449 b 3), the next in order Ekphantides and Cratinus, of whose poetry fragments were extant, the oldest of them being from the pen of Ekphantides, who on this account is erroneously described by the anonymous commentator upon Book IV of the Nic. Eth. (IV. 2. 20, 1123 a 23 f.) as the earliest poet of the Old Comedy. We only possess a few insignificant fragments of his, principally quoted by this scholiast; but we know the title of one of his works 'the Satyrs' (Athen. 1. 96 c). See Meineke Fragm. com. Gr. I. p. 35 ff., II. p. 12 ff. At the time when Thrasippus was his choreous. Ekphantides won the first prize The word wira refers to the custom which compelled the victorious choregus to dedicate in honour of himself and his tribe a brazen tripod, with an inscription upon the pedestal, either at the temple of

Apollo near the theatre or at one of the

temples situated in the street leading to the theatre, which from this fact received the name of (robrobes) the street of tripods. The tripod was then as a rule erected upon the temple, but sometimes placed inside it. See Paus. I. 20. I f., cp. Plut.

Them. 5, Demosth. XXI. 6. We possess a considerable number of inscriptions of this kind, which for the most part relate to dithyrambic (cyclic) choruses, and in these the names of the flute-player, the poet or chorus master, the archon, and sometimes the principal actor are meutioued, as well as the name of the tribe to which the choregus belonged and the species of drama represented. Susem. (1076) See however Haigh Attic Theatre p.

52 f. "The memorials of victory erected by the choregi to the dramatic choruses appear to have taken the form of tablets (minases). For instance, Themistocles after his victory with a tragic chorus erected a 'tablet' in honour of the event. It is a trait in the character of the mean man in Theophrastus, that when he has been successful with a tragic chorus, he erects merely a wooden scroll (Char. 22 ταινία Ευλένη) in commemoration of his victory.

37 υστερον δὲ ἀπεδοκιμάσθη] Plutarch, Vita Alcib. c. 2, tells the story that Alcibiades threw away the flute in disgust, with the words αὐλείτωσαν οῦν θηβαίων παίδες οὐ γὰρ Ισασι διαλέγεσθαι. Η ε adds that both by jest and earnest Alcibiades tried to stop the practice of learning the flute: όθεν έξέπεσε κομιδή τῶν έλειθέρων διατριβών και προεπηλακίσθη παντάπασω ὁ αὐλός. The connexion of cause and effect can hardly be accepted. Still, no doubt the famous ablyral who were applauded at Athens were as a rule strangers, and two of the greatest. Anti-

genidas and Timotheus, were Boeotians.

δυναμένων κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν (VI) ε 12 συντείνου όμοιως δὲ καὶ πολλά τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων, 40 οίου πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ήδουὴν συντείνοντα τοις ακούουσι των χρωμένων, έπταγωνα και τρίγωνα και 1341 ο σαμβύκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικής ἐπιστήμης. εὐλόγως δ' έχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων 8

μεμυθολογημένου. φασί γάρ δή την 'Αθηνάν εύρουσαν άπο-§ 14 βαλείν τους αὐλούς. οὐ κακώς μεν οὖν έχει φάναι καὶ διὰ 5 την ασχημοσύνην του προσώπου τουτο ποιήσαι δυσγεράνασαν την θεόν ου μην άλλα μάλλον είκος ότι προς την διάνοιαν

38 και τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν omitted by Mª and Pº (1st hand) | 40 πυκτίδες P², ποικτίδες P4, ποιητίδες P5, πηκτάδες Thomas Ar.

1341 b 1 σαμβίκαι Göttling, Ιαμβοι Π1, σαμβίκαι Π2 P5 Ar. and p1 in the margin, laμβῦκαι Susem. \parallel 2 aνλῶν] άλλων Γ M° \parallel 3 $\delta \eta$ omitted by Π^{\dagger} , $[\delta \eta]$ Susem. † 4 μèν οῦν] enim William, οῦν omitted, a lacuna being left, in M* (1st hand, supplied by a later hand) | 6 θεάν P6 Sb Tb

§ 13 30 πολλά...άρχαίων, sc. άπεδοκιμάσθη.

40 οιον πηκτίδες κτλ] All foreign stringed instruments, on which consult Excursus IV. p. 632 ff. Susem. (1077)
1341 b 3 μεμιθολογημένον] Comp. the
similar reference to legend 11. 9. 8, 1269

b 28, n. (288). εύροῦσαν ἀποβαλεῖν] The Satyr Mar-syas is said to have picked up the flute systs is said to have present up the flute which Athene threw away, and to have played upon it: and for this the goddess punished him. The earliest extant allu-sion to this legend is in a dithyramh 'Marsyas' by Melanippides Frag. 2. d µbr 'Mdbur, Tacpur' lepopte of legis and xeup's | diré 7' lepor' alayxa, odunan hiyas. to which the contemporary poet Telestes replied in his 'Argo' Frag. 1, δυ σοφόν σοφάν λαβοθσαν ούκ έπελπομαι νόφ δρυμοίς δρείοις δργανον | δίαν 'Αθάναν διστόφθαλμου αίσχος έκφοβηθείσου αΐθις έκ χερών βαλείν, | νυμφαγενεί χειροκτύπω φηρί Μαρσύα κλέος. | τί γάρ νω εὐηράτοιο κάλλεος όξθς έρως έτειρεν, | ἄ παρθενίαν άγαμου καὶ άπαιδ' ἀπένειμε Κλωθώ; sec Athen. XIV. 616 e, f. (J. G. Schneider). In other legends the Phrygian Marsyas is himself the inventor of the flute; an enthusiastic singer and flute-player in the service of Cybele, he is, like all Satyrs and Sileni in Asiatic myths, one of the deities of rivers and fountains in the train of the Phrygian Dionysus. In this character he encounters Apollo, the representative of the music

of the κιθάρα, by whom he is defeated and punished. In Lydian legend Pan replaces Marsyas as the rival of Apollo and primers praryes as the rival of Apolio and the teacher of Olympus. See Preller Griech. Mythol. 1. p. 176 f., 508, 510, 576 ft., 585. Hyagnis also, a Phrygian, or Mysian, the supposed father of Mar-syas, was sometimes called the inventor of the flute: and Olympus himself, who was believed to be the pupil of Marsyas, is at one time called a Phrygian and at another a Mysian, pointing to the origin of this kind of music in Asia Minor, whether in Phrygia, Mysia, or Lydia (see Exc. II and IV). The authorities to con-sult for the above are Plut. De musica 14, 1135 E, Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 52 apud Plut. ib. 5, 1132 F, Heracleid. ib. 7, 1133 E, Strabo x. 324, Schol. in Aesch. Persas 933, Suidas s. v. Ohuparos. Comp. Pl. Laws III. 677 D, Symp. 215 C, Ps-Pl. Minos 318 B: and for the whole section

288, 297). Susem. (1078) § 14 6 σὐ μην ἀλλά κτλ] "Not but what a more likely reason is the fact, that instruction in the flute contributes nothing to the culture of the intelligence. For to Athene we ascribe science and art."

Susem. (1079)

For διάνοια cp. n. (1023) on φρόνησις: it has been opposed to ηθος c. 2 § 1, and in 111. 11. 2, 1281 b 7. With περιθείναι 'to invest exploits with importance,'

οὐδέν ἐστιν ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως. τῆ γὰρ ᾿Αθηνῷ τὴν ἐπι- (VI) στήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ τὴν τέγνην.

615 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζο- VII το μεν την τεχνικήν παιδείαν (τεχνικήν δε τίθεμεν την πρός τούς άγωνας εν ταύτη γάρ ο πράττων ου της αυτού μεταχειρίζεται γάριν άρετης, άλλὰ της των άκουόντων ήδονης, καὶ ταύτης φορ-

τικής, διόπερ οὐ τῶν ελευθέρων κρίνομεν είναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, § 16 άλλά θητικωτέραν, καὶ βαναύσους δη συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι· 15 πονηρός γάρ ό σκοπός πρός δυ ποιούνται τὸ τέλος ό γάρ (ρ. 142) θεατής φορτικός ῶν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καί τούς τεχνίτας τούς πρός αὐτὸν μελετώντας αὐτούς 7 τε ποιούς τινας ποιεί καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις): σκεπτέον [δ] έτι περί τε τὰς άρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ρυθμούς, 2

20 [καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν] πότερον ταῖς άρμονίαις πάσαις γρηστέον

7 γλο Susem., δè Γ II Bk. Susem. 1 in the text, cum Ar. | 10 παιδιάν II1 (emended with γρ. prefixed by pl in the margin) | 11 της την Pas La Ald. | αύτοῦ Γ, αύτοι Π | 13 ελευθερίων ? Susem. | 14 βάναυσων Koraes, omitting the comma before καί | 18 ποιούς | πτοίους Lindau (a very rare word), illius modi Ar. as if he had read τοιούτους for ποιούς τινας, τοιούτους? οτ φορτικούς ? Susem. | αύτούς τε ποιούς τινας] ἐαυτῷ ἐοικότας Flach | 19 δ' omitted by P5, [δε] Schneider Susem.1-2, δὲ M*Reiz, δέ P3, δη ? Susem. But it is a repetition of δὲ in the protasis | ξτι] τι P3, τὰ Reiz | 20 [καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν] Bonitz, παιδιάν ? Orelli Aristot. Pädagog. pp. 110-116 | ταις άρμονίαις after χρηστέον Π2 P6 Bk.

§§ 15. 16 With these two sections cp. nn. (103, 982, 1065): also c. 7 §§ 6, 7 n. (1007), and supra III. 11 2 f., 1281 b 5 m.

(565 b). SUSEM. (1080)
12 φορτικής] Because the spectator is φορτικός, b 16. Comp. Poet. c. 26 § 1, 1461 b 27 ff. el γὰρ ή ήττον φορτική (sc. μίμησιs) βελτίων, τοιαύτη δ' ή πρὸς βελτίοις θεατάς: also Laws II. 655 D (quoted in n. on 1341 a 15).

14 θητικωτέραν] Supra 1337 b 21 n. §16 14 συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι] Cp. ούδέν γάρ κωλύει κτλ c. 6 § 6, 1341 a 4 f. 17 airos re] This is rightly opposed

to τὰ σώματα. But whether ποιούς τινας 'of a certain character' should be emended to τοιούτους τινάς = φορτικούς is altogether uncertain. See Ouaest, crit, coll. p. 421.

c. 7 Which musical modes and measures are to be accepted, (1) in general §§ 2-7, (2) for education, §§ 8-15-Which is more important for educational purposes, melody or rhythm (time). The latter questionis not considered. Cp. Anal. p. 120. The subject is discussed by Plato at Rep. III. 397—399. § 1 19 With σκεπτέον commences the apodosis corresponding to a protasis

enel &....kurhoeus, b 9—18: so that unless & is changed to &, it had better (with Schneider and Bonitz) be omitted: Qu. cr. coll. p. 421. The difficulties of this long period are discussed by Bonitz Arist. Stud. III. pp. 95—99 (61—65). SUSEM, Bonitz suggests b 20 the excision of καὶ

πρὸς παιδείαν, (1) because no satisfactory sense can be given to ral, (2) because two questions are distinguished, and it is the second one, beginning at ereera, which has to do with Education. Further he is inclined to extend the period as far as b 32 mepi abrûv, reading éwel ôh at 23, and making souloustes her of begin the apodosis to this (secondary) protasis b 22 erel on ... 26 espublics, on the ground that it is impossible for excell to introduce a second protasis referring to the preceding apodosis σκεπτέον...ξτερον.

21 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ρυθμοῖς ἡ διαιρετέου, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παι- (VII δείαν διαπονούσι πότερον τὸν αὐτὸν διορισμὸν θήσομεν ή τινα έτερου, τρίτου δέ, ἐπειδή τήν μὲν μουσικήν ὁρώμεν διὰ μελοποιίας και ρυθμών ούσαν, τούτων δ' έκάτερον οὐ δεί λε-25 ληθέναι τίνα δύναμιν έχει πρὸς παιδείαν, καὶ πότερον προαιρετέου μάλλου την εύμελη μουσικήν ή την εύρυθμου. § 2 νομίσαντες οὖν πολλά καλώς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε νῦν 8 μουσικών ένίους και τών έκ φιλοσοφίας όσοι τυγχάνουσιν έμπείρως έγουτες της περί την μουσικήν παιδείας, την μέν 30 καθ "έκαστον ακριβολογίαν αποδώσομεν ζητείν τοίς βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικώς διέλωμεν, τοὺς τύπους

21 καὶ πᾶσι τοῦς βυθμοῦς omitted by P4-5-6 Sb Tb L* | 23 τρίτον δεῦ (δὴ Pb L*) before τινα έτερον Γ II Bk., τρίτον δὲ with the transposition Susem. δεῖ untranslated by Ar., [8ei] Koraes; Bonitz (Arist. Stud. III. p. 95 ff.) showed the passage to be corrupt | 25 δίναμων after έχει P8-5 II3 Bk., cp. 1339 a 15 | [καλ] ? Susem. | 31 νομικώς] in genere Ar., γενικώς Bas.8 in the margin, λογικώς Koraes, συντόμως Flach | διέλομεν P4 Sb Tb and Mt (1st hand), διέλομεν or διείλομεν apparently Γ

21 τοις ... διαπονούσι] The dativus commodi, not the dative after 70v a076v. "Whether for those whose work is educational we shall make the same division." After this \$\hat{\eta} \tapkrov \delta \varepsilon \tau \text{irepov } \Gamma \text{II} \text{ seems hopeless.} What, asks Bonitz, is to be understood by rpirov? Not to speak of the harshness, if not impossibility, of supplying an infinitive for & from bhooper.

22 ή τινα έτερου, τρίτου δέ] Veram mihi emendandi rationem inventam esse spero, cum ea coniecerim. Si haec spes me non fefellit, v. 25 kal significat "etiam," et sic quidem ferri forsitan, sed vel sic eicere malim: Ougest, crit, coll. D. 421. SUSEM.

25 καλ πότερον κτλ] In the Introd. p. 49 (cp. ss. 2) it is pointed out that the liscussion of this question is no longer extant in our present treatise. SUSEM. (1081)

The whole passage may be rendered: We have still to consider the question of musical modes and rhythms: whether all the modes and all the rhythms should be employed or a distinction made between them: secondly, whether the same distinction will serve for those whose work is teaching, or whether we shall make a new one: thirdly, as we find Music to consist of melody and rhythm, and the influence which each of them has upon education ought not to be overlooked, [also] whether the preference must be given to goodness of melody or of rhythm. § 2 27 Vahlen rightly calls attention

to the close similarity of phrase between to the close similarity or parasite this passage and IV(VII). I. 2, 1323 a 22.

28 τῶν ἐκ φιλοστοφίας κτλ] See nn.
(1055, 1083, 1103). Perhaps intended to intimate that Plato passed judgment on intimate that Piato passed judgment on these matters without sufficient musical knowledge. See § 9. SUSEM. (1082) 31 νομικώς] 'Formally.' Idem fere significat atque νόμου χάριν Meta. XIII(M).

1. 4, 1076 a 27: Quaest. crit. coll. p. 421.

SUSEM. The passage from the Metaphysics runs thus : Επειτα μετά ταθτα χωρίς περί των ίδεων αύτων άπλως και όσον νόμου χάριν. Here dwhos seems to mean 'in general terms,' much as καθόλου (so Eudemus συντόμως in the parallel passage E. E. 1. 8, 1217 b 19), and not with Bonitz=simply (a sense nearly akin to xwpls: quaestionem de numeris et de principiis cum hac de ideis quaestione nondum vult coniungi). The precise reference in vóµos too is disputed. Bonitz refers it to Aristotle's own practice of criticizing his predecessors: Bernays rendered νόμου χάριν by dicis causa: Diels disapproving of this remarks that vouces is not octor, nor does the phrase=δσίας χάρω, and prefers to render it "to comply with the prevailing custom, the fashion." It seems best to modify Bernays' interpretation a little. The original meaning is "only so far as to avoid a conflict with the law," i.e. 'under compulsion and reluctantly.' Other

authors use the phrase thus, of what is

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ε ε μόνου εἰπόντες περὶ αἰτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδο- ΄΄ Χόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφία, τὰ μὲν ἡθικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες, 35 καὶ τῶν ἀρμονιών τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἔκαστα τούταν οἰκείαν

dens grudgingly, only because it is expected of one, and so may be hastly despatched: e.g., Diphius Enzylées, Fr. 2. I. 3 spad Athen. VII. 39 At 1 older jöker mad 744 olver, &M' bere sépas yaksur al scrífice in a storni, is relocatin to 394 olver, &M' bere sépas yaksur a scrífice in a storni, is relocatin to 394 olver, because in a scrífice in a storni, is relocatin to 395. Forchhammer Aritatelas mel die zuitabout it. See Bernsyn blir Dialega p. 150. Forchhammer Aritatelas mel die zuittelme Reden y 5 ft. Diels Menataler. der Berl. Albad. 1889, p. 488, Sussembil von Horry John's, Planika CANXI. 1884, p. 173. Nic. Eth. X. 9, 1. 1179 a 346 tamet depresa röw röwen sindead of the more usual röwe, 1376 b 19 n. "Contenting ourselves with a formal discussion in out-

line only."
§ 3 The construction is êmel ôê...dmoδεχόμεθα ... ως διαιρούσι ... καὶ ... τιθέασι, φαμέν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ... χάριν (καὶ γὰρ...ἀνάwaver) all of which is the protasis, the apodosis beginning with φανερόν. Translate: "We accept the classification of melodies made by certain philosophers into ethical, scenic, ecstatic [literally, according as they represent (1) character, (2) action, and (3) ecstasy), as well as their state-ment that each class of melodies has a musical mode which is naturally appropriate to it. But we hold that there is more than one advantage in the use of music, its object being both educational and purgative-what we mean by purgation will here be stated in general terms, a clearer explanation to be given hereafter in our treatise on Poetry:-while, thirdly, it is a means to aesthetic enjoyment, to relaxation and recreation after exertion. This makes it evident that all the musical modes must be employed, though not all in the same manner. For educational purposes, only those with the most character; but those significant of action, and the ecstatic modes as well, when we listen to the performances of

33 τωνς τών ἐν φιλοσοφία] Bergk Rhein. Mus. xIX. p. 603 plausibly suggests that the reference is to Aristotle's own pupil Aristoxenus. Cp. also § 8 n. (1104). Susen. (1063) 34 τὰ μὸν ἡθικά κτλ] This division

34 τα μέν ηθικα κτλ] This division

is based upon the threefold nature of the subject-matter of all imitative art, viz. ήθος, πράξες, πάθος: characters, actions, emotions (c. 5 §§ 18-22, IV[VII]. 17. 10, cp. n. (963), Post. c. 1 § 5, 1447 a 27 f.). For ecstatic modes and melodies do not merely give expression to enthusiasm pure and simple, but also to other painful emotions, see §§ 4-6, § 8 with nn. (1089 1096, 1101), ср. пп. (1047, 1054). Іт · may be questionable, to say the least of it, whether music can represent actions as such, as well as the feelings which produce and accompany action (e.g. the martial spirit), still the Greeks have, as a matter of fact, made attempts to represent the process of an action by the sequence of feelings excited by purely instrumental music, as in the case of the famous Pythian vous (see Hiller 'Sakadas the fluteplayer' Rhein. Mus. XXXI. 1876, p. 79 ff., Guhrauer Der pythische vbuor Jahrb. für Philol. Suppl. N. S. VIII. p. 309 ff.). This, one of the earliest instances of 'programme music,' depicted the se-quence of incidents in the conflict between Apollo and the Python. In any case no doubt we must hold that the πρακτικαί άρμονίαι express emotions, but they are of an energetic character, stimulating to vigorous action, and not of an enervating character such as those produced by the ecstatic Modes. Nor must we forget that woalts includes the idea of 'scene' as well as 'action,' and at times, e.g. IV(VII). 17. 10, 1336 b 16 is most correctly rendered by the former expression. SUSEM. (1084)

The eccord of the three classes (psan ordered psan, psacrable psan ordered English equivalent: we must be content to designate them 'modes and melodise of action.' Clearly the first Sible extended the content of the expension of the chiral the wild excited six, at once significant of, and fitted to stimulate the third the wild excited six, at once significant of, and fitted to stimulate the chiral the wild excited six, at once significant of, and fitted to stimulate the facility of the content of

άλλην πρὸς άλλο μέλος τιθέασι, φαμὲν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ἔνεκεν (VII) ἀφελείας τἢ μονσική χρήσθαι δεῦ ἀλλά καὶ πλειόνων χάρω (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἔνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσι, νῦν μὲν ἀπλώς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ 40 πουγτικής ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον—, τρίτου δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν, ποὸς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ ποὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν)·

παιδείαν ταῖς τῆθικοτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἐτέρον χει36 μλοτ Τγντλίτί (on Part. c. 6), μέρο ΓΙ Ιδί. Susem.) in the text; Konses suspects τυθέαι $\mathbb R$ 38 καὶ inserted before παιδείαι by $\mathbb R^{1.64}$ $\mathbb R$ παιδιά $\mathbb R^{10}$ το παίδει
αρραπεπίτy $\mathbb R^{10}$ (cort.) $\mathbb R$ 40 γείτον $\mathbb R^{1}$ μαὶ τοῦ ΓΕ Γείτα. α. $\mathbb R$. Susem. See
Comm. n. (10.5). Spengel would transpose γέτον $\mathbb R^{10}$ to follow δανογγέη, ντουρχί $\mathbb R^{10}$ δαγογέν - καὶ: - Liepert and Susemith, δαγογέν - Susem., which is better, and absolutely necessary if ταῖτης $\mathbb R^{1}$ ij μια before is right. See n. (10.10). [τρὸδ

1342 φανερον ότι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις ταις άρμονίαις, οὐ τον 5 αὐτον δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν

διαγωγήν) Welldon, wrongly | 41 [πρδτ] την ? Susem. 1342 a 1 ο... - 2 υρηστέων οπιίτεθ by II | 13 | διερδακν] κάθαρου Paris, 2043 and Twining Pot. p. 42 (ed. 1), II. p. 7 (ed. 2), decidedly right: see Comm.

39 mAuv 8' by role mal mongracing). Unfortunately this fuller exposition in the Postice is no longer extant. Vallen gives good reasons for believing that it came after the discussion of Comedy now lost: see Arist. Aufoliae III. p. 13 s.f. (Wiener-Stitemgelder. LXXVII. p. 293 ff.) SUSEM.

Astrongerer. LXXVII.p. 2918. Science,
40 τρένου 80 πρόε Βαγρανής) Arf first
sight there is a difficulty, if sillappea and
algorydy constitute apparate each. What
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kery-ryl (since those who have not learnt when young can never fully enjoy music), the educational use must be conceived as distinct. Then there is further the emotional or pathological use («ddapris) move introduced for the first time. Planity, that does not attend on the music employed in education. It should be noted that Zeller (e/p. c. p. 771 nr. 1) insists on a fourfold use here; the would apparate from

see pp. 520, 531. SUSEM. (1086)

mpos & dapdcorw #r. x.] "But for listening to while other people play."

dapdcars is a conveniently general term

ε 4 ρουργούντων καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. δ (VII) 5 γάρ περί ενίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυγάς ισχυρώς, τοῦτο εν (p. 143) πάσαις ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ήττον διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οίον έλεος καὶ φόβος, έτι δ' ἐνθουσιασμός. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ

4 After ἐνθουσιαστικαῖε Reinkens (Arist. ūb. Kunst pp. 145, 156) supposes that a definition of κάθαρσιε has been lost and the words following mutilated: wrongly

under which κάθαρσις and διανωγή can be included.

4 και ταις πρακτικαις] Here και =
'as well as.' For Aristotle would not separate from πρακτικαί and ἐνθουσιαστικαί doμ. such others as, though ήθικαί do not possess that character in the to oue of the other two species. From Exc. IV these would seem to be the lowpitched Ionian and low-pitched Lydian. Since every painful emotion, though not of course every trace of emotion, is foreign to them, the ήθικώταται would be exceptions: yet this is not expressly stated: much less is there any express statement that only 'ecstatic modes,' as Döring thinks, exert a cathartic influence, see n. (1101) P. 638 ff. (That this is my view and was maintained by me in *Jahrb. f. Phil.*LXXXV. 1862, p. 416 is admitted by Döring *Philologus* XXVII. p. 724, though I regret that in Kunstlehre des Aris. p. 283 he reprints unaltered an incorrect statement about it which appeared Philal-XXI. p. 501.) Not to mention others, the Dorian melodies, apparently the most numerous of all, do not exert any cathartic influence. Further, the plural form in the mention of πρακτικαί αρμονίαι should be noticed. Comp. Exc. Iv. n. (1054), and § 5, τὰ μέλη with n. (1096). SUSEM. (1087, 1088)

The important point to seize is that the ecstatic music had no direct ethical, but only a pathological, effect. In fact, the absence of a direct ethical effect pre-

vents it from being used in education.

Zeller, p. 774, n. (2). §§ 4,5 The link of connexion with the preceding seems to be that the public performance of music in the ecstatic 'modes' calls for justification. Döring differently (p. 256): "Every species of music has its special province, the 'ethical' music in παιδεία, the 'ecstatic' in κάθαρσις [see however n. 1007], the πρακτικά perhaps as military music. Besides this, every species of music may be used for enjoyment. This last proposition needs no further proof, so far as the first two

species ήθικά and πρακτικά are concerned: in respect of ecstatic music it sounds a little startling. In order therefore to explain it, and the term κάθαρσις as well, Aristotle proceeds with §§ 4, 5. This enables him to give the explanation of κάθαρσιε in general terms (ἀπλῶε) as the effect of certain melodies upon a form of religious frenzy, κορυβαντιασμός." The fact last stated is partially corroborated by a passage from Aristides Quintilianus II. p. 157 Meib.; Döring p. 332. Trans-late: "For the emotion which violently affects some souls is present in all though in a greater or less degree. This is true of pity and terror, true also of ecstasy. Some persons are liable to seizure by this form of morbid excitement. Now as the effect of the sacred melodies we see that such persons, under the treatment of the melodies which excite frenzy in the soul, fall back into the normal state, as if they had undergone a medical cure or purgation." It is also possible to take & Time kepûr μελûr with ορώμεν: 'we see from the sacred melodies etc.' Cp. Hagfors p. 13 f. 7 olov έλεος καὶ φόβος] From the

whole context it is more than probable that fear and pity are here adduced not with reference to their influence in Tragedy (see my Introd. to the Poetics pp. 36-67). but like ecstasy, with reference merely to the cathartic effect of music, so that the beneficial excitement of fear and pity by music expressing these emotions is here given by way of illustration. See c. 5 \$18 m. (1047), 7 § 3 (1084), § 5 (1096), § 8 (1101). SUSEM. (1089)

With this view Mr. Newman appears

to concur: Introd. p. 366 "for though it might be thought that harmonies which arouse feelings of enthusiasm or fear or pity, and purge these emotions, are useful only to a few over-fraught spirits, this is not really so: all are more or less in need of music of this kind and relieved by it. The melodies also which purge emotion are similarly productive of innocent plea-

Bernays in his usual manner completes the sentence thus: 'e.g. pity and terror 8 ταύτης της κινήσεως κατακώχιμοί τινες εἰσίν ἐκ τῶν δ' (VII)

ίερων μελών όρωμεν τούτους, όταν χρήσωνται το<u>ύς</u> έξοργιάτο ζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ὅσπερ ἰατρείας τυ-§5 χόντας καὶ καθάρσεως. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν 6

(are violently present in those liable to pity and terror, but in a less degree in all men '). 8 κατακάχιμο] 'Liable to be possessed, attacked.' So also with exstasy. Any one may be seized by slight frenzy, but it is the second to see the second to second to see the second to second t

sessed, attacked. So also with cestasy. Any one may be seized by slight freuzy, but in some it amounts to a disease, equiparrangular. Plato uses surroscopf for inspiration, Plasaular. 445 A, Ion 536 C. Cp. Zeller p. 777 M. I. Note that all the Mss. agree here and 1460 b 30 in an irrational form. But in Nic. Edt. N. 9, 3, 1179 b 9 K³ gives surrosciptures. We role by the power public plan with self-street property of the prope

is τῶν δ' ἰφῶν μελῶν] Join with καθισταμένου, not with ὁρῶμεν. See Bursian's Jahrseber. LVII. p. 174 [and Bonitz Ind. Ar. 356 a 41]. These are assumed to be the same as the melodies of Olympus, mentioned c. 5 § 16. See Exc. II. p. 621.

Susem. (1090)

9 όταν χρήσωνται] "When they have used the melodies" in the same sense in which we speak of using remedies. Cp. n. (1095), and p. 641 f. Susem. (1091) Like κίνησις, καθίστασθαι, κουφίζεσθαι, this is a medical term. Cp. Hippocr. III. 712 Κ. τῆσι φαρμακίησι χρέεσθαι, ΙΙΙ. 850 κλυσμοίσι χρέεσθαι, 1. 82 την αὐτή χρήσιν (remedy, treatment) del προσδέχεσθαι (Döring). And this, notwithstanding the more general sense of τη μουσική χρήσθαι above, 1341 b 37. It might seem doubtful, from the context alone, whether the patient only listened to, or sang, the maddening strains. Aristides Quintil. implies that both were practised; Lc. κατασταλτέαν (SC. την ψυχήν) φασύν είναι τη μελωβία, ήτου καλ αύτούς μιμήσει τικί το τής φύσεως άλογον άπομειλιττομένους.... η και δι' άκοης [δψεως] φόβου του τοιόνδε dποτρεπομένους, "the soul must, they say, be soothed by melody, either the patients themselves must appease its irrational state by a certain (musical) imitation (of the frenzy), or they must divert such terror from themselves by listening."

ξοργιάζουσι] See δργιαστικόν, 1341 2 22, n. (1072), and δργιαστικά, 1342 b 3, n. (107). SUSEM. (1092) 10 καθισταμένους] The expression pro-

10 Kantoraperous) The expression pro

perly means 'are cured,' 'recover'= return to themselves, as Döring has shown [see Steph. s. v. L. and S. quote only & Inow кив. Hippocr. 97, add I. 206, 208]. These terms however are not used of temporary, or palliative, restoration (such as is referred to here), but only of a permanent cure. In other passages of Aristotle καθίστασθαι simply means 'to calm oneself,' to settle down after excitement, with no suggestion of a medical sense: e.g. De Memor. c. 2 § 29, 4532 271, δεδ καὶ δργαὶ καὶ φόβοι, όταν το κυήσωσα, άντικανοίντων πάλα τούτων οδ кивитантии, De Somn. c. 3 § 25, 461 в 25, ή δὲ τρόφιμος καὶ μὴ νοσώδης (ἀναθυμίασις) καταφέρεται συνισταμένη. Even here this sense would be very appropriate. Ср. ката́отаон Rhet. 1. 11. 1, 1369 b 34. See also n. (1095), p. 640. Susem. (1093)

" δστερ (πρέδες τυχόντας καί καθάρσεως) The ἄσπερ marks the introduction of a metaphor: both larpela and κάθαρσες then are metaphorical, the latter the more specific term (Bernays).

This does not hold in the case of those who are sound in mind and possess exactly the right measure of emotional excitability, nor of those who are naturally too little disposed to emotion. As 'regards the former the medical analogy is only applicable in a precautionary sense, as when for instance a man of sound body must take bodily exercise to prevent illness, and in any case is refreshed and invigorated by a walk and finds pleasure and recreation in it. The latter are lesssusceptible to the power of music, and in so far as they are susceptible, it will be the excitable and not the purgative side of this homoeopathy of the feelings which will be most prominent, that is to say the really homoeopathic element will be least represented. Susem. (1094)

Comp. II. 7. 11, 1267 a 7 f., but the rating (sc. tautulas) distributions at larpelas. § 5 "So too of necessity with those who are liable to pity and fear, and persons of emotional temperament in

καὶ τοὺς ἐλεήμονας καὶ τοὺς φοβητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὅλως πα- (VII) θητικούς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καθ' ὅσου ἐπιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων έκάστω, καὶ πᾶσι γίνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καὶ κουφίζεσθαι 15 μεθ' ήδουής. δμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μέλη τὰ †καθαρτικὰ † παρέ-

12 τους άλλως Ar., τους <άλλως > δλως ? Susem., δλως τους Reiz not badly; but perhaps no change is needed. Döring (Philologus XXVII. p. 713) once conjectured [καl] τους όλως: now (Kunstlehre des Arist. p. 257 n.) he prefers to accept the suggestion of Reiz | 15 καθαρτικά Γ Π Ar. Bk. Susem.1 in the text and Thurot, who assumed a lacuna before δμοίως needlessly, see Comm.; πρακτικά Sauppe

general, and with the rest of men in such measure as they are susceptible of this or that emotion; they have a like experience; they all undergo a purgation of some sort and feel a pleasurable relief." Under the former case (Corybantiasm) come only morbid patients: here the world at large are included. However slight the degree in which they are subject to pity and fear still, so far as these passions have a hold upon them, they participate, in every-day life, in the same beneficial effect which frees the 'o'er fraught heart' from its accumulation of emotion in critical moments. This is the normal effect of music and upon it attends the constant concomitant of normal activity, pleasure (μεθ' ήδονής).

13 καθ' όσον ἐπιβάλλει]. In proportion to their susceptibility to such emotions.
See 1360 a 19, 1261 b 35 n. Bernays
p. 88 (188) shows that the principle of the
cure of Bacchic delirium (Corybantiasm) was observed by Plato (Laws VII. 700 f.), though he never applied it to anything but the nursing of infants. "Aristotle," observes Butcher, "with his generalising faculty and his love of discovering unity faculty and his love of discovering unity in different domains of life, extended the principle to tragedy and hints at even a wider application." However, on the whole the two are violently opposed as to the treatment of emotion, Bernays p. 46 (164) ff.

14 τινα κάθαρσιν] This implies that the catharsis is not in all cases precisely of the same kind. The catharsis of pity and fear in tragedy is analogous to, but not identical with, that of 'enthusiasm' or morbid ecstasy. See the note on κάθαρσιε p. 641. SUSEM. (1095)
κουφίζεσθαι] For the medical sense see

Probl. III. 17, 873 b 22 (of the disease): II. 22, 868 a 36, b 6; IV. 30, 880 a 33 (of the patient). Cp. Hippocr. I. 177, III. 715 K. (Döring). \$ 6 15 τὰ μέλη τὰ καθαρτικά] Thus

the authorities. Sauppe's emendation 70 практий was adopted in Susem2-3. See

Excursus v. p. 638 f. especially p. 640 n. 1, and generally n. (1088). SUSEM. (1096) In handling a locus classicus like this, excessive caution is no sin. Yet it must be allowed that the reading of the MSS. leaves the sentence enigmatical. (1) Does it merely emphasize τὰ μέλη as opposed to ἀρμονίαι, a 4? This can hardly be, though apparently Mr Newman thus takes the passage (see the quotation given above after n. 1089). For μέλη are mentioned a 9 f., not to urge with Thurot Etudes p. 103 that Aristotle as little distinguishes between douglas and uther as a modern critic between the keys in which music is written and the compositions themselves, passing naturally from the one to the other, and contrasting them indifferently other, and contrasting them indimenently with $\mu \theta \mu \theta \rho \phi$; see e.g. 6 § 5, 1341 a 1, 7 § 10, 1342 b 5.f. (2) Does it introduce a new species of airs? But surely, those treated in a 4—15 must be $\kappa \rho \theta \alpha \nu m \Delta \theta$. The $\kappa \nu m \nu \rho \rho \phi$ should be $\kappa \rho \rho \alpha \kappa \nu m \Delta \phi$ which nothing has been said. Unless indeed any one maintains, as against n. (1089), that the effect of tragedy is alluded to § 5, a 11-15, and this apparently meaningless clause returns to the consideration of music. (3) Or does it introduce a new effect (χαρὰ ἀβλαβής) of the music whose cathartic effect has been described in 4-15? If so, the 'harmless delight' would be contrasted with the cathartic effect in which pleasure is blended with. and follows, painful emotions. Zeller p. 774 n. (2) says that music purges the παθητικός, and affords enjoyment to all Döring p. 260 finds a contrast between (1) the extraordinary, curative effect, κάθαρσιε ἀπλῶς, of morbid patients (whether suffering from the malady of Bacchic frenzy, or hypochondriacs through excessive pity and terror), and (2) the normal cathartic effect of ecstatic music heard at concerts under ordinary circum§ε χει χαρὰν ἀβλαβή τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύ (VII, ταις ἀρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι « θετέον τοὺς τὴν [θεατρικὴν] μουσικὴν μεταχειμίζομένους ἀγωνιστάς (ἐπεὶ δ΄ ὁ τ θεατὴς διττός, δ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, δ δὲ το φορτικὸς ἐκ βαναίσων καὶ θητών καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων στη-§τ κείμενος, ἀποδοτέον ἀγώνας καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσων εἰοὶ δὲ ἀσπερ αὐτῶν αὶ ψυγαὶ παρε-

10 χούρο II (emended in It by corr.) and Psi(corr.) | 117 fearine Psi-SyT-LAL.
Ald. and Psi(corr.) Psi (1st hand, emended in the margin with γ_R prefusel), <χηρήoflur - έατείου Σth. Miller 11.p. 6_S <χηρή-όπω- δεστένο Spergel, both plausible: Koraes
detected the error: randerstee Jebb | 1 rois) πρδ SyT and Psi (1st hangin, with
γ_R prefusel), contided by M | 13 fearpasky written above the line as a gloss by
γ̄2, cmitted by III 'Ar. and Fs (1st hand), added by Bik. with all other authorities |
1 to Δηρέδικο Σ Sussem. | 12 st defi left | Bik.²

στραμμέναι της κατά φύσιν έξεως, ούτω καὶ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν

§ 6 "Hence it is such modes and such melodies that we must prescribe for the virtuosi, who take up music professionally, to employ in their performances. But as there are two types of audience, the one of birth and education, the other the vulgar audience of mechanics and day-labourers and the like, entertainments and competitions must be found to provide even these latter with recreation."

to rousireas] Namely, subsparsacissee Quanter, ric. cell. p. 421 f. 17 Perlon] The construction with the dative would follow more smoothly if xpledus were supplied, or dysoslyothus in xpledus were supplied, or dysoslyothus in clear. In row, __merageaply-dress it is not hard to discover robe early robe recoughous types ear fryers of c. § 86, 1330 a 37. The care shown for the is worthy of Thea and the Revulciaess is worthy of Teta and the Revulciaess 20 is Baunérum... wyscływoej As an attribute of Geory's this is carious. Perhaps we may cite as parallel Cic. De Finilius II. 44, cum Epicuro autem hoc plus negotii est, quod e duplici genere voluptatis coniunctus est, or ad Ali. IV. 15, 1, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius M. Pomponius.
21 dyiwos wal Beuplaci] These musi-

21 dyavas scal fessofas] These musical contests and competitions seem to have excited the keenest interest, and to have led to brilliant pieces of extraordinary difficulty being practised even at school; c. 6 § 7, § 16. § 7 "Just as their souls are distorted

§ 7 "Just as their souls are distorted from their natural state, so too amongst the musical modes there are some perverse forms and amongst melodies the high-strung and falsely coloured, but as its own natural affinity gives every class pleasure, we must allow the artists who perform before such an audience to use the

pleasure, we must allow the artists who perform before such an uddience to use the corresponding style of music."

22 δωτωρ αντών...23 ξέωρ] Comp. n. (102), and above c. 6 §§ 15, 16, n. (1080). But on the other hand see the praise of the great public as a critic in art III. 11. 2, n. 1655 b). SUSIM. (1097)

23 καὶ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν παρεκβάνεω] It is not easy to determine with certainty it is not easy to determine with certainty.

23 καὶ τῶν ἄρμιονιῶν παρεκβάσκο] It is not easy to determine with certainty which modes are meant. Perhaps he was thiaking of the 'wailing and mournful' music of the miso-Lydian and highpitched Lydian principally: it may have been of the 'lax and effeminate' lowpitched Lydian and low-pitched Ionian. See c. 5 § 22, also Exc. IV. N. (1054). SUSEM_(1050) παρεκβάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακε- (VII) 13 χρασμένα, ποιεί δὲ τὴν ἡδονην ἐκάστοις τὸ κατὰ φύσυ οἰκείαν, ιδιόπερ ἀποδοτέον ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις πρὸς τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιούτου τοιούτος τωὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἡένει τῆς 18 μουνικῆς) πρὸς δὲ παιδείαν, ἐσπερ εἰρηται, τοῖς ἡθικοῖς τῶν 8 μελῶν χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς ἀραμότας τοιαίτη 20 δ΄ ἡ δωριστί, καθάπερ εἶπομεν πρότερον δέχεσθαι δὲ δεῖ κάν τινα ἀλλην ἡμῶν δοκιμάζωσιν οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν φι- 3 λοσοφία διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς παρὶ τὴν μουνικὴν παιδείας, ὁ

δ' en tŷ πολετεία Σωκράτης οὐ καλώς τὴν φρυγιστὶ μόνην
 24 παρακχωρμένα Π¹ (emended by p¹ in the margin with γρ. prefixed) and P²
 28 παιδεύ Π¹ (emended by p¹ in the margin) and P² (ist hand, emended by cort.¹)
 20 παιδεύ Π² (emended by p² in the margin) and P² (ist hand, emended by cort.²)

praved style, in which 'colourings' and nuances i.e. transposed scales abound. § 8 28 Sorrep Epprail In § 3, 1342 23, 1955 με την παιδείαν ταις ήθυκεντατες.

See Eur. V. p. 6g8. Strass. (1100)
We have now reached the end of the long digression, §§ 4–γ. following on the mention of modes untable for pathle of the control of the velocity of t

agrees with this. Susem. (1102) δέχεσθαι δὲ δεί κτλ] Sec n. (1086) for a conjecture as to the modes here intended. Susem. (1104)

31 of kouwwol...32 watelas] Here the author of the division into three classes mentioned in § 3 is again most probably intended. See n. (1083). SUSEM. (1103) Aristoxenos was at once a pupil of Aristotle's and an ardent musician, while on musical theory his Harmonics and the fragments of his ρυθμικά στοιχεία are our highest authority. In Westphal's monumental works, the series Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen and the now completed edition Aristoxenos, Melik und Rhythmik (Leipzig, 1883 and 1893) everything has been done for this author. English readers unacquainted with Westphal's writings may with advantage consult Mr C. F. Abdy Wil-liams' article on 'Ancient Metre' in Classical Review VII. p. 205 ff.

§ 9 Socrates in the Republic is inconsistent: he rejects the flute, but tolerates the Phrygian Mode.

δ εν τη πολιτεία Σ.] This is the

normal, explicit manner of referring to Socrates, the character in the dialogue 'The Republic,' and sufficiently accounts for the article in the abbreviated form à Euxparge. Cp. n. on II. 1. 3, 1261 a 6.

καταλείπει μετά τής δωριστί, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας (VII) τρε τόν ὀργάνων τόν αὐλόν. Εχει γάρ τήν αὐτήν δύναμων ή φρυγιστὶ τόν ἀρμονιών ήνπερ αὐλὸς ἐν τός ὀργάνους: §10 ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικά καὶ παθντικά. ὅηλοῖ δ΄ ἡ ποήν-ν στι. πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαίτη κίνησις (ω. ιω) 5 μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῦς αὐλοῦς, τῶν δ΄ ἀρμονιῶν ἐν τοῖς φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον.

ς μάλιατα του δργώτουν έστιν & τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τοῦν δ' άρμονεῶν ἀν τοῦς φριγιστή μέλεαι λαμβάνει ταῖτα τὸ πρόποι, οἶον ὁ διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρίγιου. § 11 καὶ τούτου πολλά παραδέψηματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν αύνεσεν ταίτην ἄλλα τε, καὶ δίστι Φιλόξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν

1342 b 2 φρυγιστή Γ | 8 δείγματα P46 L*

έν είρηνική τε καί μη βιαίφ άλλ' έν έκουσίφ πράξει όντος, ή τινά τι πείθοντός τε καί δεομένου, ή εὐχή θεὸν ή διδαχή και νουθετήσει ανθρωπον, ή τούναντίον άλλω δεομένω η διδάσκοντι η μεταπείθοντι έαυτον έπέχουτα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων πράξαντα κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ μή ύπερηφάνως έχοντα, άλλα σωφρόνως τε και μετρίως έν πάσι τούτοις πράττοντά τε και τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα άγαπῶντα. ταύτας δύο άρμονίας βίαιον, έκούσιον, δυστυχούντων. εύτυχούντων, σωφρόνων, ἀνδρείων αξτινες φθόγγους μιμήσονται μάλιστα, ταύτας heire. As with the musical instruments, n. (1071), so in the case of the modes Aristotle is stricter than Plato, since in truth—see nn. (1086, 1102, 1104, 1109) the Dorian Mode is the only one which he retains for the purpose of moral education. Susem. (1105)

cducation. Susem. (1100)

34 ἀποδοκιμάτας... πόν αὐλόν] Pl.
Κέρ. III. 399 D: τὶ δέξ αὐλοποιοὲ τὰ αὐλητά καραδέξει εἰκ τὴν πόλω; τὰ οὐ τόντο πολυχορδότατον καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πασαρμένια αὐλοῦ τυγχοίνει δύτα μίσημα; The ostensible ground for its rejection is the complexity of its music. Susem. (1106)

pieculy of its timine. Substant, Linke op-Ne were toold this bedow of the finite, c. 6 § 9, 134 n 22 ff., ohe ferro o shibb global of Abh µbbbe op-hearmeds; it has an intoxicating effect, tending not to form, but any one of the control of the control of most moderning and extatic, c. 5 § 20.7 The addition of the more general term nadequade "passionate" here is fresh and the control of the contrary, like the fatte amongst musimal to contrary and call to all emedicans. or at least all painful emotions:—in the words of the text, 'all Bacchic frenzy and similar mental excitement.' Comp. Exc. IV. p. 628 and notes (1080, 1047), also n. (1096) p. 643. SUSEM. (1107)

** (1006) p. Gay. Susus. (1107) **

§ 10 Pedry shewe this. When the subject is volid and delirious, as in a dishyromb, the music is st for the flute and the airs are in the Phrygian Mode. The cagency of this illustration depends on the fact, which must always be borned in mind, that the Greek poet set this own (pers); be also chose his own dance measures.

5 τῶν δ' ἀρμονιῶν ἐν τοῖς...μέλιστ.]
See Thurot p. 103 (cited above p. 611 upon § 6, 1342 a 15).
6 ταῦτα=βακχεία καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη κίνη-

σις (subject).
§ 11 8 οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην]
Αn extraordinary phrase where we should expect οἱ περὶ ταῦτα συνετοὶ δυτες: i.e. musical critics or connoisseurs. In Bonitz words, σύνεσει is used 'objective'= ἡ μου-

σική τέχνη Q Φιλόξενος] Of Cythera, born 450 B.C., one of the most famous of the dithyrambic poets. He lived for some time at the court of the elder Dionysius, who imprisoned him in the stone quarries of Syracuse, where (according to one account) he wrote his most noted dithyramb Κύκλωψ. When brought out to listen to Dionysius' own compositions, he is said to have addressed the attendants in the words Els haroulas, "Take me back to the quarries." See further respecting him Bernhardy Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur IIa. p. 669 ff. (ed. 2), SUSEM. (1108) Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his criticism of the later dithyrambic poets, including Philoxenus, specially mentions 10 τη δωριστὶ ποιήσαι διθύραμβον τους μύθους ούχ οιός τ' ήν, (VII) άλλ' ύπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγιστί τὴν

12 προσήκουσαν άρμονίαν πάλιν. περί δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες 10 όμολογούσιν ώς στασιμωτάτης ούσης καὶ μάλιστα ήθος έχούσης ανδρείου. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐπαι-15 νούμεν καὶ χρήναι διώκειν φαμέν, ή δὲ δωριστὶ ταύτην έχει την φύσιν προς τὰς ἄλλας άρμονίας, φανερον ὅτι τὰ Δώ-§ 13 ρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μάλλον τοῦς νεωτέροις. [εἰσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον καὶ γὰρ τὰ δυνατά δει μεταχειρίζεσθαι μάλλον και τὰ πρέποντα έκά-20 στοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταθτα ώρισμένα ταῖς ήλικίαις, ρίον τοῖς απειρηκόσι διά χρόνου οὐ ράδιον άδειν τὰς συντόνους άρμο-

10 διθύραμβον τούς] διθυραμβικούς Ramus | Μυσούς Schneider Bk.2, μεθύσους ? Schmidt, [του μύθους] Sauppe | 11 την προσήκουσαν...12 δωριστί omitted by P2 12 δωριστή Γ, δωριστική Ald. 1 17 τους νεωτέρους Kornes, possibly Γ, rightly | [elol...34 πρέπου] Susem. 2.8: see Comm. n. (1113) || 19 ἐκάστοις P⁵, ἐκάστοις II1.2 II 21 Υρο Ms, χρόνον P3.6 II3 Bk., avoiding hiatus

their intermixture of styles and license in rhythm: οι δέ γε διθυραμβοποιοί και τοὺς τρόπους μετέβαλλον, Δωρίους τε καὶ Φρυγίους και Λυδίους έν τῷ ἄσματι ποιούντες και τὰς μελφδίας ἐξήλλαττον...και τοῦς ἡυθμοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἐνεξουσιάζωντες διετέλουν οί γε δή κατά Φιλόξενον καί Τιμόθεον και Τελεστήν έπει παρά γε τοῦς άργαίοις τεταγμένος ήν ο διθύραμβος, De

compos. verb. 19, p. 131, 14 ff. ed. Reiske. 11 υπο τής φυστως αυτής] See § 13, 1342 b 27, η φύσις υποβάλλει: also Meta. 1. 3. 14, 984 b 9 f., ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς άληbelas avaykatouevos ethenous, and Phys. 1. 5. 6, 188 b 29 f.

§ 12 13 ομολογούσιν ως ούσης] See 1262 b 12 m. Comp. VI(IV). 9. 7, 1294 b 20. The best explanation and parallels in Lobeck ad Soph. Aiac, 281. Frequent in Plato, e.g. Phil. 16 C, Laws 624 A, B. στασιμωτάτης] That the Dorian is the only mode which produces a sober and sedate frame of mind was said c. 5 § 22, 1340 b 3. Comp. notes (1102, 1105)-

SUSEM. (1109) 14 έτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον κτλ] See VI (1V). 11. 4, 1295 b 3 f., όμολογείται τό μέτριον άριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον, π. (1290 b). Susem. (1110)

SUSEM. (IIII)
15 ή δὲ δωριστὶ κτλ] I.e. the Dorian melodies are principally of a middle compass. In contrast to this, melodies composed in the 'high-strung' (σύντονοι) and low-pitched (ἀνειμέναι, χαλαρα) modes diverged from this middle compass to the

higher and lower parts of the register respectively. This is explained in Excursus III. π. (1054) p. 625. SUSEM. (1111) §13 18 σκοποί] πρός ούς ποιούνται τὸ τέ-

λος, 1341 b 15. That the choice of melodies must be regulated by what is practicable and what is becoming (sc. for the age and voice of the performers) is a truism. whoever enunciates it, see c. 6 § 3, n.
20 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα κτλ] "But these

conditions (viz. what is practicable and what is becoming) are defined by the age of the performers. For instance, it is not easy for those who are old and feeble to sing in the high-strung modes: nature suggests the low-pitched modes at their

age. 21 διά χρόνου] Διά c. gen. means (1) "after the lapse of some time" as in III. 6, 1275 a 25, and vi(IV).
 15. 1, 1299
 26, οξ μέν γὰρ ἐξαμήνους, οξ δὲ δι ἐλάττονος ποιούσι τὰς ἀρχάς. So in Rhet. I. 11. 20, 1371 a 20 f., σπάνιον τὸ διὰ χρόνου, a thing seen after an interval, an occasional enjoyment. Hence the distributive sense of δια τρίτου έτους 546 b 10, δια τρίτης (hulpus) 504 b 21. (2) In &tà Blov (4 times, ep. διά τινος χρ. 1272 b 13) it implies duration. With the accusative (as Pal II) see Crit. n.) the sense is causal: those who fail by reason of age. This reading avoids the hiatus, which is in its favour. But the causal sense with gen. is admitted by Eucken p. 38, Hagfors p. 46: cp. 1337 a 36 (?), 1316 b 14 (alriân ôi ân).

παιδείαν, οίον ή λυδιστὶ φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τών

§ 14 23 < τώ > Σωκράτει] I.e. in Plato Κορ. ΙΙΙ. 308 Ε.: τίνει οθν μαλακαί και συμποτικαί τῶν ἀρμονεῶν; Ἰαπτί, τῷ ὅ ὅς, καὶ λυδιστί, ἀἐτινες χαλαραί καλοθνται. Ταίταις οθν, ὡ φίλε, ἐπὶ πολεμικῶν ἀνθρῶν ἐσθ' ὅτι γκόρτος: SUSEM. (1112)

feel en χρήνα; Sussa, [1119]
25, 6a μεθυντικόι κτλ] "On the
assumption that this is drunken music,
not in the sense of intoxication—indeed
intoxication rather tends to excite mad
revity—but as being enervated." Bonitz
is probably right in making 27 drunpsurfas
cac, plut. Ind. 47. γ γ λ 47, τ αναματική
revity—in the properties of the

or play, c. 6 § 4, and consequently restricts the introduction of 'practical (πρακτικαί) or 'ecstatic' Modes, as well as the less 'ethical' Modes, see n. (1087). to performances at which the citizens are auditors. The author of this addition, on the other hand, is anxious that the youth should also learn to sing in modes which, from the low compass of the melodies, are least suited to them and best adapted to be actually sung in riper age. Now it is no doubt true that these lowpitched modes do not belong either to the 'practical' (*paurual) or to the 'ecstatic' but to the 'ethical' class and appear to constitute the less ethical; see un. (1054, 1087). It is further true that Aristotle allows the citizens of his ideal state an occasional banquet for relaxation and recreation, IV(VII). 17. 11, cp. n. (966), and at such times probably also permits them the exceptional privilege of singing (see c. 5 § 8 with nn. 1028, 1067). It is true that the description of the lowpitched keys here given (åmeipnxulas) points, like Plato's Rep. 398 E, see 11. (1112), to the appositeness of their em-ployment on such occasions. Finally it cannot be denied that the idea of learning something in youth, which may afford amusement in later life, is not wrong in itself (c. 4 §§ 5-7), though in the present instauce inadmissible, because for mere amusement it is not necessary to learn to

33 άρμονιῶν, ἡ * * δῆλον ὅτι τρεῖς τούτους ὅρους ποιητέον εἰς τὴν (VII)
παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον * *]

33 î after âpusulu added by Fi and Fi (corr.), omitted by all other authorities Ar. Ek. | * * * öbjuc Coning, ôbjuc - cabe, or Schneider | rpain after âpus MrF**IF Ek. | radrus F | es âpus conited by Fi (sta hand), the lacuna left legis filled in with another ink, ôpus conited by Fi (sta hand), the lacuna left (sta hand, corrected by Fi in the margin) | rpérus * * William (raidnum haius optimis prox on multum instead)

sing and play yourself, when you can get others to perform to you, c. 5 § 8: cp. nm. (1024, 1025, 1036). However, this is quite enough to condemn the proposed instruction of boys in melodies to be hereafter sung at drinking parties. Aristotle would have been much more concerned to practise the young in the 'practical' (πρακτικά) and ecstatic melodies, in order to educate their taste for the end of the highest intellectual enjoyment. But he obviously thought: teach a boy to sing and play minor tunes, and amid the mirth and gaiety of a banquet he will surely, if so inclined, be able to sing melodies in the major modes, and appreciate them at musical performances intended for true aesthetic enjoyment.

And now let us consider for one moment the illogical sequence of the whole passage. The introduction: "but in musical instruction, as in all else, we should keep in view what is practicable and what is fitting" stands in no con-ceivable logical connexion with what precedes. Has the previous restriction of musical teaching to the Dorian and the related Modes any other object except to secure for the young what is practicable and fitting, because suited to their capacity? Even the casual remark at the close, 1342 b 14 ff., that just on account of its middle compass the Dorian Mode is specially adapted to induce moral virtue, which is a mean between two extremes (see n. 1111), is directed simply to what is fitting. This the interpolator has failed to recognize, for he brings in the Mean as a third aim, different from the possible and the fitting. He has not then perceived that the medium compass of the Dorian Mode is only a secondary reason and not the sole reason for preferring it. Starting from the strangely perverse no tion that this was the only reason, he felt bound to assign some part to propriety and the possible, and so he goes on to remark that not only the possible but also the fitting is determined by grada-

tions of age, a mere truism as regards the latter point, since the interpolator has expressly stated that by what is fitting for youth he understands (κόσμος άμα κα washela) grace (decorum) and moral culture. But, first, a word as to possibility or capacity. It might have been thought that according to this standard boys should be taught to sing in the modes best adapted to their age from the compass of the melodies. Instead of this exactly the opposite inference is drawn, that they require further instruction in those modes which are better adapted, or only adapted, to older people. Secondly, from the point of view of what is becoming for boys the Lydian Mode is especially recommended:-just as though Aristotle had not himself prescribed the Dorian Mode from the same point of view as almost the only one permissible. Had he intended to assign to the Lydian Mode a special place beside or next to the Dorian, he would have found an opportunity in § 8, 1342 a 30, instead of merely referring to the decision of professional musicians, who are at the same time philosophers, the question what modes, other than the Dorian, may be employed in the education of the young. As we shall see in Exc. IV, Aristotle himself probably did not reckon the Lydian among the ethical modes at all, but among the *partical. The distinction made by the interpolator between outward decorum and inner moral culture. κόσμον έγειν και παιδείαν, cannot appear genuinely Aristotelian to any reader of the Ethics, for in Aristotle's view the man of moral virtue and he alone behaves with outward propriety, and the habit of behaving thus even counts among the moral virtues: see Nic. Eth. IV. cc. 6-8 (12-14 Bekker). And is not decorum just as fitting for adults as for children? Or has κόσμος a different meaning from decorum? A further error of the writer is apparent from a lacuna in the text where even the sense cannot be supplied. The # preserved in two MSS, would seem to indicate (a) that he had discovered something else besides propriety and moral culture, which is more suitable to children than to adults, and had smuggled in a new mode to serve this purpose: or des (b) this ŷ maris the transition from the possible and fitting to the Mean, "o jettorde", is the subject of the last sentence with its mutilated commencement. In short, though in this book Aristotle has often been inconsistent and obscure, has fallen into apparent or perhaps actual contradictions, as may be seen from notes (503, 1000, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 1003, 100

EXCURSUS I.

ARISTOTLE'S SCHEME OF EDUCATION

ότι μου ούν χρηστέον της γιμικοτικής, και πίας χρηστέου, έμολογούμενου έντην (μέχρι μου γιμ δήθης κασφότηκα γιμικόπια προσουστέου)...δταν b^2 δήθη δήθης έντη τρέα τοξε δίλους μαθήματαν γιθικοτικό, τος άμρικοτικ και τούς πόπους και ταίς είναιγκοφοιώς καπαλαμβάτων τηθ χρησέον φιλικέαν. V(VIII). C 4 \S 5 7-9, 1336 D 39-41, 13390 4 -7.

This passage furnishes most of the scanty information we gain respecting the education of the citizens as a whole. Aristotle distinctly states that gymnastic training must come first, c. 3 & 13, 1338b 5 f. n. (1003). He makes the first easy course of gymnastics to extend from the seventh year, IV(VII). 17, 15, to the age of puberty; gives the next three years, from 14 to 17, to the remaining subjects of education, and then appoints a stricter course of military drill lasting to the twenty-first year, to fit the youth for service in the army. This arrangement differs materially from that of Plato, n. (970), in the longer period assigned to gymnastics as compared with the other subjects to be learnt. On the other hand, it has been shown in the Introd. p. 51, from a comparison of c. 3 § 10, 1338 a 31-34, with c. 5 § 4, 1339 a 29f., n. (1024) that a higher scientific training was intended to follow, as in Plato's scheme, after the twenty-first year, especially in the principal subjects, most probably in pure and applied mathematics and finally in philosophy (παιδεία έλευθέριος καὶ καλή). These are the higher sciences (τὰ περιττά) mentioned c. 2 § 2, 1337 a 42, n. (979), of which it is not true, as it is of other studies (or at any rate, most other studies, including even proficiency in sympastics and music; see c. 2 & 5, n. 082) that, while not in themselves demogratory to a free man, they cannot be carried beyond a certain point without risk of βαναυσία.

Aristote's ideal state is not therefore, like Plato's Republic, in the last resort a preparation for another world, for he ignores individual immortality. It is quite as much a school of intellectual study as of morality: it is in the former aspect that its highest end is attained, c_1 , c_1 -frow d_1 , d_2 is But in the sequel wherever the word rande/a is employed, c_1 5 $\frac{5}{9}$, 1339 b 12, c_2 6 $\frac{5}{9}$, 1341 a 15, $\frac{5}{9}$, 1341 a 15, 20, c_1 7 $\frac{5}{9}$ if, 1341 b 25, 29, $\frac{5}{9}$, 1324 a 2, 28, 32 etc., it almost always denotes the early training, in the narrower sense of the term, before the twenty-first year (even $\mu d\theta \rho d\theta v$ is so used c_1 6 $\frac{5}{9}$, 1341 a 2), and hence that development of character of which the young are susceptible as they grow up, viz. the acquisition of moral habits, rather than that development of reason and the understanding which is only attainable

at a ripe age by instruction, experience, or personal reflection and inquiry. Nevertheless a certain tendency in this direction is clearly inseparable from the formation of character in the young, since without it even moral habits could not be acquired; see n. (1045). But Aristotle distinctly regards the speculative enjoyment, the aesthetic contemplation of the beautiful creations of imitative art as one factor in that highest intellectual gratification which in his judgment constitutes the true end of life and the height of human happiness. The question arises then: Would he have prohibited the citizens of his ideal state from engaging in the creation of such works of art? That instrumental performers and solo-singers living by the practice of their art, indeed all professional musicians, would have been classed with reverse or paid professionals would be quite certain even if we had not his repeated assurances to this effect, c. 5 & 8, c. 6 & 4-8, 15, 16. Actors he would doubtless have treated in the same way, especially as in Greece they were all trained to dance and sing on the stage in solo parts. Nor would he have been likely to show more consideration to the rhapsodists. Even for the purposes of singing and dancing in the dramatic, as in most of the lyric choruses, some sort of professional training was required; while the leader of the chorus was certainly obliged to be a skilful solo singer. The prohibition to practise music in later life c. 6 § 4, 1340 b 37 ff., n. (1067) sounds so uncompromising that even the equally precise statement, "no wellbred gentleman ever sings or plays, unless it be over his wine or for a jest" (καὶ τὸ πράττεω οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύουτος ἡ παίζουτος, C. 5 § 8, 1339 b 9, n. 1029), harely justifies the inference that on exceptional festive occasions this prohibition ceases to apply. Of any further concession, permitting the citizens to sing in the lighter lyric choruses, no trace can be found. For all these arts, then, only strangers, aliens, and freedmen are available in the ideal state. Even creative artists, who live by their art, and similarly, no doubt, writers of comedies, farces, and the like, cannot be conceived as occupying a different position. But we need not hence infer that Aristotle would have objected to see amongst his citizens such masters of sculpture and painting as Polygnotus (c. 5 § 7), Pheidias and Polycletus (Nic. Eth. VI. 7. 1, 1141 a 10 ff.); or such tragic poets as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Theodectes. Very possibly he may have hoped that his educational course would prove exactly fitted to produce just such men in his state, men who like the rest of his citizens are of course in easy circumstances, obliged, and at the same time competent, to renounce all thought of a return for their art in money or money's worth. "It is inconceivable," remarks Bradley, Hellenica p. 214 n., "that Aristotle, with his high view of art, should have considered his account of βαναυσία applicable to Phidias; but probably the following typically antique passage would not have sounded so strange to him as it does to modern ears; 'If a man applies himself to servile or mechanical employments his industry in these things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies': καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὰς νέος ἡ τὸν ἐν Πίση θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ την "Ηραν την εν "Αργει Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' 'Ανακρέων ή Φιλητάς ή 'Αρχίλοχος ήσθεις αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν: Plutarch, Vita Periclis c. 2, p. 153 A." SUSEM. (1015)

EXCURSUS II.

THE COMPOSITIONS OF OLYMPUS.

τών 'Ολέμπου μελών' ταῦτα γὰρ όμολογοιμένως ποιεί τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθοισιαστικός γ(VIII). c. 5 § 16, 1340 α 9. Cd. δι τών δ' ἰκριν μελών ὁρώμεν τούτους, όταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζους τὴν ψυχήν μελών, καθισταμένους ώστις Ιατρίας τυχόντας καλ καθάρτως, c. 7 § α , 1342 α 8—11.

Olympus, like Musaeus n. (1034), is not an historical character, but personifies in legend the earliest development amongst the Greeks, principally under Phrygian influence, of instrumental music for the flute: see Exc. IV. 76. (1078). For apparently all the pieces ascribed to him which were preserved until Aristotle's times and later were purely instrumental compositions for the flute (see Bergk Poet, Lyr.4 p. 800 f.) or nothing but αθλητικοί νόμοι, as they were called; cp. π. (17) to my edition of the Politics. Some of them were older than any other pieces of music, instrumental or vocal, then extant (Glaucus anud Plutarch. De Musica 5, 1132 E, F)1, and ou this account Olympus was regarded among the Greeks as the originator of artistic music: Plut. op. c. 29, 1141 B, Aristox. apud Plutarch. op. c. 11, 1135 B: cp. Glauc, A.c. But others were of later date than Terpander, and even than Thaletas2, see nn. (419, 788). Musical connoisseurs in antiquity, such as the tragic poet Pratinas, who easily recognized the difference, made an attempt to distinguish an older from a younger Olympus, the latter a descendant of the former, and to ascribe to the younger those young of Olympus which exhibited a more advanced artistic development, for example, a νόμος πολυκέφολος, so called from the number of its preludes, Others went further and invented a pupil of this younger Olympus, Crates by name, to whom they assigned the authorship of the πολυκέφαλος. Another of these airs (νόμοι), called άρμάτιος, of far older date, was admitted by all the critics to be the work of the earlier Olympus: see Plut. L.c. 7, 1133 D ff. Besides these we know of an air composed in the Phrygian Mode (see Exc. in honour of Athene, called δρθιος, the prelude to which was in different time from the body of the air (Dio Chrys. I. ad init., Aristox. apud Plutarch, ob. c. 33, 1143 B; cp. Plat, Crat. 417 E), another in honour of Ares (Plut. op. c. 20, 1141 B), a dirge upon Python, the earliest composition in the Lydian Mode (Aristox, apud Plutarch, 15, 1136 C), also compositions in honour of Cybele called unrouse (Plut. l. c. 29, 1141 B, Aristox. apud Plutarch. op. c. 19, 1137 D).

1 The reference to the oldest fluteplayers can only apply to Olympus and his school. There can be no doubt that, as Bergk and Westphal agree, αθλητικήν and αθλητικών should be read in this passage, instead of αθληθέων and αθλωpassage. Instead of αθληθέων and αθλω. . .

² For the introduction of the paconian or cretic rhythm into artistic music is rightly ascribed to Thaletas, and in the prelude to the air in honour of Athene ascribed to Olympus this rhythm occurs, As to the strange effect of these musical compositions, Plato says much the same thing, that they possessed a specially overpowering and extravagantly exciting character, and discovered such as feel a longing desire for the gods and their worship! Undoubtedly such airs and, in particular, those of them composed in the cestatic Phrygian Mode (see Exc. IV. p. 628 and a. 1107), are the "sacred melodies" from which Aristotle $c. 7 \, \xi. \, \mu$, (1009,) demonstrates the purifying effect of music in its most original form, since through the excitany which these airs awaken morbid ecstasy is expelled. This homeocpathic purgation from excitement is present to Aristotle's mind here, though all he alludes to is the arousing of the excitant yo which it is effected. All the more noteworthy, then, is the inference here from this well known purgative (cathartic) effect of music to the possibility of a moral effect. However carefully they are distinguished (c. 6 \S 9, 1341 a 21 f., c. 7 \S 3 ff.).

EXCURSUS III.

ETHOS OR CHARACTER.

 δ 8' èvboustasmès toù perl thy funchy hbour pairs èstin, v(viii). c. 5 \S 16, 1340 a 11 f.

Döring Kunstlehre des Aristoteles p. 335 ff. (Philologus XXVII. p. 705 ff.) has proved that in this passage, as well as in c, 2 & 1, 1337 a 30, n. (977), and elsewhere, the expression 'character of the soul,' τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς (or τὸ περὶ την ψυχήν) ήθος, or 'character' only, must be taken to mean not the more or less fixed special state of a man in regard to moral virtue and vice generally. or to this or that virtue and vice in particular, and hence in regard to his relation to the emotions, but the moral nature2 itself, the seat of desire and mental emotion, as the subject of the particular state in question; cp. nn. (40, 641, 786, 935, 790). But two things make it impossible to accept this explanation without modification. In the first place, if we look more closely, n. (1022), it appears that this 'orectic' soul is also that within us by which we feel every kind of pain or pleasure, so that the influence of music upon the character in this sense might equally be said to consist in the recreative pleasure with which music tickles the ear. In the second place, the inference that "because music undoubtedly calls forth the primary emotion of ecstasy, it must therefore affect that part of the soul which is the seat of the emotions as well as of the moral virtues and vices" is quite sound, but does not in the least prove what Aristotle is anxious here to prove, namely, that music can

¹ Plato Sympor. 215 C: Socrates is like Marsyas; ὁ μέν γε δε' ὁργάνων ἐκήλει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆ ἀπό τοῦ στόματος δυνάμει, καὶ ἐτι νυνὶ δε ἀν τὰ ἐκείνου αδλῆ. ᾶ γὰρ "Όλυμπος πόλει, Μασσύου Μένω, τοῦ δὰδά-

αντος. τὰ οδν ἐκείνου ἐάν τε ἀγαθὸς αὐλητὴς αὐλή ἐάν τε φαύλη αὐλητρίς, μένα κατέχεσθαι ποιεί καὶ δηλοῖ τοὺν τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν δεομένους διὰ τὸ θεᾶι εἶναι. ² τὸ ὀρεκτικόν, the 'orectic' soil.

be employed in the acquisition of the aptitudes or formed states ("few) called moral virtues. 'Influence upon the character' means here nothing more than the process of acquiring-or more correctly, assistance in the process of acquiring-those formed states, as is plain from the whole context, while it is also expressly laid down in the explanation that this influence makes us 'attain this or that distinctive state in respect of character's through the intervention of music (cp. Poet, 6 & 12 f., 1450 a 10 f.)2. Thus the phrase 'character,' or 'character of the soul,' cannot mean that part of the soul in itself but only (1) in so far as it already possesses those excellences or their opposites in the form of natural aptitudes, or favourable dispositions towards this or that virtue, or emotion, or their opposites, - φυσικαὶ έξεις, φυσικαὶ doeral (rai rarias) as Aristotle calls them, N.E. VI. 13. 1 f., 1144 a 1-14 (cp. above Pol. IV[VII]. 13. 11, n. 888), and (2) in so far as it already is gradually acquiring this or that moral virtue or its opposite, as they are concerned not simply with actions, moders, but with emotional excitements or feelings (πάθη, N.E. II. 6. 10, 1106 b 16 ff.). From this it is apparent that the growth of moral 'habit' may be fostered by excitement of the feelings, and hence that the real inference to draw is this: "because music can undoubtedly call forth feelings, at least in the case of ecstasy, it must probably, if not necessarily, be capable of being employed to foster moral habits." Thus, according to Aristotle, emotion as a passive excitement belongs to the irrational soul just so far as the soul is capable of receiving, and does receive, a character, and can itself be called 'character' precisely as a man of bad, or strong, or brave, or just, or temperate character is said to be himself such a character. Even love and hatred are but emotions, and vet, as Aristotle immediately says, cp. nn. (1022, 1044), all moral action is based upon love of good and hatred of evil. Take such a passage as Döring quotes from Rhet. II. 9. 1, 1386 b 12 ff., § 5, b 33 ff., to the effect that certain emotions belong only to a good, and others only to a bad character3: the simple consideration that courage is an emotion of the brave man and fear of the coward shows most plainly that Döring's explanation requires to be modified. It is only in this way that we can understand why Aristotle c. 5 & 18, cp. n. (1047), ranks the emotions, e.g. anger, among peculiarities of character (πθικά) side by side with the moral virtues, e.g. meekness, courage, temperance, and even proceeds to call these peculiarities of character § 20-22; cp. n. (1048) themselves characters ($\frac{\pi}{1}\theta\eta$), whilst in other places, such as c. 7 88 3-11, Poet 1. 6, 1447 a 27 f., cp. n. (1084), he holds fast by the difference so commonly recognized among the Greeks between emotion (πάθος),

¹ ποιοί τινες τὰ ήθη γενόμεθα, 1340 a 7.
2 elot δὲ κατά μὲν τὰ ήθη ποιοί τινες, κατά δὲ τὰς πράξεις εὐδαίμονες ἡ τούναντίον οδκουν ὅπως τὰ ήθη μιμήσωνται πρώττουσεν, άλλὰ τὰ ήθη συμπαραλαμβάνουστ

διά τὰς πράξεις.

3 και ἄμφω τὰ πάθη (sc. έλεεῦν καὶ νεμεσάν) ήθους χρηστοῦ. [Döring argues
thus: πάθη are in this and other passages ascribed to ήθος, but Nic. Eth. 11.

^{5. 1, 1105} b 20, πάθη are said to be be τη wext, while from Rhet. II. 12, 1188 b 30, we gather that τόθο (like ψαχθ) includes more under it than τόθη only. Hence he considers himself justified in equating τόθο with ψαχθ deperted, and would explain Ph. (V(III), 5. 16, 1340 a 6, as a case where the more special term τόθο is combined with the more general term ψαχή.)

in the sense of a passing burst of feeling, and character (βθο) in the sense of a permanent moral state, which is the fixed and standing temperament of each man, composed of the various moral virtues and vices specially belonging to that particular individual. Déring p. 156 from his own line of thought finds this strange and cannot refrain from attempting to whittle away the meaning by forced ingenuity. Even at the end of § 21, cp. π. (rog-3), an artist 'full of character' (βθοδο) does not mean a sculptor or painter who depicts emotions, but one who depicts characters in this nurvour sense, who indeed, to speak still more accurately, represents noble characters, no matter whether in a state of emotion or free from emotion. Even the separate moral virtues are called 'characters' Nic. Edv. VI. 3. 1, 1144 b.4, or as we should say 'qualities of character.' The expression row graph-γρ-γργό gloss roßes' an encoin of the character of the soul' πο διστρα το στο γραγο γρα

EXCURSUS IV.

ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC: MODES, RHYTHMS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, SCALES: NOTES 1054, 1056, 1078, 1090.

MODES.

is 81 τους κρίωτεν αιθτούς έτση μερήματα του ήθους (και) τους είναι όρει είναι μερό τι εθνό εξερμοτή είναι τους είναι είνα

"Medodies, on the other hand, give us substantive initiations of character. This is manifest. The temper of the several musical modes is so essentially distinct that the hearers are affected with a corresponding variety of mood. Some, such as the semi-Lydian, tend to wrap the spirit in grief and gloom; others, the luxnious relaxed modes, stoch it to a softer ease; the Dorian seems alone in producing a sober and sedaate frame of mind; the Phrygian kindles enthusiassm." 1

We feel a similar difference in the impression made upon us by the major and minor keys, the only two species of keys we possess, which differ from each other in having a major and minor third respectively. In the scale without signature we take as key-notes only A (Ia) and C (tul), and

^{[1} This version is largely indebted to Prof. Jebb: see Translations p. 121.]

[2 Do is often used instead of ut.]

so obtain A minor and C major scales. But the Greeks must have taken every other note of the octave in turn for key-note; so that they obtained seven Modes, i.e. 'Harmonies' (έρμονία), or 'Species of Octaves' (έδο τῶν τοῦ διὰ ποσῶν)', as they were called by the school of Aristoxenus and by Ptolemy:—

- (1) BC D EF G a b², Mixolydian;
- (2) C D EF G a bc³, Lydian;
- D EF G a bc d , Phrygian;
 EF G a bc d e , Dorian;
- (5) F G a bc d ef , Hypolydian;
- (6) Gabcd ef g , Ionian;
- (7) A BC D EF G a, Acolian.

The Aeolian Mode was by later writers on the theory of music called Hypodorian (Heracleid. apud Ath. XIV. 624 E), and what they called Hypophrygian was to all appearance the same as Ionian. In this way there only remain three distinct names of Modes, Dorian, Lydian, Phrygian, and the Modes similarly designated Hypodorian, Hypolydian, Hypophrygian stand in exactly the same relation to the former three; the Hypodorian and the Dorian, the Hypolydian and the Lydian, the Hypophrygian and the Phrygian Modes are respectively the same, only with this difference that in each case a melody in the first named mode ends on the key-note (tonic) whilst in the last named it ends on the fifth (dominant). The first way of ending is usual with us, the latter an unusual exception, but among the Greeks on the contrary the latter was the normal ending, the former being considered subsidiary as is shown by the "hypo-," and it is therefore clear that the Lydian Mode, though it closely resembles our Major, yet by no means coincides with it. Lastly, the Mixolydian Mode according to Westphal4 and Gevaert6 was a Phrygian or Ionian ending on the third, and corresponding to it there was also a 'high-strung' Lydian, a second mode in A besides the Aeolian. We are not told whether the Dorian or Aeolian Mode was also modified in this way, which would have given rise to a second mode in C; Westphal thinks it possible that a Boeotian Mode mentioned in the scholia on Aristoph. Eq. 985 may be the one in question. Compositions of this kind must at any rate have been produced very seldom. The terms high-strung (σύντονοι) and low-pitched (ἀναμέναι) are only applied to the Lydian and Ionian, and if this is all correct, neither Hypolydian nor Mixolydian can have been the original designations for the modes of those names,

for an interval of a semitone they are closer together.

oser togetner.

³ ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la, si.

⁴ Gr. Metrik first edition 11. 1. p. 342 ff.,

second edition 1. p. 266 ff., Gesch. der allen und mittelalterlichen Musik (Breslau 1865) p. 21 ff., 167 ff.

⁵ Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité (Gent 1875) 1. p. 146.

¹ Also called πόσο, but improperly so, because that is the word used for transposition-scales. The word σφείες itself is used in Dict. of Antiquities, Art. 'MUSIC.' for άρμογία οτ είδοι πόσ ποῦ δὰ πασῶτ.' for τόσο κὰ ποῦ τοῦ κὰ τοῦ κὰ

Where the interval is a full tone, the letters have been placed further apart;

but the first must have been called low-pitched Lydian, the second highpitched Ionian, and as contrasted with the latter that which is known as the Ionic Mode would be low-pitched Ionian, although according to the analogy of the Lydian the names high Phrygian and low Phrygian would be expected to be applied to these two modes. The number of modes will thus be raised from seven to eight at least, and a further one must be added, a third mode in A, the Locrian (Pseudo-Eucl. Harm. p. 18, Bacch. p. 19, Gaudent, p. 20 Meib.), which was invented by Xenocritus of Locri (Callim, in Schol, Pind. Ol. XI. 117) about the time of Thaletas (see n. 410), commonly employed in the time of Simonides and Pindar, but afterwards fell out of use (Heracleid. in Ath. XIV. 625 E). As Gaudentius expressly states that the seventh species of octave admitted of a twofold division, according as either the fifth (as is the case with the Aeolian or Hypodorian Mode) or the fourth is to be taken for the closing note, no doubt this second case represents the Locrian Mode. To the question, why the Mixolydian received that name, though it is a species of the Phrygian, Gevaert replies p. 188 ff., that, as the ancients observed (Plut. De Mus. 16, 1136 E), it was the counterpart of the low-pitched Lydian, since the sequence of intervals in the one is exactly contrary to that in the other, the Mixolydian scale having a sequence of a half tone, two whole tones, a half tone and three whole tones descending, the Hypolydian the same sequence in ascending:

and moreover, because in these two modes alone only a single division into the fourth and fifth is possible in the ascending scale, viz., in the Mixolydian into the fourth and fifth, in the Hypolydian reversely into the fifth and fourth, because in the former the first fifth, ascending B to F, is diminished, and in the latter the first fourth. F to b. is autemented:

To this must be added the fact that the Mixolydian Mode ends the mclody with the third, in common (not indeed with the low-pitched Lyddian, but) with the 'highly strung' Lydian, and this, says Gevaert, appears to have been the really decisive analogy in the eyes of the ancients, for Plato (Ref. Mr. 1958 B) assays both these keys convey an impression of wailing and lamentation. Lastly in regard to the terms oriversee 'highly strung' and deughan' relaxed,' which in strictness can only mean raised and lowered in pitch (since the tightening of the string produces a higher note), Covaret (n. 19.7) processes in

explain them by saying that the high-pitched Lydian and the high-pitched lonian or Misolydian melodies seem to have principally employed the higher part of their compass and to have gone in this direction beyond their proper cotave. In the case of the low-pitched modes, the Hypolydian and Ionian, the opposite would have to be proved, and Gevaert might have supported his theory by the statement made in c. 7 § 13 f, though not by Artstold (see m. 113), that men advanced in life could not manage the high-strung keys, but found the low-pitched ones naturally more suitable to them. But putting aside the Locrian Mode and the points in this explanation most liable to be disputed, viz.—whether the Hypolydian and low-pitched Lydian Modes, the Hypophyrgian or Ionian and the low-pitched Ionian are in each case one and the same, and whether the last toverher with the hirt-pitched Lydian Mode result willifered

1 That this cannot have been the case will be seen below. Still less can I agree in the views of another expert who has investigated this subject, C. v. Jan Die Tonarten bei Platon im dritten Buch der Republik, Jahrb. für Philol. XCV. 1867, p. 815 sqq. According to him the high-strung and low-pitched Lydian are considered to be the two subdivisions of the Lydian as distinguished from the Hypolydian, just as the high-strung and low-pitched Ionian are subdivisions of the Ionian. Jan thinks that to obtain an Aeolian octave from the fundamental Dorian octave, ef g a bc d e, all that was necessary was to tune the second string (παρυπάτη) half a tone higher (ff); to obtain a Phrygian it would be necessary also to tune the sixth half a tone higher (c#); for a Lydian you might either raise four strings (ff, gf, cf, df) or lower three (cb, ab, bb); and for an Ionian

there was a similar choice between raising three (ff, gf, cff) or lowering four strings (c), ab, bb, db). A double method was similarly possible for obtaining a Mixolydian scale, either by raising six notes (ett, ftt, gtt, att, ctt, dtt) or lowering b (mapaueros) to b, but only the first was called Mixolydian, and it cannot be decided how this came about. The Hypolydian, he thinks, could be derived in both ways, but had originally no special name, because it was not readily capable of practical employment owing to the augmented fourth f b. (In this assertion Jan has omitted to consider the fact that this mode occurs frequently in the ecclesiastical music of the middle ages, also in a Swedish national air still current at the present day, indeed Beethoven has composed a Canzonetta in this mode; see Gevaert, pp. 137 f., 172, 175.)

[Low Hypolydian	E	F	ı
High-pitched Lydian	Ė	F	ij.
High-pitched Ionian	E	F	Ť
Phrygian	E	F	ii C
Aeolian	E	F	#G
Dorian	E	F	~ c
[High Mixolydian ,	E	F	G
High Hypolydian E	, –	F	Ċ
Low-pitched Lydian El	,	F	0
Low-pitched Ionian E	•	F	C
non promot comme			

Et Ft

Mixolydian

The reason why I have not been con-
vinced by this explanation, which has
been carefully thought out, may be
gathered from my exposition generally
and the more detailed account of Gevaert,
the main outlines of which I have repro-



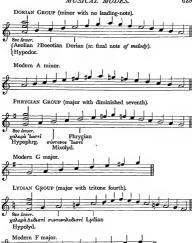
duced, with the necessary reservations where I could not concur. Still in view of the difficulty of the subject I did not wish to withhold Jan's opinion from the reader. [See further Jan's article 'Musik' in Baumeister's Denkmäler II. 974—083.] from the rest by ending on the third¹, this much is certain that there are only three main distinctive names, applied in the nomenclature of the Greek Modes, Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian, and that we must consequently assume only three fundamental Modes corresponding to them, the difference between them and the Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, and Hypolydian respectively being no doubt that discovered by Westphal and stated above. With this explanation best agrees the fact that originally Hypodorian was called 'Acolian' and Hypophrygian 'Ionian'. For we must credit Plato's statement (Local, 188 D), that the Dorian Mode was the only original and national one, if we include under this name the Acolian Mode, which Plato Repub. Lo comits to enumerate among the modes, because no doubt he regards it as forming one and the same mode with the Dorian. It is very characteristic that, on this supposition, the original key of the Creeks was a sort of Minor differing from our Minor in not having the sixth and seventh sharpered in the assending scale:

whilst in the descending scale the modern Minor agrees entirely with the Aeolian. This is in accordance with the description given by the ancients of the simple, calm, and manly character (160s) of the Dorian Mode which, ending as it does on the fifth, would be least suitable for modern polyphonous music though it really furnishes the clearest and most distinctive harmonic relations, whilst the Aeolian as a Minor and the Lydian as a Major approach most closely to the spirit of modern music. This is also shown in the attempts of the ancients to describe the different impressions conveyed by the Aeolian and the Dorian. The Locrian too was of course a Minor. In addition to the original Dorian and Aeolian Modes of the Greeks two new ones were introduced from Asia Minor, the Phrygian or Ionian and the Lydian, in company with the wind instruments which had their origin there (see no. 1042, 1078)2. It can be easily understood that the Phrygian was also called the Ionian after the Ionians of Asia Minor who first adopted it, and that then the two names were used to distinguish the principal Mode and the subordinate Mode. These two new approximate the Phrygian and Lydian, were of the nature of our Major Keys, the latter an augmented Major, so to speak, the former an undeveloped Major: the latter had a flat too few or a sharp too many, the former exactly the opposite; the Lydian had an augmented or tritone fourth, the Phrygian a diminished seventh:

 [[]See note on p. 637 f.]

 We hear even of a Phrygian tetrachord, d ef g, and a Lydian tetrachord, c d ef, side by side with the Dorian tetra-

chord ef g a. See Helmholtz Lehre der Tonempfindungen p. 405 [Eng. tr. by A. J. Ellis].



There is a great contrast between the impressions which these groups convey. Moreover the Lydian melodies conform to the natural or authentic order, in which the final note is the lowest, the Phrygian to the so-called oblique or plaged order, in which the melody rises about as high above its final note as it descends below it, so that the final note is about in the middle of its compass. This explains the ecstatic and rapturous feeling (for which widdle is a more correct expression than \$\tilde{\theta}_0\text{which}\$ which the Phrygian melodies inspired in the ancients. Our "major mode" is a development out of these two ancient modes as the proper mean between them. The Mixodyian Mode was first invented by Sapoho, about Goods. (Aristox. In Plut. De

Musica 16, 1136 C sq.) and was theoretically developed much later by Pythocleides of Ceos, a musician living at Athens (Aristox. ibid.), or according to another more detailed account (Lysis ibid.) by another musician of somewhat later date Lamproclus of Athens, who like Pindar was a pupil of Agathocles (Schol, Plat. Alcib. I. 118 C). The invention of the lowpitched Lydian was ascribed to the Athenian Damon, a contemporary of Pericles and Socrates, see n. (1055) (Plut. ibid. 1136 E). Aristotle designates the low-pitched modes as relaxed and effeminate, similarly Plato Rep. l. c. speaks of them as effeminate and intoxicating, which no doubt is rightly explained c. 7 § 11 (see n. 1113) to refer, not to the exciting, but to the soothing and weakening effects of intoxication. In c. 7 & 4 Aristotle mentions with approval a division of all the musical Modes into iθυκαί, ethical, πρακτικαί (Modes of action=scenic?) and ἐνθουσιαστικαί, ecstatic; and allows the young for educational purposes to be instructed in those only of the first class. Here Gevaert has made a great mistake in assigning all those which end on the dominant, i.e. Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, to the first class 'ethical'; all those which end on the tonic, i.e. Hypodorian (Aeolian), Hypolydian (low-pitched Lydian) and Hypophrygian (Ionian or low-pitched Ionian), to the second class (mourtweef); and all those ending on the third, i.e. the two mournful and high-pitched modes, Mixolydian (highly strung Ionian) and highly strung Lydian, to the third class 'ecstatic.' He is only right as regards the third class. But if the Boeotian was a Dorian Mode ending on a third, they might belong to the same class, and the same would hold good of the Locrian. Gevaert has been misled by the fact that Plato assigns a prominent place to the Phrygian only along with the Dorian, and yet according to his description of the Phrygian (Rep. 300 A ff.) as impetuous and warlike, it ought to be reckoned among the second class. But Gevaert strangely forgets that Aristotle c. 7 & 9 f. (see n. 1107) strongly disputes Plato's assertion, and designates the Phrygian Mode as ecstatic above all others, putting it at the head of the third class. There would then be joined to it the two other 'high-strung' modes of a mournful character, inasmuch as all painful emotions imply something ecstatic, something carrying men out of themselves (cp. nn. 1047, 1072, 1084, 1089, 1095, 1096, 1101). In Problems XIX. 48 no doubt the Hypophrygian has the same adjective προκτικός applied to it which is used of the second class of Modes here, but not so the Hypodorian; on the contrary it is called majestic and calm (700s eyes μεγαλοπρεπές και στάσιμου). It is simply an afterthought to class both together as mourted, but even then only in opposition to the Phrygian Mode which is there also said to be ecstatic and full of Bacchic frenzy as the expression of passive emotions1. The Hypodorian or Aeolian Mode must undoubtedly be assigned to the first class, although it forms a sort of transition to the second, and the Hypophrygian ought certainly to be put

ἡ μιξολυδιστί (from Gaza) before κατὰ μἐν οὖν, as recommended by Gevaert, appears to me quite a mistake. Cp. p. 607.

¹ ἡ [ὑπο]φρυγιστί (ἐνθουσιαστικὴ γὰρ καὶ βακχική). κατὰ μὲν οῦν ταύτην πάσχομέν τι...κατὰ ἐξ τὴν ὑποδωριστί καὶ ὑποφρυγιστί πράττομεν. The insertion of μάλιστα ἐξ

with the second, were it not for the statement both of Aristotle and Plato that the low-pitched keys are relaxed, effeminate and drowsy. There are only two possible solutions of this difficulty: either the author of this problem had a different idea of the character of the Hypophrygian from that of Plato and Aristotle, or else the Hypophrygian and low-pitched Ionian are not the same Mode. It is quite evident that drowsy and effeminate modes cannot be classed with those which inspire a bacchic frenzy. They can only come among those representative of character, ibusal, not in the position of the highest of those modes such as the Dorian and Aeolian, but as constituting a transition to the ecstatic. In this way the Lydian only would remain in the second class, but c. 7 § 15 it is curiously distinguished from all other modes, and would appear from the description given to belong to the first class. Still this passage, which cannot have proceeded from Aristotle's pen, is so strange in other respects that it need not be taken into account, see n. (1113). Much more weight attaches to the circumstance that Aristotle evidently (see nn. 1088, 1096) assumes more than one mode of the second class, and this compels us to decide that the Hypophrygian or Ionian must really be a different mode from the low-pitched Ionian, and consequently that the low-pitched Lydian is unlikely to have been the same as the Hypolydian, so that this point remains quite obscure1. Of course the Lydian Mode was also employed for mournful instrumental pieces upon the flute (see #. 1042), and in Tragedy was frequently adopted in the κομμοί, dialogues of lamentation between the leader of the chorus and actors (Cratin. in Ath. XIV. 638 f.); for the latter purpose however the Dorian Mode was used in older times (Plut. De Musica 17, 1136 F), and it is very characteristic that Pindar in his odes appears to have employed only the Lydian Mode besides the Dorian and Aeolian. It is very interesting to notice the fact shown by VI(IV). 3. 4 (cp. n. 1159) that even among the ancients some theoretical musicians rightly perceived that the three fundamental modes might be reduced to two, which we call Major and Minor. For those who, as is stated in that passage, only recognized the Dorian and Phrygian as fundamental apportus, like the moderns, put all other differences into the background, and rested the main distinction entirely upon the minor or major third. In this way they might just as well have put Lydian for Phrygian, or better might have combined the words into Lydo-Phrygian. It is well known that the Greek modes passed to the Romans, and to the ecclesiastical and secular music of all European nations until after the Reformation: they are still well represented in the older protestant hymn tunes and survive in Celtic, Swedish, Slavonic, and Flemish national airs. Even in the older periods of modern music we continue to find an excess of the Minor over the Major, followed later on by a balance between them. SUSEM. (1054)

The explanations given by Susemihl considerable modification in accordance yahrb. f. Phil. xcv. 1867, p. 231 require with the foregoing.

MUSICAL RHYTHMS.

to duto de tráson éxel tá serí tois énhos, ol men har éxonoun hbos otasimaters ol de kuntukón, kal toútum ol mén hartíras éxonou tás kuntukón có de éxhubermetras. V(VIII) c. 5 § 23, 1340 b 7—10.

The Greeks had three kinds of time or metre: (1) even or dactylic time, in which the two parts of the metre are of even length, (2) double or iambic time, in which the prominent beat, arsis, is twice as long as the secondary, thesis, and (3) one-and-a-half or paeonian time, in which the arsis as compared with the thesis is in the proportion of 11 : 1. The dactylic time, corresponding to our common time, conveys a quiet settled feeling; the iambic corresponding to our triple time, and still more the paeonian, a time of five beats which seldom occurs in our modern music, give an impression of unrest. The Ionic measure ---- was considered specially wanting in nobility, loose and effeminate (Arist. Quint, p. 37 Meib., Demetr. De eloc. § 189, Metr. Ambros. p. o Keil, p. 262 Nauck, Mar. Vict. II. 8. 7, p. 122 Gaisf, p. 90, 19 sq. Keil, Schol, A Heph. p. 190 Westph., Dionys. Halic. De Demosth. vi admirabili p. 1093). The Ionic monopody, dipody, and tripody correspond to our 3, 4, 4 time. Cp. Westphal Metrik 2 ed. L. p. 534 ff. SUSEM. (1056) See now the third edition of Westphal's work, Griechische Rhythmik (1885), p. 99 ff. esp. p. 156, Aristoxenus I. p. 35 ff. An example of (3) is the Delphian hymn to Apollo in § time.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: HARPS, ETC.

οΐον πηκτίδες και βάρβιτοι και τα πρός ήδονήν συντείνοντα τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἐπτάγωνα και τρίγωνα και σαμβίκαι. V(VIII). C. $6 \S 13, 1341 a 40-b 1$.

None of these stringed instruments were of Greek origin, and Aristocemus (in Athen. IV. 182 F) speaks of the ¢oferuse, particle, spejdikee, opufficus, priguese, e\lambda\rho \(\text{imp} \) (3ct f) of the \$\lambda\rho \) (3ct f) of \$\lambda\rho \) (3ct f) (3c

the magadis, it was played with the fingers without a plectrum (Aristox. in Athen. XIV. 635 B). Menaechmus asserts in Ath. 635 B, E that Sappho was the first to use1 the instrument, stating that he follows Aristoxenus in regarding it as the same as the magadis, whilst others rightly make a distinction between the uáyades and the martis (Ath. 636 A ff.). In all probability the explanation of this inconsistency must be sought with Jan in the fact that the univalus seems to have been a modification of the myeris. At any rate the μάγαδις also is termed Lydian by Didymus in Ath. 634 F and perhaps before him by Anacreon (ibid. Fr. 18), and the latter calls the πηκτίς (Fr. 17) and the μάγαδις (Fr. 18 in Ath. 634 C, 635 C) his instrument, assigning to it twenty strings, a round number, as Posidonius thinks (ibid. 634 C. D), instead of twenty-one. But from the account of Aristoxenus (ibid, 635 B), who quotes Pindar I.c. in his favour, it appears that one-half of the strings gave the same notes as the other half, but in a higher octave, and that the instrument was used in accompanying antiphonal singing of men and boys, requiring therefore that it should be played with both hands, the one striking the higher, the other the deeper notes. When Telestes (Fr. 4 in Ath. 637 A) apparently describes the µdyobis as five-stringed, we must probably assume with Jan that he really means five tetrachords, that is to say twenty strings, and in the same way in the case of Sopater I. c. we must suppose that the myerls had, not two strings, but two separate tetrachords, and therefore eight strings or a full octave. Phillis however (ibid, 636 F) says the words and ugwales (which he distinguishes from one another), the σαμβύκη, ιαμβύκη, τρίγωνον and κλεψίαμβος, had all of them nine strings. According to Euphorion (in Ath. IV. 182 F. XIV. 435 A) the unwales -or rather the σαμβύκη, a modification of it (see below),-was most frequently used in Mitylene; and on the assumption of its development from the marks this fact entirely coincides with the mention of the latter and its employment by Sappho, the poetess of Lesbos. Yet the Spartan poet and composer Alcman, himself a Lydian by birth, had at a somewhat earlier date sung of putting aside the uavades (Fr. QI in Ath. 636 F) and must no doubt have used the instrument.

Similarly the βάρβενω (neuter), also βάρβενω (nasc. or fem.), was of foreign or rather Lydian origin. For Strabo x. 471 says that all the names συμβένη, βάρβενως πρετές, are foreign, and Findat L. c. designates the βάρβενω as an adaptation of the Lydian πρετέ. Like this, it was a leading instrument in Lesbos much used by the lyric poets there. Pindar L. c. ascribes its invention, or more correctly its introduction, to Terpander. Horace (Carm. t. 1. 34) calls it 'Lesbian' and assigns its use to Alcaeus (Carm. 1. 34, 5fl.). Sappho also mentions it and must have used it in her songs; so too afterwards the Ionian Anacreon, a follower of Alcaeus and Sappho (Euphorion in Athen. 182 F=Sapph. Fr. 134, Anacr. Fr. 143). Critias calls the βάρβενω Sappho's favourite instrument (in Ath. XIII. Gooc); Neathers (Fr. 5; in the Cooc); Neather

 $^{^1}$ So also Suidas s.v. $\Sigma \alpha \pi \phi \omega$, where the mention of the plectrum in the received text is due to corruption.

Athen. 175 C) erroneously ascribes its invention to Anacreon¹. Jan (p. 15 f.) is then no doubt right in recognizing the instrument, with which Alcaeus and Sappho are represented, as the Barbiton:



The only particular difference between this instrument and the λύρα consists in the greater length of the strings and of its entire structure. This is in agreement with the fact that it was an octave lower than the muris, as appears from Pindar I.c. Thus it continued down to about the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (R. A. VII. 72) to be comparatively the commonest stringed instrument in Greece after the κιθάρα and λύρα, as may be eathered from the mention of them together Athen, 182 E and Pollux IV. 8. co. from the fact that Aristoxenus (see p. 632) does not place it among the uncommon instruments, and also from the numerous representations of it. It would seem to have been played by means of the plectrum, if we are to rely upon No. 59 of the so-called Anacreontea. Anaxilas apud Ath. 183 B mentions only three strings, Plutarch De Monarch. 4. 827 A, and Theocritus XVI. 45. speak of many strings, and Teuffel correctly observes (Pauly's Realencycl, IV, p. 1280 n.) that the number of strings may have varied very much, since we find on vases figures of BáoBeros with three, four, and six strings. The contrast which Aristotle here makes between BáoBaros and marides on the one hand, and the other instruments mentioned by him on the other, shows that the latter were less in fashion than the BáoBtros and even than the mystis and unyuous. In vase paintings there often occurs the annexed triangular instrument, which represents no doubt either a triangle οτ α σαμβύκη:--

¹ Cp. Pseudo-Simonides Fr. 184, Anacreontea 2, 14, 23, 40, 41, 50.



The τρίγωνον or triangle is called by Juba (Fr. 73 in Ath. 175 D) an invention of the Syrians, that is probably of the Assyrians¹; by Ptolemy Harm. III. 7, p. 248 an invention of the Egyptians. Sophocles Lc. gives it the epithet Phrygian, and according to another tragic poet, Diogenes (in Ath. 636 A, see Nauck Trag. Gr. Fragm. p. 602 sq. ed. 2), it was common among the Lydians, and in Suidas (s.v. Σίβυλλα) its origin was traced to the Sibyl. It was triangular in form, as its name implies, and had a number of strings of unequal length, the shorter ones at the elbow, the longer at the base (Aelian apud Porphyr. on Ptolem. p. 216 sq.), and it was therefore of some considerable size (Diog. Lc., Arist, Probl. XIX, 23). The manbles was likewise triangular (Athen. 634 A, Suidas s.v. "ISuxos) and, the strings being short, had a very high register (Aristid, Quintil, p. 101, Athen, 633 F). Euphorion represents the instrument as being an adaptation of the uávalus (in Ath. 635 A); the same writer (in Ath. 633 F on the authority of a work of Pythagoras upon the Red Sea) states that it had four strings among the Parthians and Troglodytes, whilst among the Greeks it was many-stringed, according to Plato Ac. The statement of Skamon in Athen. 637 B that it was invented by Sambyx and first used by the Sibyl does not help us. Neanthes Le. says either of the τρέγωνον or more probably (agreeing with Suidas Le. and Schol. in Aristoph. Thesm. 168) of the σαμβίκη-which instrument is meant, is not clear-that it was invented by Ibykus, who probably was in fact the first to introduce it into Greek music; but Juba (l.c) attributed the (?) λυροφοίνιξ σομβύκη2, as well as the triangle, to the Syrians. Practically all the ancients, agreeing with Aristotle, were of opinion that the τρίγωνον, and more especially the σαμβύκη3, were only suitable for loose songs and melodies and persons of light character, and this would be in accord with the first adoption of the σαμβύκη by Ibykus. Compare the comic verses in Athen. 638 E4 and the phrases "ballet girl and player on the triangle," την ποδοκτύπην τε καὶ

¹ Heliodorus Aeth. Iv. 17 speaks of Phoenicians, who after playing the πηκτίε indulge in wild Assyrian dances.
² In Kaibel's edition of Athenaeus an

hiatus is assumed at this place, 175 D, between λυροφοίνικα and σαμβόκην.

³ Both were introduced into Rome,

Dionys. Hal. R. A. L. 33, Ath. 183 c, Liv. XXXIX. 6. 4 δ δξ Γνήσιππος ξστ' ἀκούειν

δε νυκτερίν' εύρε μοιχοῖε ἀείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι γυναῖκαε ἔχονταε ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρί-

τριγωνίστριαν (Lucian Lexiph. 8), χαμαιτύπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστοίαις (Plut. Anton. 9), ἄγουτα σαμβυκιστρίας καὶ κιναίδους (Plut. Cleom. 35), κιναίδους ἄγεω καὶ σαμβύκας (Polyb. v. 37. 10) and others (Tib. Gracch, in Macrob. Sat. II. 10. Arnob. II. 42). This explains what Eupolis meant by mentioning triangleplaying (Fr. 1 in Ath. 183 C, F) in his comedy of the Bánros, directed against Alcibiades and his companions, who are represented in the play as celebrating indecent orgies in honour of the Thracian goddess Cotytto. Presumably such instruments were introduced simultaneously with the wild rites of foreign deities. The right reading is therefore undoubtedly gauginal and not lauSissu, which I had adopted in my larger edition from the indications of the better family of manuscripts. The lauBirn was the instrument used by Archilochus and other older iambic poets in declaiming their verses when sung, the κλεψίαμβος being used when they were melodramatically? recited (Phillis I.c., cp. Hesych. and Suidas s.v. laμβύκη). Aristoxenus, as has been mentioned, gives the κλεψίαμβος among the unusual instruments. Upon the whole question consult Böckh De metr. Pind. p. 260 ff., Lobeck, Aelaobhamus p. 1014 ff., L. v. Ian, De fidibus Graecorum pp. 15 sq., 26 ff., Baumeister Denkmäler III. p. 1444 ff. Susem. (1077)

SCALES.

τών μελών τὰ σύντονα και παρακεχρωσμένα, c. 7 § 7, 1342 a 24 f.

The "colour" of notes (χοῦμα) denotes the distinction betwen the three varieties of scale, or 'genera' of octaves, one of which is itself called the chromatic, the two others being the diatonic and enharmonic, and their subdivisions. The most simple form of the glab of e-mbraced all the notes of the octave in their usual order of g a be de. Terpander omitted c, whilst the oldest instrumental composers for the flute included under the name of Olympus (see Exc. II.) omitted d and probably g (Aristo. Probl. XIX. 23, Aristox. apud Plut. De Mas. 11, 33). The latter arrangement would give the following succession of intervals:

semitone, major third, tone, semitone, major third; and this was the older form of the enharmonic scale. Later on the interval of a semitone was split up into two quarter tones (&lecus):

so that the intervals became: quarter-tone, quarter-tone, major third, whole tone, quarter-tone, quarter-tone, major third; and this was the second kind of enharmonic scale. The diatonic scale on the other hand even in its irregular forms had no intervals either so large or so small. Its two regular varieties correspond to our so-called natural scale and scale of even temperament.

¹ The suggestion, which D. Volkmann De Suidae biogr. p. 14 makes à propos of this passage, that Aristotle was the first (perhaps in the Dialogue On Paets) to attribute the original employment of the

πηκτίε, τρίγωνων, and σαμβύκη to Sappho, Ibycus, and the Sibyl, is based upon very slight evidence, as he himself in part admits.

² See #. 10 on the Poetics (ed. Susem.).

In the case of the former there is between f and g rather more than a whole tone (%), and between g and a rather less than a whole tone (%), whilst in the case of the latter, as on our tempered pianoforte, the intervals of a whole tone are all equal. Besides these the Greeks also had two irregular forms, (3) one with an excessive whole tone (2) and a diminished whole tone (22), a tone being inserted in the minor third B D in the place of the C omitted by Terpander, which was separated from D by the first, and from B by the latter interval, whilst at the same time in the other minor third E G the intermediate tone F was likewise exchanged for a corresponding inserted tone: the other (4) with an excessive and a diminished whole tone, the latter being inserted in the major third in the place of the notes G and D, omitted in the older Enharmonic, that is to say an excessive Fit and Cit. Finally the chromatic scale shares with the irregular forms of the diatonic the omission of C, and with the enharmonic the omission of G, and with both the compensation for these tones by an insertion, but differs from both in making the greatest interval always more than an excessive whole tone, and the two other intervals more than a quarter of a tone. The regular form of this class, which is also employed in our present chromatic and was older than the enharmonic (Plut. De Mus. 11, 1134 F, 20, 1137 E), has only the usual whole tones and semitones:

semitone, semitone, minor third, semitone, semitone, minor third, whole tone, The irregular forms have quarter tones and excessive minor thirds or excessive quarter tones and half tones or diminished minor thirds etc. These subdivisions of the three scales were called their shades or nuances (youn) of sound. It appears therefore from what has been said that what we call chromatic and enharmonic in our music is something quite different from the chromatic and enharmonic scales of the Greeks. The quarter tones are something quite strange to us, but the augmented whole tones we can reproduce, and even the occasional attempts to work with them in composition have, since Beethoven, succeeded. The later enharmonic scale had gone out of use even as early as the time of Aristoxenus, but he defends it with great spirit (Plut. De Musica && 37-30). On the other hand the chromatic and the irregular diatonic were in Ptolemy's time still extensively used by soloists in vocal and instrumental music. But for chorus-singing even among the ancients only the regular diatonic scale was employed. The scales may be defined generally to be the different methods of arranging the intervals between the four tones of a tetrachord or the eight of an octave. See Westphal Metr.2 I. p. 412 ff., Gevaert p. 269 ff., also Helmholtz p. 403 ff. By unnatural 'colouring' Aristotle probably means all the kinds of irregular diatonic and chromatic scales and also, differing in this respect from Aristoxenus, the later enharmonic scale. SUSEM. (1099)

NOTE.—The assumption of Modes in which the melody ended on the third, i.e. the third above the key-note, is beset with peculiar difficulties, p. 628 n. i. For if only the melody ended on the third, while the accom-

paniment ended on the key-note, how can we account for the fact that the chord of the third was held by the ancients to be semi-disconant, projópovo, like the tritone? While if Gevaert is right in supposing accompaniment and melody alike to end on the third, then the assumed key-note is not the final note: what data then are left for determining the key-note of an ancient composition? On p. 625 this is taken to be the bring; compare now Th. Reinach in Bulletin de correspondance hellenique XVII. 1893, p. 597 ff. In the article MUSIC in the Dict. of Antiquities (ed. 3) Mr. D. E. Monro pertuently remarks, "the chief difficulty is the want of any direct statement regarding the tonality of the ancient modes, or the note in which the melody ended." The hypothesis, that the piero of each mode was its keynote (Grundton, Tonica), based upon Ar. Probl. XIX. 20 (cp. Dio Chrys. (8, 7) and doubtfully accepted by Hellmholtz, Lether der Tomenfindungen, p. 367 ff. (cp. p. 412), is only true, as explained above p. 625, of the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian Modes.

Å protest against Westphal's assumption of 'Modes ending on the third' appeared in Alg. Musik. Zig for 1878 p. 737. Ultimately Westphal with-drew his assumption in the preface, dated 1890, of the posthumously issued second volume of his Aristozenos' Mulik und Rhythmik (Leipzig 1893). Cv. Jan, to whom the concession is due, treats it in his review (Berliner Philidolg. Wochenschriff XIII. 1893. 1285) as terminating a controversy which has lasted since 1865.

EXCURSUS V.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF V(VIII). C. 7 \$\$ 3-8, 1341 b 32-1342 a 29.

With a view to answering the question, whether all the musical modes are to be used, Artisted feirs (§ 3, b 2) gives the threefold division of them into the abital ($\delta local$), those relating to action ($\epsilon poerosal$), and the actatic ($\delta local$). Next, in so far as the answer must vary with the various ends of Music, be goes on to enumerate these various ends. At this point recurs the distinction between the end of actatoris and that of the moral training of the young, a distinction already mentioned c. 6 § 9, 1341 a 23. $f(\epsilon r b i r)$ $\delta local b considered$ in the moral training of the young a distinction already mentioned c. 6 § 9, 1341 a 23. $f(\epsilon r b i r)$ $\delta local b considered$: the relation, namely, of cathersit to the two other ends previously recognised, recreation ($\delta local b considered$). According to the two other ends previously recognised, recreation ($\delta local b considered$). According to the textus receptur both are distinct from the end of purgation, and are combined together to form a third end? but it is a conclusion reached independently by Liepert and Susemilli that this last cannot be the case, for several reasons. (1) In the preceding chapters $\delta local p cond and dominary laway always are always and dominary law calways$

¹ See the translation of the textus receptus p. 607.

been opposed to each other; and (2) they really have nothing in common, except the element of enjoyment: but this they undoubtedly share with the other ends of 'moral training' (παιδεία) and 'purgation' (κάθαρσις): consequently this does not justify their being combined together in contradistinction to these other ends1, even if an attempt be made to keep them apart as two opposed members within the same combination by the insertion of the necessary disjunctive particle (b 40, πρὸς διαγωγών <ħ> πρὸς ἄνεσίν τε κτλ). But (3) in addition to this, it is just as impossible, as Liepert has seen, to exclude from purgation (κάθαρσις) the elements of διαγωγή and ἀνάπαυσις: and (4) grammatically the change from even with the two first ends to πρὸς with this alleged third (τρίτον δὲ πρὸς) throws suspicion upon τρίτον δὲ also. For in reality, whether it has a moral or a cathartic effect, music can only influence either the character or the emotions; and further how is it conceivable that the cathartic enjoyment could possibly be anything else but either that of pure amusement and sensuous delight or the genuine higher aesthetic enjoyment which is a part of the highest intellectual culture and rational satisfaction? In any case then we require in the original text a statement that, regarded as an end of music, catharsis is only a means to one or other of these two ends; to διαγωγή, or to ἀνάπαυσις. Such a statement is furnished by my conjectural restoration ταύτης δ' ή πρὸς διαγωγλυ η πολε άνεσίν τε καὶ πολε την της συντονίας άνάπαυσιν.

This is plainly confirmed by the subsequent course of the exposition. The next step is the division of the three classes of Modes (again according to the textus receptus) between the moral training of the young and the other ends of music, the most rehical being assigned to the former, those relating to action (epacrosof) and the ecstatic (together with the less ethical) to the latter. But the explanation of sidespore (§ 4.7), which had been previously promised (§ 3.7) shift sidespore sidespore

¹ Zeller is so sensible of this that, as mentioned in n. on § 3 b 41, he would separate άνεστε and ἀνάπαυσε as a fourth end from διαγωγή, which he makes the

2 Even this suggested solution, which leaves the main question unaffected, appears untenable. For even if we understand axphans tripes x years x years a daphans to fine x years a make year implies the absurdity that the Greeks heard only melodies of action and exstatic melodies (together with the less tatic melodies) (together with the less than the properties of the

ethically played and sung by others: that they never itsened in this way to the most ethical, i.e. to the Dorian. Were this implied, it would seem necessary to admit the correction safespow for depdaow. But then arises the question whether 1348 a 4 call rais spearusais and rais the beneararusais should not simply be translated "soft those of action and the estatic," especially say, when afterwards addoptic," especially say, when afterwards addoptic, especially say, when afterwards addoptics the control of the same should be added these two classes of musical modes and melodius are alone taken into account. only be set straight by substituting, with Sauppe, the word πρακτικά 'melodies of action 'for κοθαρτικά 'melodies of purgation!' In passing, there is the further suggestion to record that § 4, 1342 a δ ff, the words στω χρήσωταν τοῦ εξογμάζουν τὴν ψυχὴν μέλεσι may be a gloss upon δε τῶν δ' ἰκρῶν μέλεσι μέλεσ which with precedes?

From this investigation into the nature of catharsis it is inferred that the proposition3 it was adduced to prove is really correct (his rais new roundrais κτλ §§ 6-8, a 16-20). The previous directions for the moral training of the young are simply repeated § 8 (see n. 1100), in a less strict form, role ήθικοίς τών μελών και ταις άρμονίαις ταις τοιαίταις a 28 f., i.e. ethical modes replacing the 'most ethical,' ταις ήθικωτάταις, of § 3, a 3. The further instructions relative to ἀκρόασιε έτέρων χειρουργούντων, i.e. to catharsis, are developed into a more precise statement that all the remaining Modes together are only appropriate and necessary for the recreation of the populace (the great mass of artizans, day-labourers, &c., who are not citizens in the best state), because this populace with its deprayed taste takes most pleasure in artificial and complicated musical modes and "chromatic" scales. The more refined and cultivated public, consisting of the citizens in the ideal state, is distinguished from this populace, and obviously only the nobler musical modes are selected to afford this public the highest intellectual gratification. It is quite certain Aristotle cannot mean that this public is never to listen to ethical, and more especially to Dorian melodies. Such melodies, if they no longer serve for moral education. must surely contribute to that moral enjoyment which in this case is the basis for the intellectual element in the highest mental satisfaction (διανωνή). And on the other hand, are we to suppose that Aristotle meant wholly to exclude adults from the moral enjoyment of melodies of action and ecstatic melodies? Yet in c. 5 88 17, 18, 1340 a 12-23, he speaks (cp. n. 1046) not only of the pleasure awakened by the noble characters which music represents, but also of the worthy actions for which it finds expression. SUSEM. (1101)

1 With this change the words will mean: "so also the melodies that impel to action afford an innocent delight." It is much to be regretted that Aristotle has not more fully explained how this is. For the 'ecstatic' (ἐνθουσιαστικαί) modes and melodies include such as produce and express not only ecstasy, but painful emotions of all kinds, as was remarked n. (1084), with which notes (1054, 1089) should be compared: hence it is not immediately clear how a similar cathartic i.e. homoeopathic effect is to remain over for modes and compositions "of action." Manifestly, it is the more joyous and energetic emotions, love and courage, to which these latter correspond. Yet no doubt the expression of some painful emotions, e.g. anger, cannot be excluded.

Susem. (1996) Cp. Rhet. II. 5. 21, 1368 b 7, Bappakev 74p 9 bpyh. If Heracleides is rightly reported Athen. XIV. 675 E. & & di 7p apoulou ellos Exur Moos 9 rábos, he confined music to the expression of character and emotion. He may have found the difficulties presented by Paparata have insuperable. Cp.

Sentet by προκ του μετος πεωρεποιού τρ.

See Bursian's Jahresbr. LVII. p. 174.
Both expressions toph μέλη and τὰ έξορμάξοντα τὴν ψυχὴν must refer to the
melodies of Olympus: cp. Pl. Symp.

11ς C quoted p. 622 π. 1.

The proposition φωτερου ότι χρηστέου μεν πάσως τως άμμουλως, οἱ του αὐτου δὶ τρόπου πάσως χρηστέου ἀλλὰ κτλ § 3, 1342 2 1—4.

NOTE ON KAGAPEIE,

καὶ γὰρ παιδείας δίσκεν καὶ καθάρσεως [SC. φαμέν τ $\hat{\eta}$ μουσικ $\hat{\eta}$ χρήσθαι δείν]— τί δὲ λόγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῆν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον. V(VII), 7, 3, 134 is 38—40.

δ γίρ τηλ δείας σειβάλεια πάθος δγεχάς Ευγωρία, τούτε δε πάσεως ένεδρος, το δε έγτον διαθρός του τέν με δεί τηνο δειθρός του τέν με δεί την δεί του τόντους δτους με δεί την δεί

Underlying this whole argument is the analogy of the homocopathic treatment for bodily ailments in vogue amongst Greek physicians of th time and usually called by them κάθαρσις: in regard to this it is sufficient to refer to the Introduction of Susemihl's edition of the Poetics p. 44 f. and to the fuller investigations of Döring1. Two points have been properly emphasized by Döring: in the first place he has brought out the strong medical colouring which a number of Aristotle's expressions bear2; and secondly, that with the single exception of sufferers from the malady known as κορυβαντιασμός. Corybantian or Bacchic frenzy, who are really insane with fanatical excitement (§ 4), Aristotle is not thinking of the cases where excess of emotion has actually reached the pitch of madness, but only of emotional subjects with a strong tendency to ecstasy, fear, pity, etc. while on the other hand the subject of treatment by the musical catharsis is not compared to a patient with a strong tendency to bodily disease but to one who is actually suffering from it. Even the term κατακωχιμοι (§ 4, a 8), though it reminds us of 'possession' and kindred ideas, does not mean anything more, as Döring points out, than 'liable to be attacked' by a certain form of excitement. So too the phrase δ νὰρ περὶ ἐνίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυγὰς ἰσγυρώς, a 4. "the emotion which occurs with especial violence in some minds," in itself ambiguous, denotes in this context the tendency to, but not the actual seizure by, a morbid excess of emotion. And this is natural enough: for Aristotle's chief concern is not with the insane and the means of their recovery, but with convalescents who in time attain to perfect mental health (cp. n. 1094), and with their æsthetic enjoyment; and what he has chiefly to deal with here is not emotion already actually excited but the matter of emotion lying

¹ Aristotelische Kunsttheorie p. 319 ff. (Philologus XXI. p. 524 ff., XXVII. p. 714 ff. cp. p. 712 ff.).

² See 1342 a 8 κυήσεως and the notes on κατακώχιμοι, a 9 χρήσωνται, a 10 καθισταμένους, a 14 κουφίζεσθαι.

dormant in their minds. The cure of morbid insanity is only of importance to him as a starting-point, as the foundation for his theory of the æsthetic catharsis, though it also gives him the right to make a new application of the medical technical term to this species of æsthetic effect.

This affords a further indication, as against Döring and others, within what narrow limits the medical, or pathological, analogy is confined. But at all events the term πάθος itself recalls τὸ πάσχεω, suffering or ailment', a suggestion quite lost in the usual rendering "emotion"; see Excursus III. n. (1043), p. 624. Aristotle no doubt distinguishes pleasurable and painful "emotions," but if the form of his remarks would oblige us to assume that all "emotions" without exception are included, this is, as Döring rightly saw, only an inaccuracy of expression. In the case of the pleasurable $\pi d\theta \eta$ (e.g. φιλία Rhet. II. 4. 1, 1380 b 33 ff., θάρσος, II. 5, 16, 1383 a 12 ff.) what analogy can there possibly be with bodily healing? And consequently how can there be cathartic, i.e. æsthetic, enjoyment, which is plainly described as a pleasure springing from pain? Pleasurable states (πάθη), on the contrary, are taken up with the moral feeling of pleasure at the successful musical imitations of noble characters and their emotions. To be quite accurate, Aristotle should have restricted his remarks here to painful emotions. Even the 'violent occurrence' (συμβαίνει Ισγυσώς) of the emotion reminds us, what has been said notwithstanding, of bodily disease: the 'employment' of melodies by those suffering from corybantiasm (§ 4) recalls the employment of remedies for bodily disorders, as was pointed out in n. (1093): it is to patients suffering from such disorders that the medical terms suffering from recover (but see n. 1093) and larpela=regular course of treatment, are applied. Lastly, the mental relief (κουφίζεσθαι 1342 a 14) in the one case has its counterpart in the bodily 'relief' which is spoken of by the Greek physicians. With this exception however the medical terms are mainly used with exclusive reference to patients really delirious or insane. To render κάθαρσις by 'homœopathic purgation of emotions' (and thereby preserve the ambiguity of κάθαρσις παθημάτων Poetics 6. 2, 1440 b 27) does not imply that the emotions are purged, but that they are purged away: the emotion which music æsthetically awakens expels the every-day emotion of kindred name. The reader is referred to the Introduction to my edition of the Poetics p. 54 for further explanation why this view must be taken, and why of the two terms I prefer "cleansing" to "purgation." There also, p. 44. I have argued that in all probability long before Aristotle's time the treatment here described, whereby the priests employed the so-called melodies of Olympus to exert a soothing influence upon the minds of patients suffering from Corybantian frenzy, received the name of κάθαοσις "cleansing" in a religious (or lustral) as well as in a medical sense, because from a religious point of view such patients were considered to be defiled. Susem. (1695)

Bonitz Aris. Stud. v. p. 44: mental as being the emotion has the term πάθος applied to it ment or disor

as being the counterpart of bodily ailment or disorder (πάθος=νόσημα).

Κάθαρσις as simple cleansing.

The etymology of the term, its literal meaning and the connexion of its manifold applications, cannot be better explained than is done by Plato in the Sophist 226 D-231 E. The Eleate stranger starts with the every-day operations of sifting, straining, winnowing as contrasted with such other processes as carding, spinning, weaving, and he infers that their object is to separate, not like from like, but better from worse. Cleansing (καθαρμός) is the general name for any such process1. Having thus determined the genus he goes on to divide it into its several species. When applied to animate bodies, such cleansing includes not only (a) the internal purge effected by gymnastic or medicine-here we approach the well established medical usage of the term, see below-but also (b) the merely external washing effected by the aid of sponge or bath; while inanimate objects undergo a similar treatment at the hands of the fuller or 'dress-reviver2.' With these literal corporeal cleansings the Eleate is less concerned than with the intellectual process, (c) the riddance of false opinions, whereby he is ultimately enabled to define the Sophist as nabaortis, and the elenchus as a purge:-an application of the term to which we shall recur later on (p. 647).

The liturgical or religious sense: lustration.

It is generally admitted that as a technical term κάθαρσις was earlier and more widely used in this than in its medical application³. Amongst the Greeks the conception of impurity and ceremonial purification was elaborated from very simple and humble beginnings, as we see in Homer, where prayer and sacrifice are preceded by corporeal ablution and Achilles rinses carefully a goblet that is to be used for libations. At all times indeed the cultus of Greek religion laid special stress upon external, ceremonial purity; there must be running water near a temple and meotographous for worshippers. The opening scene of Euripides' Ion, 101 ff., reminds us of the importance attached to keeping the temple itself pure and clean. All the contingencies of individual life-birth, marriage, death-were attended by casual impurity which lustrations were needed to remove. The Ecclesia was cleansed before a debate: upon one occasion, when news arrived of a horrible massacre, it was cleansed afresh. A whole community might become defiled and require the intervention of some prophet, like Epimenides. to prescribe by what ceremonies the taint could be removed or absorbed.

¹ πδαπ ή ποιαίτη διάκριστι (κ. ή καταλείπουτα μὶν τό βέλτισο τό δε χείρου άποβάλλουτα) λέγεται παρά πάντων καθερμόν τις, Sephist 236 D. Hence the definition "Όρο 415 D, κάθαροτε άπόκριστε χειρόνων άπό βέλτιώνων. In the simple literal sense, there seems no distinction between κάθερνει από καθερμόκ.

² τὰ περὶ τὰ σώματα πολλὰ είδη καθάρ-

σεων...τά τε τῶν ζώων (a) δσα δετός σωμάτων ὁπό γημυαστικής Ιστρικής το άρθος διακρισύρισα καθαίρεται, και (δ) για τάκτός, είναι με φαίλια, δσα βαλωνευτική παράχεται: και τῶν ἀψόχων σωμάτων, ὧν γραφευτική και ἔψιπασα κοριμτική την ἐπιμέλισων παρχομένη...πολλά ἀνόματα ἔσχε, Soρέπει τος Β. Κ.

³ Döring Kunstlehre p. 251.

The crude materialism at the basis of these usages is shown by the very nature of the rites; the detergents (meanlingra) used to 'suck up' the pollution, the care taken to bury or cast into the sea, or a river, all these καθάρματα (καθάρσια), i.e. objects loaded with the taint. Gradually however higher conceptions were introduced. The need of moral purity was emphasized in the words graven in the court of at least one temple2. In nothing is the elevation of idea more striking than in the treatment of homicide. It is well known that in the Homeric age the taint of bloodguiltiness was unknown: Theoclymenus, a homicide, is even present at a sacrifice, Odyss. Xv. 222 ff., 256 ff. The notion of guilt being wholly absent, the only atonement for murder is the price paid to the kin of the murdered man. Traces of a new order of thought can be discerned in the later epics. In the Aethiobis of Arctinus, Achilles, having slain Thersites, goes to Lesbos, and there, after sacrifice, is cleansed by Odysseus. This earliest instance presents all the essential features of the remarkable beliefs so familiar to us in the story of Orestes and his trial on the Areopagus: the temporary exile, because the land is defiled by bloodshed, the ceremony of purification, the return when the angry gods and the manes of the dead are presumed to have been appeased. Precisely similar ideas and ceremonies are attributed to the Lydian king Croesus when he purifies the Phrygian Adrastus, Herod. I. 35.

Lustration as a cure for madness.

But along with instances in abundance of lustration for the removal of casual impurity and the taint of blood, there is some not inconsiderable evidence that κάθαρσις, in this ceremonial sense, was extended to the healing of disease, more especially of mental disorders, an application which serves as a transition to the well-defined medical use of the term. We need not dwell on the perfect congruity of this application with the beliefs of a time when the 'medicine man' is also a soothsaver, and cures are wrought by charms and spells3. The complete parallelism between the mental and the bodily treatment, which is involved in the application of the terms κάθαρσις and καθαρμός indifferently to both, is asserted in the strongest terms in Plato's

1 Compare also Διὸς κώδιον οῦ τὸ ἰερείον Διὶ τέθυται...χρώνται δ' αὐτοῖς...πρός τούς καθαρμούς ύποστρωννύντες αὐτὰ τοῦς ποσὶ τῶν έναγῶν (Suidas), ἐφ' οὐ οἰ καθαιρόμενοι έστήκεσαν τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδί (Hesy-

² Porphyr. De Abstinentia II. 19: ôcî τοίνον καθηραμένους το ήθος ίέναι θύσοντας

...έν γοῦν Επιδαύρω προεγέγραπτο. άγνον χρη ναοίο θυώδευς έντος Ιόντα ξιμιεναι' άγνελη δ' έστὶ φρουείν όσια.
The quotation from Bernays Theophrastos

über Frömmigheit p. 67 f.

δ θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν (Ζάμολξις)
ξψη ἐπιμδαῖς τισι, Pl. Charm. 157 A. Not

only ένθουσιασμός but lumbago and epi-

lepsy were said to be cured by music: Theophrastus περι Ένθουσιασμού, Fr. 87: δτι δέ και »bσους ίᾶται μουσική Θεόφραστος Ιστόρησεν έν τω περί Ένθουσιασμού, Ισγιακούς φάσκων άνόσους διατελείν εί καταυλήσοι τις τοῦ τόπου τῆ φρυγιστί άρμανίς (Ath. XIV. 624 B), Fr. 88 Θ. & τῷ περί Ενθουσιασμών...φησί...την μουσικήν πολλά τών περί την ψυχήν και το σώμα γεγνομένων παθών Ιατρεύειν καθάπερ λιποθυμίας φόβους και τὰς ἐπὶ μακρὸν γιγνομένας τῆς διανοίας έκστάσεις. Ιάται γάρ, φησίν, ή καταύλησις και Ισχιάδα και έπιληψίαν (an instance is appended, Apollon. Hist. Mirab. c. 49). Cratylus. There Socrates, speaking of the attributes of Apollo, whose name he connects with ἀπολούων, ἀπολύων, says: "the purgations and purifications which doctors and diviners use, and their fumigations with drugs magical or medicinal, as well as their washings and lustral sprinklings, have all one and the same object, which is to make a man pure both in body and soul1." The strange nature of primitive remedies is what we might expect; 'the hair of the dog that bit you' is but one instance of crude homoeopathy, which might be indefinitely illustrated. The fact that to cure madness the Greeks resorted to noisy excitement is beyond all doubt. In Plato, madness itself is said to suggest this remedy to the clairvoyant patient, the 'lustrations and religious rites' which for his malady are alone of avail2. In the legends we naturally find this method of treatment (ή διά φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμών θεράπεια) referred to an individual inventor: Melampus, a well known seer, is represented as healing the madness of the daughters of Proetus by such lustral rites3. Dionysus himself was the subject of another legendary cure4. The case of Orestes, Paus. II. 31. 4, is less clear seeing that he was 'cleansed' of matricide as well as madness⁶. On the other hand, in a picture of real life from the Wasps of Aristophanes, Bdelycleon in all seriousness endeavours to cure his father's madness by initiating him in the Corybantian rites6. Not less sober is the statement of the phenomenon as an acknowledged fact-the frenzy that music is supposed to excite and to cure-in the questions put by Porphyry and answered, in the person of Abammon, by Iamblichus7.

1 πρώτον μέν γλη ἡ κάθαρσιε καὶ ο κατά πρώτον μέν γλη ἡ κάθαρσιε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ματικήν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ματικήν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ματικήν καὶ αἰ τόι ἐπρωτοῦ φαρμέκοι καὶ τὸ ἀνοιτὰ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἐπ τοῦ μένο καὶ αὶ πορράντεις, πάντα ὁν τι ταῦτα ὁναιτὰ ἀν, καθαρόν παρέχου τὸν ἀθυρατον καὶ κατὰ τὸ τὸν ὑμικήν, 405 Å, E. The translation is Jowett's.

Tablid ples victors yet cell when rise represent, a fil whom the proportions prepared to whom the proposition with the rate view years, is parted types of an appendence of the introducery call hearpdat, then the tendence regions of the start the contract regions of their privates are the tendence regions of their privates are the tendence regions of their privates are the tendence to the sand the other Patterine passages it time of feels, of a c. p. ros., "expirar the tendence that the sand th

δ ές τοῦτο ἀναφυγεῶν τὸ σπήλαιων τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Προίτου μανείσας λέγουσευ ἄς ὁ Μελάμπους θυσίαις τα ἀπορρήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς κατήγαγω ἐς χωρίων καλούμενων Λουσούς...καὶ ἡκέσατο τῆς μανίας ἐν Ἀρτέ4 "Hoas μακίαν αὐτιὸ ἐκβαλούντης αὐθις δ' els Κόβελα τῆς Φριγίας ἀφικνεῖται, κὰκεῖ καθαρθείς ὑτὸ 'Péas καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐκμαδώ»..., Apollodorus UII. 5. 1. This is alluded to by Plato Laws 672 B.

5 The same remark applies to the cleansing of Alcmeon, Apollodorus III.

7. 5. 2-4. 6 etr' airròw áπελου κάκάθαφ' ὁ δ' οὐ μάλα. | μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκορυβάντιξ' (120). Ibi schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἐτοἰαι αίτψ μυστήρια, ἐπὶ καθαρμώ τῆτ μονία: and to the same effect Hesych. s. v. Κορυβαντιαμών κάθαρση μυσία;

⁷ ως τῶν ἐξωταμένων ἔνωὶ τινες αὐλων ἀκούωντε ἢ κυβάλων ἢ τιμπάνων ἢ τινε μέλους ἐνδουσιῶνιν, ὡς οῖ τε κορυβαντιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῷ Σαβαζίω κάτοχοι καὶ οἱ μητρζωντει... with the ordinary explanation (which Abanmon of course rejects)

The main features of this celebrated form of worship, at once a revel and a mystery, are vividly presented by the authorities whom Lobeck has collected with all his learning and acumen in Aglaophamus, p. 1150 ff. To the Platonic dialogues we are indebted for some of the most graphic touches, pourtraying various accompaniments of the weird scene of music and dance which was apparently far better adapted to produce madness than to take it away. First and foremost, the incessant piercing melody of the pipe1, which haunted the natient until he had ears for no other sounds2: then the wild frenzied dances3, the music meanwhile drowning the cries of the patient4, causing palpitation of the heart, while the tears started from his eyes 6. To other writers we are indebted for hints and allusions which fill in some details. but the philosophic reflexions in which Plato himself sums up the total effect. Laws 700 C-701 B, leave little more to be said: "this is the lesson which we may gather from the experience of nurses, and likewise from the use of the remedy of motion in the rites of the Corybantes; for when mothers want their restless children to go to sleep they do not employ rest, but, on the contrary, motion-rocking them in their arms; nor do they give them silence, but they sing to them and lap them in sweet strains; and the Bacchic women are cured of their frenzy in the same manner by the use of the dance and of music. The reason is obvious. The affection both of the Bacchantes and of the children is an emotion of fear which springs out of an evil habit of the soul. And when some one applies external agitation to affections of this sort, the motion coming from without gets the better of the terrible and violent

rs pès des surprusés rs cal redigració des rès posserés, en la riu albié quiesció è largelau rà rello y fis rasperporis, cui ri surprientau rà reo diquera spánera § laslectar rès possereis, cui ri électar que redicellu rès parceise, cui ri el abban più cui elle respectationes de la refere lampaja repe ria ris propi electrate desblecta sprosporteres, cui dir rel device possereise, cui de rel relevant sul écuriores, cui dir rel device sul écuriores, cui dir rel device cui device, del de que re la Objette, qui device, del de que re la Objette, qui de libertaria, più rès deformançais l'ambilel. de libertaria, son de libertaria de libertaria

de Mysteriis, 3, 9.

1 του 536 C, οί Κορύβαντες έκεθνου μόνου αισθάνωται τοῦ μέλους δέψις δ διν Του θοοῦ δέ δινοι διν κατέχωνται, καὶ εἰς έκεδνο τὸ μέλος καὶ σχημάτων καὶ ἐρημάτων εὐπο-

θοού εξ ότου αν κατέχωνται, και είς εκείνο ό μέλος και σχημάτων και ἡημάτων εύπορούσι, τύν δέ άλλων ού φροντίζουσι. ² Crito 54 D. ταύτα εὖ αθι ότι έγω δοκῶ άκοδειν ώσπερ οἱ Κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκούσιν ἀκοδειν, και ἐν ἐμοὶ αῦτη ἡ

ήχή τούτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν.
3 Ιου 122 Β. οἱ Κοοίβαντας οἰν ἔνιδος.

3 Ιοπ 533 Ε, οἱ Κορόβαντες οὖκ ἔμφρονες ὅντες ὁρχοῦνται.

4 Laus 790 E, al μητέρες.....ἀτεχνῶς καταυλοῦσι τῶν παιδίων, καθάπερ al τῶν ἐκφρόνων βαγχειῶν ἰάσεις ταύτη τῆ τῆς Symp. 215 Ε: πολύ μοι μάλλον ή τών Κοριβαντώντων ή τε καρδία πηδή και δά-

kycirat.

Lucian Deor. Dial. XII. 37, De Salt.
c. 79, p. 167, Plut. Amat. XVI. 7, p. 758 E, 12, 759 A, Strabo X. 21, p. 473, all cited by Lobeck p. 1152 ff.

internal one, and produces a peace and calm in the soul, and quiets the restless aphintion of the beart, which is a thing much to be desired, sending the children to sleep, and making the Baschantes, although they remain awake, to dance to the pipe with the help of the gods to whom they offer acceptable sacrifices, and producing in them a sound mind, which takes the place of their frenzy." Corroborative testimony is borne by Aristides Quintilianus, in the passage cited above p. 60, 51.

Káθαρσις as purification or purging of impurity.

In the applications of the term hitherto considered the object has been the person (or occasionally the thing) cleaned. In some of the metaphorical uses, however, and in the technical medical sense, the object of medicars in the person but the impurity removed. With this construction the verb means not merely to furge [the system] but to furge enury what is movious]; accordingly sindpure denotes riddance and removal of impurity. The term has a wide range of mesuphorical applications: e.g. "separation" [Palzo Phaeds Or Or, and moral "purification," which is a series frequent in the *Phaeds*. In the *Sophica* the elenchus is termed a purge. Socratic education, aged by the younger Sophists, was directed to ridding the pupil of that "false conceit of knowledge," which is the primary hindrance to the acquisition of true wisdom. Other usages, e.g. Novae vr sai softqual domaption (Ref.) 544, e.g. *Phaeds 62 21), support this meaning of riddinges or removal. From Plato it passed to the Neo-Platonists: in Stohesus Ect. *Phys. 1 c. a 9 5 of there is an extract, probably from I amblichus seraji dvzgis, and the properties of the story of the s

¹ Laws 790 C-791 B, Jowett's translation. Ed. Müller Gesch. der Theorie der Kunst I. 121, II. 70 (cp. Jahrb. f. Kl. Phil. CI. 1870, p. 405 f.) called attention to this passage in connexion with κάθαρous. Especially noteworthy is 700 E f. όταν οθν έξωθέν τις προσφέρη τοῦς τοιούτοις πάθεσι σεισμόν, ή τῶν Εξωθεν κρατεῖ κίνησις προσφερομένη την έντος φοβεράν οδσαν και μανικήν κίνησιν, κρατήσασα δέ γαλήνην ήσυχίαν τε έν τῆ ψυχῆ φαίνεται ἀπεργα-σαμένη τῆς περί τὰ τῆς καρδίας χαλεπῆς γενομένης έκάστων πηδήσεως, παντάπασιν άγαπητόν τι τοὺς μέν ὕπνου λαγχάνειν ποιεί, τους δ' έγρηγορότας δρχουμένους τε καὶ αὐλουμένους μετὰ θεῶν, οἶς ἄν καλλιε-ροῦντες ἔκαστοι θύωσι, κατειργάσατο ἀντὶ μανικών ημίν διαθέσεων έξεις έμφρονας έχειν. An objection made by Döring p. 252 to the whole idea of a 'lustration' of Bacchic enthusiasts as involving a contradiction, since the votary of the god, full of his enthusiasm, cannot possibly be unclean, or stand in need of consecration, is fully answered by this and similar passages.

² De Musica II. p. 157 M: δά καΙ τός Βακχικάς τόκετὸς καὶ δίσαι ταίστας παραπλήσιοι λόγου τωνό ξχεσθαί φαιατι 'δικο 'ὰ ἡ τῶν ἐμαθεστέρων πόρισις δὰ βίσο ἢ τόχης ὑτὸ τῶν ἐν ταίστας μελιφλίω' ἐν καὶ Θχερέτους δίμα παιδιαϊς ἐκαθαίρητα, cited and explained by Deiring p. 333, cp. Berστος δικός ἐλληστόλινιστες τ. 248.

Tays Zwei Abhandlungen p. 128.

* κάθαρσις... το χωρίζεν ότι μάλιστα άπο τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχήν. Cp. Soph. 227 C, ψυχής καθαρμός = κακίας άφαίρεσις, i.e.

hards the derrift, leddhau of the Andion.

* E.g. 69 b to d'abolle the derrift fedagens [sc. the drift) the tradition of the
agens [sc. the drift) the tradition that
whereas in truth it is really a purgation
from all such things...and wisdom itself
is probably a mode of purification." See
also 69 c d readlepates to kal tetelecture,
the form the tradition of the
also for c decoding the
tradition.

⁵ τὸν Ελεγχω λεκτέον ὡς ἄρα μεγίστη καὶ κυρωτάτη τῶν καθάρσεῶν ἐστι, 230 D. The sophist is δοξῶν ἐμποδίων μαθήμασι περὶ ψυχὴν καθαρτής, 231 E. The analogy to the medical treatment is brought out fully 230 C—E.

which fully explains in what sense eddopore was a technical term¹. It denoted in fact practical virtue, menal activity generally, regarded as one stage in the ascent of the sool, which must be purged from everything corporeal in order to attain to the drivine likeness. Between this ethical and ascetic application, on the one hand, and Aristotle's pathological application, on the other is nothing in common: they are totally opposed, a fact which gives peculiar value to the evidence of lamblichus and Proclus to be hereafter considered.

The usage of the medical writers: purgation, discharge.

It remains to consider the most important extension of the meaning riddance or removal. In Hippocrates and Gale nidegore as a technical term denotes 'purgation', i.e. expulsion of diseased humours from the system. Fossius has well defined it: «delegore purgation absolute diciner Hippocrati, cum humores prava qualitate affecti et nosit vacunatur, sive id natura moilatur, sive sponte fast, aut medicamento. To understand this definition fully, a slight acquaintance is required with the pathological theory of the father of medicine. The school of Hippocrates base their treatment upon the assumption of the four 'humours' blood, philegm, black bile, yellow bile*. Health depends upon the due proportion of these vital fluids: disease is caused by their undue accessor of defect, especially by their morbid accumulation in the frame. If they are disordered, the more they accumulate the worse the disease becomes. In such a case the task of the physician is to aid nature to discharge from the system the accumulation of peccant humour, lest it become corrupt: preparatory to a discharge it must however be

1 Πλωτίνος δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Πλατωνικών άπόθεσιν τών παθών καὶ τών μορφωτικών διαγνώσεων, δόξης τε πάσης ύπεροψίαν [τε] και των ένύλων διανοήσεων άπόστασιν, πλήρωσιν τε άπὸ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ δυτος, άφομοίωσεν τε τοῦ κατανοσυμένου πρός το κατανοούν την τελεωτάτην κάθαρσιν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν p. 454, 10 ed. W. He goes on to distinguish κρίσις, δίκη, κάθαρσις, and on the authority of of doxaubrepot assigns as the end of the last χαιοιορίο sasing as the earl of the last depleters των deleter, απόδοσει της ολεάσει οθείας, τελειότης, άποπλήρωσες, αυτάρκεια, άποδος έπὶ την γεννησαμένην alriav: whereas others confine it to the humbler functions of λύσις ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ ἀπαλλαγή τῶν καταδέσμων καὶ φθορᾶς έλευθέρωσις και γενέσεως άφεσις. Plotinus discusses the relation of κάθαρσις to the discusses the relation of κασαρος to the virtues in Enn. 1. 2 περί άρετῶν, and decides (t. 6. 6) that κάθαρστε is not a means to virtue, but identical with virtue. Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, Hierocles, and Ammonius agree in placing the cathartic virtues above the civic (πολιπικαι) and below the intellectual (θεωρητιкаї аретаї): see Zeller Phil. d. Gr. III. ii.

661, 711, 757, 819 n. 4. It is only in this neoplatonic sense that the word admits of the rendering "purification," so common hitherto and so unhappily ambiguous.

amoiguous.

2 τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἐαυτῷ

αίμα και φλέγμα και χολήν ξανθήν τε και μθιαιναν, και ταῦτά έστι αῦτῷ ἡ φύσις τοῦ σύματος, και διὰ ταῦτα άλιγέα και ὑγιαίνα, Hipp. De natura hominis II. 3 p. 83 (I. p. 352 K.).

reduced and softened. Three stages may therefore be distinguished: (1) presence of crude humours, τὰ μὴ καθαρὰ τῶν σωμάτων, (2) their reduction, πέψω, itself a species of transformation, or μεταβολή, (3) their expulsion, rolous. Of these stages, (2) and (3) are promoted by artificial means, as explained by Plutarch in the case of hellebore; an insufficient dose, he says, excites disturbance (raparres) without however effecting a purge1. The inducement of excitement (ταρανή) is somewhat of a parallel to homocopathic remedies in modern medicine, while the stimulated ένθουσιασμός in the Corybantian worship corresponds to it in so far as in both cases the remedy adds fuel to the flame2. The medical process (mpayr) goes on until the reduction (πέψες) is complete. Thereupon it remains to rid the body of the disturbing alien matters.

Here it is important to insist upon the distinction which Galen emphasizes between the sense of κάθαρσις and of κένωσις in the Hippocratean corpus: the latter a depletion or total evacuation of humours,-it may be of healthy but surplus humours-the former the partial removal of morbid elements. whose presence causes active annovance: κένωσεν ἀπλῶς εἴωθε λέγειν ὁ Ήπποκράτης όταν άπαντες οἱ γυμοὶ³ όμοτίμως κενώνται, κάθαρσιν δὲ όταν οἰ μοχθηροί κατά ποιότητα. This distinction is rendered prominent in such phases as κάθαρσις χολής, κ. αίματος, where the result is not merely the loss of blood, etc. but, as what is removed is bad, what remains is absolutely clarified and refined: it is purged but not altogether purged away.

From the medical writers this usage found its way into the language of every-day life. Thucydides treats it as a technical term in his description of the plague4: Demosthenes allows a singularly naive and unsophisticated client to employ the word5. Aristotle appears to have generally adopted the medical terminology as well as the theory of humours from the Hippocrateans6: but in the biological works he has specialized this word in a slightly different sense7. Nor can it be said that the distinction enforced by

1 δ γοῦν έλλέβορος άρχὴν τοῦ καθαίρεω έχει το ταράττειν τον όγκου, άλλ' ήν έλάσσων τοῦ μετρίου δοθή, ταράττει μέν οὐδέν δέ καθαίρει. Plut. Quaest. conv. III. 8. 8, p. 656 F.

2 Comp. Plato's reflexions on the Cory-

bantic rites, Laws IL 700 C ff. as quoted

above p. 646 n. 4.

³ Galen Comm. in Hippocr. De Humor. V. 12 (XVI. 105 K.). Compare also κάθαρσις δέ έστιν ή τῶν λυπούντων κατά ποιότητα κένωσις Galen Comm. ad aphor. 2. 1. 1 (XVII. B. 358 K.); κάθαρσιν γάρ είωθεν [Sc. ο Ίπποκράτης] δνομάζειν οὐ είωσε (SC. ο ιπποκρατησή συσμαζεύ ου μόνον τας ύπό φαρμάκων γενομένας, άλλα και τας ύπό τής φόσεως In Εφιάεπι. (XVII. Β. 167 Κ.); δυομάζω δό κένωσεν μέν τών οίκείων, δταν ύπερβάλλη τῷ πλήθει, κάθαρσιν δέ την των άλλοτρίων κατά ποιότητα Comm. in progn. (XVIII. B. 134 f. K.). Here Galen is speaking in his own person. Other passages are cited by Siebeck Zur Katharsisfrage in Jahrb. f. Phil. CXXV. 1882, p. 225 ff.

4 ἀποκαθάρσεις χολής πάσαι, δσαι ὑπὸ λατρών ώνομασμέναι elσίν, II. 49.

6 c. Conon. § 12, el μη κάθαρσις αίματος αὐτομάτη μοι συνέβη Or. 54, p. 1260, 24. 6 Littré ed. of Hippocr. 1. 73: plus on examine comparativement les écrits hippocratiques, ceux de Platon et d'Aristote, plus on trouve de conformités entre eux et de points de comparaison. Döring op. c. p. 319 ff. collects a few instances of kweir, κίνησις, ταράτταν, ταραχή-e.g. 450 b 1, 70 b 9 ft, 1106 a 4, 1382 a 21, 1386 b 19, 23, 865 a 6, a 15 ft, 864 a 2, 873 b 31 f. Add *Probl.* I. 42, 864 a 34 (quoted below

p. 650 n. 8).

⁷ See Bonitz *Ind. Ar.* s.v. 354 b 28

*syn та катаµрта.' The references adduced take up rather more than a column Galen between κένωσις and κάθαρσις is much observed by unprofessional writers1

Kάθαρσις as an æsthetic term.

The foregoing survey will serve as an introduction to the usage of κάθαρσις in reference to Music in the Politics, and in the famous definition of Tragedy in the Poetics2. All are agreed that Aristotle is employing the term in a metaphorical sense of his own, at once novel and calling for elucidation 3. Whether this aesthetic sense was derived from the liturgical or the medical usage of the term is not absolutely demonstrated4: whichever it was, we may acquiesce in Zeller's opinion 6 that the new application is a wide departure from the original intention. On the one hand there is no doubt that the theory which Aristotle puts forward rests upon the facts to which he himself appeals-facts which, however remote from our experience, were less uncommon in Greece and in the East-the cure of the Corybantian frenzy in the manner above described6. On the other hand the occurrence of medical terms in the context7, certain points in the process of relief8, and the consideration urged by Bernays9 that a pathological effect on the mind would be more naturally elucidated by reference to the effect of medicine on the body, all make in favour of regarding the medical metaphor as prominent.

"Are we to imagine," it has been asked, "that when writing upon art, Aristotle was primarily thinking not of Plato's 'psychiatry' in the Laws, but

(64 lines), and those for all other meanings less than 20 lines (one of these latter is De gen. anim. Π. 4. 11, 738 a 28 K. τῶν περιττωμάτων). Bernays ορ. c. p. 91 (101) is able to adduce the parallels dwoκρισις τῶν καταμηνίων, δικρισις.

1 E.g. Pl. Phaedo 69 C κάθαρσις=total

² μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος έχούσης ήδυσμένω λόγω χωρίς έκάστου τόν είδων έν τοῖς μορίοις δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων

κάθαρσιν Poet. 6 § 2, 1449 b 27. ⁸ Pol. v(vIII). 7. 3, 1341 b 38. We have lost the fuller exposition of the

Portics (έν τοῖς περί ποιητικής έρουμεν σαφέστερον, cp. n. 1085). 4 Very few authorities now support the former view. Ed. Müller argues for it Jahrb. f. Phil. Cl. 1870, p. 404 ff. The view taken in the text follows Susemihl

Intr. to Poetics p. 44
⁵ Phil. d. Griech. 11⁸. ii. 775
⁶ P. 642. Ed. Müller l.c. p. 406 n. (100) insists that the similarity in means employed, subjects treated, effects pro-duced in the cases mentioned by Plato Laws 700 D ff., and Aristotle Pol. v(VIII). is so great as to be unmistakeable (τῶν έκφρένων βακχειών Ιάσειs in Plato, ώσπερ larpelas τυχείν και καθάρσεως in Aristotle; ξεις ξμόρουσε ξχειν in the former, καθίστασθαι in the latter). That the priestly cure was actually called κάθαρσις is, however, an inference resting on slender evi-dence (see above p. 644 f.) and only eked out by general considerations of the primitive identity between drugs and charms cleansing from ceremonial impurity and healing of mental disorders, which, as Susemihl remarks Jahrb. f. Phil. xcv. 1867, p. 234, attached a taint to the patient.

7 See the notes ad loc. p. 610 f.

8 The operation of drugs is the subject of Probl. 1. 42, διὰ τί τὰ φάρμακα καθαίρει; The illustration conveyed in the words & πεφθέντα δὲ ἀλλὰ κρατήσαντα έκπίπτει φέροντα τὰ έμπόδια αὐτοῖς και καλείται τοῦτο κάθαρσις 864 α 32-34, is very apposite. Cp. Pl. Soph. 230 C νομίζοντες γὰρ οἱ καθαίροντες αὐτούς, ὤσ-περ οἱ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἰατροὶ νενομίκασι μή πρότερου αν της προσφερομένης τροφής απολαύτεν δύσασθαι σώμα, πρίν αν τὰ έμπο-δίζωτα έν αύτψ τις έκβάλη... The relief follows upon excitation which is temporarily an aggravation of the disorder.

⁹ Zwei Abhandlungen p. 13 (143).

of Hippocrates' emetics and purges?" The incongruity is only apparent: it is just the assimilation of the mental effect to the bodily cure, the attempt to explain the 'psychiatry' on the analogy of the purge, that constitutes Aristotle's original contribution to Aesthetics.

The treatment to which the priest subjected those suffering from Corputantian frenzy may be loosely said to have been of a homogonaline nature¹: that is, under the stimulus of the music, with all its exciting accompaniments (p. 64); the fronzy was accelerated and heightened until it had worked itself off. It is this excess or outburst of quasi-religious fervour, and the subsequent exhaustion, of which Catullus presents so astonishing a picture in the Attiz. A fragment of Theophrastus practically endouses this view of the power of music². Plutarch too describes the effect of the flute, the instrument on which the melodies of Olympos were played, in language which shows a striking agreement with the cathartic method of the Politics². Lastly, there is the passage from Aristides Quintilianus already cited (p. 610.)

Not quite so clear is the operation of tragedy: "an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude, by means of language embellished with each of the different kinds of embellishment, which are separately employed in the several parts; in the form of action not of narrative; effecting through pity and fear the proper purgation of these emotions.\(^10\) If we are to choose between Lessing and Bernays, between "the conversion of the passions into vitruous aptitudes" and "the relief of disburdening the emotional tendencies"—there can be no question that the former is an erroneous view and the latter, in principle, right. The whole hypothesis is pathological; tragedy has, directly at least, no moral effect. In the Poetics we are told in so many words that tragedy creates a specific aesthetic enjoyment, a pleasure peculiar to itself's about its moral or educations.

I Comp. above p. 645. The saxetion that homeopathic treatment is intended by Aristotle was made, as Bernays points out p. 65 (1936). Million in the preface to his Someon Agentites: "(Tingerly) said to his Someon Agentites: "(Tingerly) said the property and feas, or terrour, to purge the mind of these and such-like passions; the property and feas, or terrour, the purge the mind of these and such-like passions; the measure with a fixed of desight strered and instance. Nor, is Nature hernelf wanting in her own efforts to make good his assertion, for so, in physick, things of released to the control of the property of

² μια δὲ φόσις τῆς μουσικῆς, κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ κατὰ ἀπόλυσιν γεγνομένη τῶν δὰ τὰ πάθη κακῶν Frag. 89 ed. Wimmer. He made ecstasy one of the three primary constituents of music (ἀρχὰς μονσικῆς λύπην ἡδονήν ἐνθουσιασμόν): Fr. 90.

8 In Quaest. Conv. III. 8 Plutarch is

discussing the effect of wine; 2 § 10. 656 F ff. είκδο δέ που και ταύτην την περί τὸν ἀκροθώρακα ταραχήν, ὅταν ἀκμὴν λάβη, μαραίνεσθαι, και πρός τοῦτο συνεργείν τὸς οίνον πολύς γάρ είσελθών το σώμα συνεξέκαυσε και κατανάλωσε το μανιώδες της ψυχής. ώσπερ γάρ ή θρηνωδία και ό ἐπικήδειος αὐλὸς ἐν ἀρχή πάθος κινεί και δάκρυον έκβάλλει [cp. p. 646 n. 5], προά-γων δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν els οἶκτον οῦτω κατὰ μικρόν έξαιρεί και αναλίσκει το λυπητικόν όμοίως ίδοις αν τον οίνον κτλ. With μαραίνεσθαι cp. Pol. v(VIII). 7. 14, 1342 b 27, dwespyrolas. Again the assuaging effect, but not the previous excitement, is mentioned Sept. sap. conv., 13, 156 C: al δὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ παντάπασιν [μέμβαιντ' ἄν ἡμᾶς] εἰ νομίζοιμεν αὐτῶν ἔργον εἶναι καθάραν καὶ αὐλούς, άλλὰ μὴ τὸ παιδεύειν τὰ ήθη καὶ παρηγορείν τὰ πάθη τῶν χρωμένων μέλεσι καὶ ἀρμονίαιs. ⁴ Prof. Butcher's translation, ορ. c. p.

348. The Greek is given p. 650 n. 2.

⁶ Poet. 14 § 4, 1453 b 10: οὐ γὰρ πᾶσαν

tional influence we learn nothing. Such good effect as the drama exerts must, on the Aristotelian theory, be indirect. But so soon as the attempt is made to define more precisely the nature of this purgation, of the emotions that are purged, and the pity and fear through which their purgation is effected, there arise difficulties which have not yet been wholly surmounted. For there may be a total or a partial removal, a 'purging away' i.e. expulsion, or 'purging' i.e. refinement (by release of painful elements)1; further, it is possible to ask whether the emotions purged are those already existing in the spectator, or such as are excited in him by the action of the piece. Nor is it inconceivable that Aristotle has unduly pressed the medical analogy. How can the emotions correspond to the materia peccans? They are never expelled, and to speak of them as 'secreted' is an outrage on language. We more properly regard them as either suppressed or indulged, and in the latter case as running their course, culminating in the thrill of pity, the shudder of horror, the transports of enthusiasm, until sated with over indulgence they at length subside. While fully sensible then that every one of the following positions has been a matter of protracted controversy, we incline (1) to interpret the purgation of the emotions to mean their gratification, their relief by indulgence2 (though perhaps the outlet thus afforded for emotional excess necessarily involves a qualitative change, viz. the loss of an impure element, what is painful and oppressive either in the emotion itself or in its manifestation in actual experience); (2) to discriminate3 between the emotions relieved, i.e. the pity and fear of real life, and the emotions which effect this relief, viz. those artificially excited by the action of the drama4: (3) to

δά ζηντά ήδονης άπό τραγορίας, άλλά της ολεάσε. Επεί δὲ της άπο ἐλέου και φόβου διά μμήσους δεί ήδονης παρασκευάζευ..., 26 § 15, 1462 b 13: δεί τήρο οὐ της της οῦ σαν ήδονης ποιεῦ αὐτός ξει της τραγοβίας καὶ της Εποποίαση άλλά της εἰσμιένης. 1 Siebeck in Jahrh f. Phil. 1882, p.

sal την έποποιίαν] άλλά την είρημένην.

1 Siebeck in Jahrb. f. Phil. 1882, p.
225 ff., Baumgart Poetik p. 435 f.

2 Comp. Plut. De inim. util. 10, 91 F: τῶν παθῶν τούτων ποιούμενος els τοὺς έχθρούς ἀποκαθάρσας "indulging [lit. vent-ing] these feelings upon his enemies." Bernays thought he could distinguish πάθημα, the disposition or permanent tendency (παθητική παιότης), from the πάθος its transient manifestation. It is impossible to follow him here, for Bonitz, Arist. Studien v, has shown that the two terms are absolutely convertible in Aris-totelian usage. While if we say that the 'painful emotion' of fear and pity is removed, we are reminded that the definitions in the Rhetoric (II. c. 5, c. 8) make each of these-fear itself and pity itself-'a sort of pain' (\(\lambda\eta\pi \tau_1\), although the emotions generally are defined as ofs &# 6ται λύπη και ήδουή Rhet. 11. 1. 8, 1378 a. 21. Nic. Eth. II. 5. 2, 1105 b 23.

3 The distinction between tragic fear and pity and these emotions in real life was first drawn by Ed. Müller Gesch. der Kunstth. II. p. 63 ff. Unless this dis-tinction be drawn it is impossible to avoid the difficulties which those followers of Bernays encounter who interpret την των τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν in the definition of tragedy as the "expulsion," i.e. purging away, of the emotions in question. Bernays himself escaped this difficulty only by distinguishing πάθος = emotion, from πάθημα = disposition, tendency to emotion:—a distinction which in view of Bonitz' careful investigation (Arist. Studien v) cannot be maintained. See n. (2). But there is no reason why the phrase should not mean the purgation of the emotions, i.e. the freeing them from what is superfluous, the diminution of the whole by the expulsion of what is noxious, and consequent clarifying or re-finement of what is left.

4 The best proof that they are distinct (which has often been denied) is that in real life fear of imminent ill is incompatible with pity, i.e. sympathy with others: Rhat. II. 8. 6, 1385 b 33, οὐ γὰρ associate the cure of the o'erburdened heart with that universalising element of the drama in virtue of which Aristotle regards it as an idealisation of experience.

These are the general outlines of the pathological interpretation of κάθαρσις. The erudition of Bernays discovered some slight confirmation for it in subsequent writers. Iamblichus (or whoever was the author of De Mysteriis), defending the least decorous of ancient rites, after adducing the now familiar argument that "suppression of the passions serves only to strengthen them, whereas judicious gratification quiets them" proceeds as follows: "hence it is that in comedy and tragedy by the spectacle of others' emotions we still and moderate and purge our own; and similarly by seeing and hearing things unseemly in the temples we are freed from the harm which actual contact with them would bring?." If this is too vague, we learn a little more from Proclus, who in his dissertation on the tenth book of the Republic-presumably expounding the Peripatetic view as the opposite of Plato's-speaks of Tragedy and Comedy as enabling us to compound with the emotions (συντελούσας πρὸς ἀφοσίωσω τῶν παθῶν) which need to be excited just so much as will secure us from future annoyance. Again he says "it is possible to afford the passions a moderate satisfaction, and when they are thus treated to find in them effective aids towards education, when once the inconvenience they cause has been remedied3." From the Platonic standpoint Proclus then proceeds to refute the defence of poetry he has sketched4, and in a final sentence contrasts his own neoplatonic ascesss with the compromise proffered by Aristotle⁵. But while the dim outlines of the

Anolius of Internacyjuhou da èt diesu apèt rej declay trèbie: § 21, 1365 a 21, 17 à 346 burbi fripor toi Anewoli nel despoirtube roji Adou. Whereas the drama excites both pity and fear: *Pot. 14 § 2, 143 b 3, derr trèb denorm all glerires una lâneis der tibe anolomn all glerires una lâneis de tibe aujufautéruse direg de redéc rat danolar rès roji Oldinodes juides, § 5, 775 dra divou est phiso. Cp. c. 13 § 4, 1433

This distinction affords the best possible explanation of raw rowares in the definition (Reinkens & r. p. 16); rowres would have postulated the complete identity of the two. Compare Ed. Müller Gesch. d. Kunsttheorie II. p. 63 ff.

1 Bernaya Zwei döb. p. 7z (181) fi with whom E. Miller, Brandis, Zeller, Susemihl, and Reinkern substantially as gree. See Butcher Some departs p. 366 fi. widen the superior substantially as widen the superior substantially as all perputnya derpyalipudes will develop the superior substantial substantial substantial declepant in desprob (e.g. vin declahar) derbuksterndern fildern 1.11 p. 402 Fazther, Again in 9, p. p. 191, 4 defipanze δὲ καὶ ἀποκάθαρσιν Ιατρείαν οὐδαμῶς αὐτό [sc. τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπίπνοιαν] κλητέον. οὐδὸ τὰρ κατὰ κόσιμά τι ἢ πλουσιαμό τὴ περίττωμα πρώτως ἐν ἡμῶν ἐμφύεται there can be no doubt that these are Peripatetic technical terms which are rejected.

δευλαβησόμεθα μή...άντὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ πάθη μετρίας ἀφοσοιώσεως ἔξιν πονηρὰν καὶ δυσέκυιπτον ἐντήκωσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς (ibid.).
δεῖν μέν οῦν τὸν πολυτικὸν διαμηχανᾶ-

σθαί τυται τῶν παθῶν τούτων διαμηχανία καὶ ἡμεῖς φήρομες, ἀλλ' <ούχ> ἀστε τὰς περὶ αὐτὰ προσπαθείας συντείνευ' τούναντίον μέν οῦν ἀστε χαλινούν καὶ τὰς κυτήσεις αὐτῶν ἐκιμελοῖς ἀγαστέλλευς, ἐκείνας δὲ ἄρα theory can be recognised, and here and there an obviously genuine phrase or two (daniparus, diporimeus, dupérpus d'anomunhioux n' môth), the rest is so coloured in passing through this unsympathetic medium that there is considerable uncertainty whether it does not reflect the neoplatonic, rather than the Peripateit, meaning of «diagous».

It remains to pass under review another possible source of information: the utterances and indications of Plato's own aesthetic views in his dialogues1. Plato, too, held pity and fear to be the effect of tragedy2. His reason for banishing the drama is that, like poetry in general, it feeds that emotional nature which ought rather to be starved3. In a celebrated passage the indulgence of sentimental pity in the theatre is thus condemned as mischievous: "If you consider that when in misfortune we feel a natural hunger and desire to relieve our sorrow by weeping and lamentation, and that this feeling which is kept under control in our own calamities is satisfied and delighted by the poets;-the better nature in each of us, not having been sufficiently trained by reason or habit, allows the sympathetic element to break loose because the sorrow is another's...Few persons ever reflect that from the evil of other men something of evil is communicated to themselves. And so the feeling of sorrow which has gained strength at the misfortunes of others is with difficulty repressed in our own4." Here unquestionably is the view from which that of Aristotle is a reaction. That the passions are sources of possible danger, both philosophers agree; but granting this, Aristotle provides, while Plato sternly refuses, the means for their relief. Even Proclus is sensible of the antagonism of principle which has deduced from common bases of ethical belief so divergent a practical treatment. It would be a rash, but not exactly inadmissible proposal, to equate 'the feeling kept under control in our own calamities' with the pity of real life, and that which is 'satisfied and delighted by the poets' with the pity which (in Aristotle's definition) is the means of its purgation.

To Poetry and Art generally Plato allowed two and only two functions:

rås resigness...rolloß kör elt depocitiere eine zymitumers al rån depositieres ein de bregskoläs einen, dall kir orweraljetus kepydau (the neoplatoni viewl) supapä ipudiryra nybi keidu kyawa kör eleu depositieres (kiril). In tilis and the previous citations from Proclus the corrections of Bernays (ph. 19, 46—50) are

See C. Belger De Aristotele etiam in arte poetica componenda Platonis discipulo (Berlin 1874), esp. p. 58 ff., Siebeck Jahrb. f. Phil. CXXV. 1882, p. 226 ff. ² Phaedr. 268 C, physis moeiim..olsrphs kal robinarios aŭ opolgojs stal dreshyntels, kal robinarios aŭ opolgojs stal dreshyntels,

given.

Rep. X. 606 A.

Στρέφει γάρ ταῦτα [τὰ ἐπιθυμητικά τε
καὶ λυπηρά καὶ ηδέα ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ] ἄρδουνα,
δέον αύχικῶν, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἡμῶν καθίστησι

δέων ἄρχεσθαι αὐτά, 6ο6 D. Cp. Laws

⁴ God. A.1: el bebupió, in vi pla paragiores vivia vi via cleata sipopopió val recrupcio viò bespiral ve cai devolopado val recrupcio viò bespiral ve cai devolopado val lambia and imperiore propriore del vivia vi bri viò vengria vapribiares est per per viò de poten del Borraro vinia, in conlambia recrudespira hopo del bla, del que vi pe debado pel Borraro vinia, per que vi pe debado vio figuidos estrolos, der que vi pe debado vio figuidos estrolos, decrepe del violente del periore, fra devidado circa del periore, fra del periore, del periore, fra del periore, fra del circa del periore, fra del periore, del periore, fra del periore, fra del periore, fra del periore, fra del circa del periore, fra del periore, fra del circa del periore, fra del periore, fra del periore, fra del periore, fra del circa del periore, fra del periore, fra del periore, del periore, fra del periore, del pe (1) to convey truth 'in a glass darkly,' as he himself does in his myths, and (2) to conduce to moral edification by presenting fair models and inculcating by force of sympathy proper sentiments. The latter is Aristotle's naidela: habituation to feel pleasure and pain at the proper objects. Now the Aristotelian κάθαρσις is something wholly distinct from this. It might be defended as producing a harmonizing and elevating effect on feeling and so transporting the audience into a state where they are more susceptible to sympathy with men as men, and to admiration for virtue. But this is only an indirect result. Or again we may regard it as a preventive : it might be urged that we are thus inoculated against the temptation which Plato has specially in view and regards as so formidable, the abuse of emotion and maudlin sentimentality. In any case this is one more hint which Aristotle has borrowed from his master. He has developed in a special direction the principle of 'that indispensable minimum' of gratification which even Plato does not refuse to the lower nature of man. The temperate sage of the Republic, who would fain stimulate and quicken the activity of the reason before he betakes himself to rest, is well aware that if he is to pursue, without let or hindrance, his aspirations after higher knowledge, his passions must be allayed and his appetitive nature indulged neither too much nor too little but just enough to send it to sleep1.

Besides this insight into the main motive and genesis of the pathological theory which Aristotle put forward in defence of the drama we gain from the Platonic writings many indications which serve to clear up particular points in the exposition. In the Philabus (af El) there is an interesting and valuable analysis of the mixed states, partly leasurable and partly painful, which attend the spectators of comedy. From this analysis Aristotle would seem to have borrowed not a little where he traces the pleasurable comitants of various phases of emotion. We have every reason then to

working of the rational soul. Of course the two philosophers differ wholly as to the application of this principle.

² N.E. vII. 14. 5, 1154 b 3: αὐτοὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς δἰψας τινὰς παρασκευάζουσυ. ὅταν μὲν οῦν άβλαβεῖς, ἀνεπιτίμητον... b 13 f. ἐξελαύνα δὲ ἡδανὴ λύπην ἢ τ' ἐναντία καὶ ἡ τυχούσα, ἐὰν ἢ ἰσχυρά.

⁸ See v(viii) 5. 17, 18, 1340 a 12 ff. (cp. 1341 a 13 f.). ⁴ See Bernays op. c. p. 143 f. Esp. cp.

4 See Bernays op. c. p. 143 f. Esp. cp. 1378 b I (πάση δργή ξπεσθαί τωα ήδουψ) with Phil. 48 A and the Homeric citation

I. Rep. 11. 6.1 r. it enhapments de print obtels does n'en vapoure, sons d'enample, als uit resulte plus produces que le cample, al uit respit, plus plus rep. Les de la corrie par le produces, al la feu les resultes de la print de la corrie au le prépared lo veu al arbitrar de la print de la corrie au le prépared lo veu al arbitrar de la print delle seuraphy qu'esque partielle, al la confidence de la corrie del la corrie de la corrie del la corrie del la corrie del la corrie de la corrie del la corrie del la corrie de la corrie de la corrie del la corrie de

conclude that the facts had already been collected and the psychological problem not only stated but approximately solved before Aristotle, who did not share his master's condemnation of the drama on grounds of morality, came to formulate his own theory of its effect.

common to the two: also Pol. v(vIII). 5.
12, 1339 b 25 ff. with Phil. 51 A ff. But
the detailed analysis in respect of comedy
appears inadequate, and of tragedy little

is said beyond the remark τάς γε τραγικάς θεωρήσεις, όταν άμα χαίρωτες κλάωσι, μέμνησαι, Phil. 48 A. Cp. 50 B. ADDENDA.



INTRODUCTION.

- Page 1, line 3. The statement that there are no manuscripts earlier than the fourteenth century has been falsified by the discovery of the Vatican fragments of the tenth century. See p. 454-
- P. 2, note 1. After θυσίαι add: and 1271 a 27 (1272 a 3, b 34) φιλίτια Π¹.
- P. 7, 1. 17. As Plutarch Hepl Edyerelas is a fabrication of the renascence, of which a Latin translation was first published in 1556 (Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium), the citations from the Politics would not in any case have carried us far back: although, if at the time the forger himself used a manuscript, or even emended the text on his own conjecture, his readings deserve mention. But they are not even entitled to such authority as they would have possessed in the case assumed, for though the Latin translation gives those citations in full, the manuscript from which in the year 1724 I. Christopher Wolf edited the tract in Greek exhibited blanks where the citations should have stood, and Wolf himself is responsible for the text of the passages which he copied out, probably from the first edition of Victorius. In his preface to Vol. IV of Anecdota Graeca (Hamburgi 1724) Wolf says of the manuscript of the Heal Edwerelas which he obtained from Joh. Gramm, Professor at Copenhagen, "membranae illae uno alterove ante inventam typographiam saeculo, meo iudicio, luculente quidem, sed non sine frequentibus oscitantis librarii indiciis exaratae...Veterum scriptorum loca, a Plutarcho allata, omissa in his penitus erant, asterisco vicem eorum supplente... Eleganter et erudite illa (Latina Arnoldi Ferroni interpretatio) confecta est, atque veterum testimonia integra Latine, sed sine additis, ubi exstarent, locis exhibet. Atque hanc ipsam...cum Graecis in lucem profero, additis si pauca exceperis, auctorum testimoniis, quae non sine cura aliqua ex monumentis eorum adhuc exstantibus conquisivi." Compare his footnote p. 196 [it should be 296]: "Aristoteles lib. 1. c. VI. Politicor, p. 37 edit. Victorii. In hoc loco vertendo liberius versatur Interpres" i.e. Ferron "nisi in opusculo Plutarchi eum alia quaedam legisse censeas, quam quidem hodie anud Aristotelem exstant. In MS. hic loc deest."
 - P. 9, L 29. Add: Gesammelte Abhandlungen L 165 ff. (Berlin 1885).
- P. 9, 1. 3 from end. Add: De Philicia' Aristatelai: Quantiona criticae Lipsiae.

 1868 (reprinted from the Supplement to fashe, P. Philici. Vol. xv. pp. 329—450,
 often hereafter cited as Quant. crit. callentae). Quantinuum Aristatelaarum criticarum
 et exegetiaarum Pars i Gryphiswaldiae 169a: Pars II ili. 1893; Pars III ili. 1894; and
 Prolegoment II pp. XXVIII—XXIII of the 'nova impressio correctior' of the third
 edition in Teubner's series (Lipsiae 1894). Articles in 'Jahr's f. Philiol. CXIVII.
 1893, pp. 817—844; Burdain's Yadreshreithet. 193, III. 137 ff. p. 74ff. Ili. 234 ff.
 XXVII. 279 ff., XXXX. 66 ff., 97 fs. XXXIV. 40 ff., XXII. 36, 825 ff., L. 12, LXVIII. 137 ff.
 XXXVI. 102 ff.

P. 10, last line. Add: Zu Arist. Pol. ibid. CXXIX. 1884. 544.

Jowett. Translation with Introduction and notes; Oxford, 1885. Gomperz. Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung griech, Schriftsteller; Wien, 1800.

Diels. Article in Archiv f. Gesch. der Philos. IV. 1891. 484.

Häberlin. Article on Arist. Pol. 11. 9 in Rhein. Mus. XLV. 1800. 211 ff. Machly. Article in Philologus 1.1. 1802. 107.

Zeller. In Archiv f. Gesch. der Philos. VI. 1803. 153 n. 1.

Stochr, Engel, Widemann, Schmidinger, Vogel. Curae criticae in Ar. Pol. in Commentationes philologicae Monacenses, 97-114: Munich, 1891. Niemeyer. Article in 7ahrb. f. Phil. CXLIII. 1801. 412 ff.

v. Wilamowitz. Aristoteles u. Athen 1. 64-71, 187 f. n. (3).

P. 11, n. 1. Add references to Zeller in Hermes XV. 1880. 547-556, Dünmler in Rhein. Mus. XLII. 1887. 179 ff., Shute History of the Aristotelian writings, Oxford, 1888, esp. c. 8, Newman Introduction to edition of the Politics 1, 478-402, II. DD. XXX-XI. v. Wilamowitz Aristoteles v. Athen I. 355 ff. The discovery of the Constitution of Athens has called special attention to the connexion between the Politics and the Polities.

P. 14, u. 3. Add a reference to Birt Das antike Buchwesen p. 459. The safest inference to draw from the absence of correspondence between the opening of one book and the close of the preceding is that the two were independently claborated. Notice the 82 inserted after mept by P2 and P5 (corr.) at 1323 a 14. Compare Newman oo. c. II. p. xxi ff. xxvi f.

P. 15, n. 2. At the end of this note add (ou p. 16): The total would now (1894) be slightly increased by the athetesis of the last clause of B. I. c. 13 § 16, 1260 b 24 f. [kal πρώτον...πολιτείαs], II. c. 6 § 13, 1265 b 12-17 [Φείδων... ίστερον], § 22, 1266 22-25 [ώς...σκέψις], V (VIII). 7. 4. 1342 2 0 f. [δταν...μέλεσι], although these passages are not, in this edition, enclosed in square brackets, and Mr Hicks is not convinced: further, by VII (VI). 2 § 5, 1317 b 23 [# 6Arydaus], 8 § 24, 1323 a 6-9 [τοκών...δημοτικόν]. As regards II. c. 6 § 14, 1265 b 21-23 [έπελ...τινός:], with which must go c. 7 § 4, 1266 b 5-8 [HNdruv... npbrepov]. Prof. Susemihl is not altorether convinced; while he is inclined to spare II. 6. 15, 1265 b 24-26 [cal... olicit)-the discrepancy between this passage and IV (VII). 10. 11, 1330 a q-23 may be accounted for by a change in Aristotle's opinions, if he wrote B, II, after B, IV (VII) -as well as II. 7. 16 f., 1267 a 28-37 [δεί...πολιορκίαs] in spite of note (246). Oh most of these passages see Susemihl Ougest. Ar. crit. et exeg. Pars III, p. iii. Possibly even VIII (v). 12 §§ 1-6, 1315 b 11-30, is genuine as Diels contends Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos. IV. 1801, D. 483 f.

P. 16, n. 3. Had Aristotle completed the work, there is a balance of probability that he would have arranged the books in this order: A. F. B. H. O. A. Z. E. Of these H. O. (and probably A. F.) were written earlier than the Constitution of Athens, the other four almost certainly later.

P. 16, n. 4. Add that Newman declines to accept the second transposition, suggesting a merely mechanical cause for the first: IL p. xxxix f. It is much to be regretted that he has increased the existing confusion by a new nomenclature, Book 7 (s) = VIII (v) and B, 8 (6) = VII (VI) of St Hilaire and Bk.2.

P. 18, n. 3. Cicero's acquaintance with the Politics has come up for discussion in several recent works, especially Schmekel's Die mittlere Stoa (Berlin 1802) pp. 47-85. The investigations of Schmekel enable us to dispense with the assumption that Tyrannion provided Cicero with extracts from Aristotle: for a comparison of Cicero De Republica with Polybius VI. cc. 2—10 shows that both used a common authority, obtained to the dissertation published by Polybius Polybius polybius and in a thesis appended to the dissertation published by P. Voight Soreni Ephinii Ibi. (Creifswall 1888). See Sucessmith's edition of Anis Comemonia p. in n. fo, Criefsthed Litteratur-gauch. in der Alexandrivinerait (Leipnig: 1894) Vol. 11. p. 75 n. 15(7), p. 180 n. 1(83). Direct acquaintance with the Public's is thus established for Panesitius whose life (circa 185—110) nearly covers the century between Hermippus and Apellicon of Toco: a result confirming the line of argument adopted on p. 18.

As for Polybius, see also v. Scala Die Studien des Folybios I. (Stuttgart 1890) p. 102 ff., 222 ff. who endeavours (pp. 128—125) to prove that Polybius had himself read Aristotle's Politics. This hypothesis is combated by Susemihl Litteraturgesch.

II. p. 81 n. (4), p. 106 n. (97 b), p. 127 n. (147).

P. 18, n. T. The definite quotations contained in this list require to be distinguished from the more numerous traces of acquaintance with Peripateic political doctrine which may or may not imply actual use of the treatise. The former may be slightly extended as regards the commentations on the Edities: see mow the academic edition Michael Ephesius ed. Heyblut 504, 8 ff., 500, 31 ff., 511, 5 ff., 5 for, 7 ff., 10 ff., 6, 7 ft., 10 ff., 6, 7 ft., 11, 8 ff., 6, 7 ft., 10 ft., ft.,

The latter must commence with the Eudensian Ethics and Maque Morshin, the parallels being fully given in the footnotes to Susemilh's editions (Leipzig, 1883, 1884). Similarly with the Octonomica: see again Susemilh's ed. (B. 1895) p. v. n. (1) for Book I and p. x. n. (23) on the expansion in Book II of the idea suggested, and partly worked out, in the Philitis 1. I. 18 g. T-23, 1829 a. 3-9. The Degimning of this passage is clearly referred to at 1346 a 97-99: but this again has a bearing on the geomineness of Philitis 1. c. 11. See below.

Mr. Newman has compiled in Vol. II. p. x—six, a list of similar parallels from Relatories of Alex. 3, 144-8, 1 sf. [h. 3 ff., De estimal, mater, 7, 90 h. 24 ff., [Plato] E-state 135, c, 138 c, Aristonems Fr. 19, no, Philodenms Fr. Musica (ed. Kemle) besides B. 3, Fr. 4a, 5a, 5a, 54, 6a, 66 noticed by Kemlet and Gompers, B. 1, Fr. 16, 17; E. 3, Fr. 4a, 53; E. 4, col. 3, 23 ff., 15, 5f., 16, 17 ff. Phutach Vita Crazzi (. a, p. 544 A (esp. the words by "php decoupanty to diplyous xyamerracy down to therefores relatively repositely folgone, though this is nowhere said by Aristotle), Moralia 9, c, 527 A, 787 C—D, 81 a, D. 6, 855, A—C: Dio Chrysotom, 3, 115, 7, 107, 11, 439, 36, 88, R. All of these include the possibility of indirect use of the treatise. Prof. Susemih block that Plutarch was certainly acquainted with the Falities, but handly with the Falities. Even his direct exquaintance with the Ast Ilo. is denied by some: e.g. v. Wilamowitz Aristotela u. Athen (Berlin 1893) 1, pp. 299—390.

—305. P. 20, n. 1. Add references to Blass De Antiphonte sophista (Kiel 1889), Dümmler Prologomena zu Platons Staat (Basel 1891), Wilamowitz op. c. 1. 161 ff., esp. 169—185.

P. 39, a. 3. Gilbert's hypothesis, that Ephorus used the Philitic of Aristofle, is rendered untenable by the discovery of the 'Absymical Follardia, which contains very precise indications of having been compiled between 399 and 375 EC. The same treatise slightly strengthens the probability that Aristodic may have made use of Ephorus (or his authorities) in part of his works. At any rate he is in the 'Ab. IIo.\text{under considerable obligations to another of isocrates' pupils, Androtion. See A. Bauer Forechangen su Arist. 'Ab. IIo.\text{(Munich 1891) p. 155. v. Wilamowitz is seam securical 49, 1. 1. p. 306

- P. 37, n. 1. The opinion here expressed, that the first part of B. 11. c. 1. zi gruinou, the latter part a spurious addition, seems to have been strengthened rather than weakened by the discovery of the 'Abyudus' Hohrrida. See Diels in 'Arriba', P. d. Genh. A. Philitis u. V. 1851, p. 485. P. Meyer has incleed argued in 'Arriba', Philitis u. d. '18. Ha.\ (Rom 1891) p. 13 ff. that the attestias should be confined to 12π4 to 1-12π4 to 1-12π4
- P. 66, IX. The date of the Politics has recently been discussed with much vivacity. Since the publication of the Constitution of Athens, the appearance of general agreement combined with occasional discrepancy which the two works present, has not unnaturally stimulated inquiry into its cause. The first suggestion made, on the assumption that Aristotle wrote both works, was that the Constitution, which can confidently be dated circa 320-325, is separated by an interval of years from the Politics. Thus Mr Newman notes (in Class. Rev. v. 162) that in the first part of the Constitution of Athens "we are sometimes inclined to ask whether the Politics is not already in existence and known to the writer. Has not the writer " of 'Aθ. Πολ. υ. 41 § 2 " Pol. 4. 4, 1292 a 4-37 before him?" Similarly Bruno Keil in Die Solonische Verfassung (Berlin 1892) confidently assigns the Politics to the period 350-335 B.C. long before the completion, at any rate, of the Constitution. Tempting as such conjectures are, in the absence of positive evidence it is still necessary soberly to restate the grounds before us for dating the larger treatise; and this is what Prof. Susemibl has done Quaest. Ar. crit. et exeg. II. p. x-xii, III. p. iii ff. His conclusion is that the Ethics and Politics were undoubtedly written later than the Physica, De Caelo, Meteorologica: that though they may conceivably have preceded the psychological, physiological and zoological works (and would then fall, say, about 232-230), it is far more likely that they were the latest sections of the Encyclopaedia with the exception of the Poetics, Rhetoric and Metaphysics. If this latter alternative be accepted, we may suppose the Ethics to have been finished before 327 B.C. About the Politics we cannot be so certain: for unquestionably the treatise consists of different component parts, written at different times with different aims, though ultimately incorporated in a single scheme. Of the portions anterior to the Constitution of Athens, i.e. say, to 327 B.C., we can point with confidence to Books IV (VII), v (viii): possibly also to Books I, III. The rest of the treatise, B. II, no less than Books IV-VI of the old order, may with a balance of probability be assigned to the years 325, 324, 323, when Aristotle was also at work upon the Poetics, Rhetoric, Metaphysics, while under his editorship the Peripatetic school was issuing the remaining Polities (other than that of Athens), the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, the διδασκαλίαι, and other similar works.
- v. Wilamowitz assumes that from the earliest times when he lectured at all, Aristate repeatedly gave courses of lectures on Politics. While admitting that the present condition of the treatise does not permit a sharp separation of the different lapper, or a general application of the indications which certain passages afford as to the date, he finds it hard to believe that Books HØ were composed after "the comprehersive historical studies on which ABE are based." Lee he finds at ABE are lasted. The Lee thinks that ABE are lasted. The Lee thinks that ABE are hasted. The he finds that ABE are lasted.
- P. 68, n. 3. Add a reference to Newman II. p. xxxi: Aristotle "had evidently cast aside the programme which we find at the close of the Nicomachean Ethics, and

yet he framed no frash one to take its place; "a most important administra. Compute also Birt of, t. p. 496." If the transition from B, it an earlier's addition, and 80 an insertion of the family II in 1460 b 27, the place of B. II itself becomes doubtful, as Sussmith Tensaks Prolegomens in to the revised impression of the Cubiner test: "inist tames admodum fallor, Aristotelas totum opus si its, at voksit, perfective, et allibros II. III. Visi er certactasse, it rule locam maggio dionems litter III'm et nor ordinis rum (vertexis virus) invenisate." (This virus is further developed in Quanta Ar. ord. et exeg. III. p. iiff, su explained above). Wilkmonvitire, 6x. 1, 56 or. A conference of 18t b 12-15, respalarie/rum.../besséy is quite in-dispersable, and is not distincified to accept the rest.

P. 71, n. 4. Mr Newman examines the Vetus Versio of .c. II. pp. lxi—lxv. With the whole of section x compare below p. 454 ff. Susemihl in *Yahrb. f. Philol.* CXXXIII. 1893. 801—5, CXIVII. 1893. 817—824, Quaest. crit. et exgr. I. II., and for the other side Newman of .c. II. xii ff. and in Class. Rev. VII. 304 ff.

P. 74, n. 4, line 5. After αὐτοκράτωρ insert 1287 a 39 πασθέντας. See Corrig. and Addenda to Critical Notes ad loc.

P. 90, n. 4. Mr Newman admits that VI (IV) cc. I—4 " are little better than a chaos." See his appendix, Vol. I. p. 565 ff. and compare Vol. II. p. xxvi, xxxviii, liv, lxvii.

P. 96, n. 2. Inexplicable as the subsequent delay may appear, the printing had proceeded thus far (indeed pp. 1—448 had been struck off) before the appearance of Mr Newman's volumes 1. and 11.

CRITICAL NOTES.

- P. 139, line 1. 1252 a 14 airòs Tyrrell (cp. Eur. Troad. 1208).
- P. 140. .1252 a 22 λέγειν and 23 διαιρεθέντων Maehly, not rightly.
 P. 141, line 2. .1252 a 33 [ταῦτα] and (for ποιεῦν) διαπωνεῦν Gomperz.
- P. 142. Add: No Ms. gives the second article 1330 b 1 τhs πολιτικάς πράξεις και πολιμικής; some omit it 1201 b 25.
 - P. 143, line 2. 1252 b 14 ὁ μεν Χαρών δας] Καρώνδας μεν Π² Ek. Newman || Ib. line 5. Add: Shilleto followed Giphanius (p. 22 f.), who however preferred
- όμοκάπνους.

 P. 144, line 1. See *Corrigenda*. κατὰ φόσων after ἔοικε Γ M⁶ Susem. 1.2 ||
 - P. 144, line 1. See Corrigenas. κατα φοσ.
 P. 146. line 3. After 28 insert: flon Γ P¹.
- P. 147, line 5. 1253 a 2 Stöhr Comm. phil. Monac. p. 97 f. comparing 1253 a 2, a 7, 1278 b 20, Eth. Nic. 1097 b 11, 1162 a 17, 1169 b 18, Eth. End. 1242 a 22 would read ἀνθρωπος. See Dem. Olynth. I. 3, In Midiam § 198 ||
 - Ib. line 6. See Corrigenda. 1253 a 3 torl after ζφω added by Γ M. Susem. 1.2 || P. 149, line 1. After Bk. add: avoiding histus.
 - P. 183, line 2. 1253 b 15 πρώτον...1254 b 39 σώματος noticed by Anon. in *Eth.* Noc. Δ f. 55*, p. 190, 4 f. Heylb. ∥
 - P. 157, line 9. After ἀπὸ add: See Hagfors De praepositionum in Aris. Politicis etc. usu (Berlin 1892) p. 5.
 - P. 160, line 1. See Corrigenda. After Bk. add: Susem.8
 - P. 161, line 1. After Bk. add: (607h Bk.2).
 - P. 163, line 1. Add: See however Addenda to p. 7 above.

- P. 176, line 1. After Ar. add: (but two Oxford MSS. of Aretinus have genitis: Newman II. p. 71).
- P. 180, line 7. After Susem. add: Diebitsch would omit de altogether.
 - P. 183, line 1. 1257 b 12. For offre Newman cites 1203 a 8. 1207 b 7.
- P. 190, line 2. c. 11, 1258 b 9—1259 a 36, is considered by a friend of Mr Newman a later addition.
- P. 194, line 3. 1259 a 31 δράμα Campbell, but see Dem. Procem. 55, p. 1460, 26 : δραμα τοῦτο ἐποιεῖτο ὁ δῆμος, În Aristocr. XXIII. § 19 (δράτε), etc.
- P. 197, line 2. 1259 b 32. See Corrigenda. After \(\Gamma\) M* add: bracketed by Susem. 12
- Ib. line 3. 1260 a 4. Cod. Oxoniensis (Coll. Corp. Chr. 112) had in the margin daylartor και, afterwards erased ||
- P. 203, line 4. 1260 b 20—24 [der"...rolureles] bracketed by Birt, as an addition of the publisher. Cp. Susem. Prolegomena p. xli: Neque tamen ipsi Aristoteli hac ratione succurro, sed compositori, qui perperam ultima libri l' verba 1260 b 33 sq. scal
- $\pi \rho G r \omega \kappa r \lambda$ adject.

 P. 232. 1263 a 2. The change in punctuation ($\xi \chi \omega \pi \hat{\omega} \omega$, $\tau \hat{\omega}$ s, see Corrigenda) is due to Mr Newman ||
- P. 252. 1265 a 40 Add to line 12: 8h for & Mr H. Richards Class. Rev. VI.
- p. 339.
 P. 261. 1266 a 31 [φιλοσόφων] Zeller (Archiv f. d. Ges. d. Philos. VI. 153 n.):
- i.e. he would read at μλυ διωτών αξ δέ καὶ πολιτικών. P. 269, last line. On the genuineness of 1267 b 20—28 see now Susemihl in Yahrb. f. Phil. CKLVII. 1803, p. 192.
 - P. 270. 1267 b 26 εύτελοῦς] εύσταλοῦς Ο. Apelt.
 - P. 274. 1268 b 1 γεωργήσει] γεωργ

 olk>ήσει Mr A. G. Peskett (1801).
 - P. 289, line 2. Add: Comp. Crit. Notes on 1329 & 34-
 - P. 290, line 2. 1270 b 8 M⁰ Pl omit ἐστίν || P. 294, 1271 a 7 [τδ] δώρον, οτ τι δώρον C. Häberlin ||
- P. 296. 1271 a 20. Comp. dlld μήν εί γε 1276 b 18, dlld μήν έπαινείται γε 1277 a 25 (Newman).
 - P. 305. See Corrigenda to 1272 b 9. διναστών Π1 Susem.1.2 ||
- P. 312. See Corrigenda to 1273 b 6. dπορία» Γ M* Bk. Susem. 1.2
- P. 314, line 2. After Göttling add: Bernays (Ges. Abh. I. 172), Böckh (Staatshaush. 'd. Ath.' 1. p. 295, 580 d).
- P. 316, line 3. Dele probably rightly. καl Θεμιστοκλής Diels, rasbly (in Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Philos. IV. p. 484 n. 1).
- P. 317, line 3. 1274 a 18—20 After Diels add: But comp. Susemihl Jahresber. XLII. p. 255 n. 36.
- Ib. last line. 1274 a 20. Wilamowitz defends τρέτου τέλουs, but hardly with success, ορ. c. I. p. 69 n. 41.
 - P. 320, line 1. 1274 b 9-15 [Φαλέου...6χρηστω] Newman followed by P. Meyer and v. Wilamowitz. See however Quaest. Ar. crit. et exeg. 1. p. xvi f.
 - P. 354. V^m is Prof. Susemihl's notation for the Vatican fragments in the Teubner text of the Politics (Susem.³ nova impressio correctior 1894), so that our fr. = V^m.
 - P. 356. 1275 a 23 splotes sal defended by Wilamowitz op. c. 1. p. 205 n. 32.
 - P. 362. See Corrigenda. 1276 a 10—13 (τότε...συμφέρον) είπερ the parenthesis and punctuation Niemeyer (in Jahrb. f. Philol. CXLIII. 1891, p. 412 ff.).
 - P. 363. 1276 a 14 [καλ] Niemeyer | τωνες κατά and comma after τρόπου Niemeyer |

P. 363. 1276 a 15 ταύτης (before τὰς) defended by Niemever II

Ib. 1276 a 16 ruparolôos; (with interrogation) Niemeyer, partly following Koraes II

P. 364. 1276 a 26. See Corrigenda.

P. 366. B. III. c. 4 is vaguely referred to by Anon. in Eth. Nic. v. p. 214, 36 ff. ed. Hevlb.

P. 369. 1276 b 39-40 [έπαδη...πολίτας] Widemann.

P. 371. 1277 a 30 [sal] Spengel |

P. 372. 1277 a 32 τούνομ' Π2 fr. Bk.

P. 374. 1277 b 17-25 noticed by Anon. in Eth. Nic. v. p. 231, 38 ff. Heylb.

P. 379. 1278 a 34 dστών Cod. Berol. Hamiltonianus 41 (merely on conjecture; the MS., of the xv century, is one of the worse species of II2. Possibly even in fr. the reading is conjectural).

P. 380. 1278 b 8. See Corrigenda. sal el F Pl Susem.1-2 (omitted by Mt). P. 381. 1278 b 10-15 noticed (amongst other passages) by Mich. Ephes. in Eth.

Nic. 1X. f. 157" 504, 8 ff. ed. Hevlb. P. 383. 1270 a 8-16 [80...doyds] Stöhr (hardly right).

P. 397. 1281 a 41 ἔχει (with colon after λώεσθαι) Welldon (hardly adequate). P. 401, last line. Add: But see Bonitz Ind. Ar. 530 b 18 ff.

P. 402. 1282 a 27. Mr Wyse prefers μέγιστον as avoiding hiatus. It is however in pausa.

P. 411, line 1. 1283 b 15 Insert: 868etar Pl.

P. 412, line 3. Dele Plutarch.

P. 431, line 10. See Corrigenda. That 1287 a 30 παισθένταs is right (persuasos William) was seen by Schneider and has recently been demonstrated by Engel in Comm. phil. Monach. p. 103.

P. 442. 1287 b 30 f. [τοις...συνάρχους] Widemann (not rightly).

P. 442, line 5. 1288 a 13. If Heylbut's conjecture be accepted, the punctuation will be changed: ήθος πολεμικόν, δυνάμενον |

P. 473, line 3. 1323 b 8. Vahlen's conjecture requires els 71. See Hagfors op. c. p. 43-

P. 475. See Corrigenda. 1323 b 18 sal added by Γ M* Susem. 1.2 ||

P. 481. 1324 b 4 f. The order of I' Me is retained because neither the order of P1 nor that of H2 will stand without Congreve's emendation. Besides it is best suited by the context.

P. 489. 1325 b 34 [kal mepl...mpbrepow] would be bracketed even if the preceding chapter were allowed to be by Aristotle.

P. 490. 1326 a 9-b 24 noticed by Mich. Ephes. in Eth. Nic. 1X. f. 161b, p. 520, 31 ff. (cp. 521, 5 ff.) Hevlb.

P. 493. 1326 a 40 olov ... 41 σταδίου noticed by Mich. Ephes. ubi supra p. 520, 35. P. 495. 1326 b 30 f. The punctuation (ôcî... euwelous) is due to Mr Wyse.

P. 497. 1327 a 23 [πρδs] Argyriades, rightly, in Διορθώσειε είε τὰ 'Αριστοτέλουε

Πολιτικά. Α' (Athens 1893). P. 503, line 5. 1328 a 16. See Corrigenda. πέρα...πέρα Nauck, perhaps rightly | offe Gomperz, of 6è with all other authorities Bk. Susem.1.2

P. 521. 1330 b 30. See Corrigenda. μη ποιών after πόλω Γ M* Susem.1.2

P. 529. 1332 a 13. See Corrigenda. sal inserted before dwaysalas F M* Susem.1.2

P. 535. 1332 b 31. See Corrigenda. πάντων after 32 τούτων Γ M* Susem. 1.8

P. 537. 1333 a 26. See Corrigenda. Expeñobas after µlpos F Mª Susem.1.2

P. 541. 1334 a 8. See Corrigenda. ἀνιᾶσω Γ M* Susem. 1-2

P. 546. 1334 b 24. See Corrigenda. εγγίνεσθαι after 25 πέφικεν Γ M* Susem. 1.9

P. 549. 1335 a 27. See Corrigenda. ἀρισμένοs after χρόνος Γ M* Susem. 1.2

P. 559. 1336 b 34. See Corrigenda. αὐτῶν after δσα Γ M* Susem.1.2

COMMENTARY.

P. 138. 1252 a. 8. Add after note (2): The identity of βασθωτή with πολισική is asserted Pl. Euthyd. 29 t C and Politicus 250 D. The question, What is the object of this science, which in Euthyd. is left open, is answered in Politicus. That στρατηγική is subordinated to it, is asserted Polit. 200 A as in Euthyd. 200 C, D (Bonitz).

P. 140. 1252 a 17 την τόφηγημένην μέθοδον. Mr Newman is inclined to take this participle against Bonitz here and c. 8 § 1, 1256 a 2, in a middle sense: 'the method which has led the way.' Mr Wyse has independently proposed this same sense.

Ib. 1252 a 18. This method implies the examination of the ultimate species separately, cp. De part. cmim. 1. 4 § 4, 644 a 29, η μέν γάρ οδοία το τῷ είδει ἄτομον, κράτιστον, εἰ τις δίνακτο τερὶ εἰτος κπέξ ἐκατον καὶ ἐτόμων τῷ είδα δεωρών χωρίς, κόστος τοὶ ἀτθρώντω, εἰτος καὶ τοὶ δεωθός Νίνωπαπ).

άσπερ περὶ ἀιθρώπου, οδτω καὶ περὶ δριθει (Newman).

P. 141 f. 1252 b 2. Mr Newman suggests that the Delphic knife may well have served "not only for killing the victim (σφαγέτ Eur. El. 811) but also for flaying it and cuttine it un (κοπέτ ἐἐκῶι 824)."

P. 143. 1252 b 8. Add after note (12): Eur. Hel. 246 τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλην ένδι.

P. 1431. 1951 b 15. Add after note [17]: Mr Newman, like Dittenberger, defends bynesferors, meeting the objection respecting the quantity with the suggestion that the term may have occurred in a prose treatise. But the letter of Epimenides to Solon on the Cretan constitution, Diog. Laert. 1. 112, was undoubtedly a forgery later than Aristotle's time: see Hille in Refixen. Max. 2021. D. 5297 [...]

P. 146. 1950 b 6. See again Quant. ord. odf. p. 333. As in b 10, so here you're must be predicative, as a be first, primarily: evenewage he gundentood from b 13. "From these two relationships the family is first formed.... From a number of families the society first formed with a view to something beyond the needs of every day is the village." Both passages should be omitted from the examples given by Bottin Land. An 6, 65 at 5 at 3.

F. 145. 1952 b 18. The literature bearing upon havyebacver and dyyelose is continually increasing; see the authorities cited in Busolt Gr. Gard. P. p. 396 ff. exp. pp. 396—398 with notes, K. F. Hermann Lebrauch d. gr. All. Vol. 1. Satantherithmer ed. V. Thumser § 85 [68] pp. 313—344. Topffer Attitude Genealogie p. 20fi. For the latter organization consult L. L.Al. 11. 566, 507, 605, The Age, 1888. 83.

Mr W. R. Paton, Class. Rev. v. p. 222, thinks that δμογάλακτει=those whom it was possible for two generations to suckle, i.e. two generations.

Philochorus cited and explained in this content the ancient have which as we know from Lynian needed interpretation even early in the fourth century. May Aristotle refer then either to the authors of ancient Albenian statutes or to knyers? I do not think the word occurs in the Ontano, having been expleted by yosy'me. It manifestly assists Aristotle's argument if the word is a relie from old times, not in use smoog the Athenians of his alog (and Follaux VI. 126 mennist Show "one" "Armobin." As to the remark," p. 145 Comm. left col., 1 - 25, "that no place in the development is found for 'associations for common sacrifices and religions eistrivis," was not this just the aspect under which the y-two presented itself to an Athenian of the fourth century? The y-two implied towards Isplos."

P. 148, Tight col. To the note on 8s and 1. Aristotle follows Plato in arguing that the primitive from G government must have been monarchy, because the primitive from for government must have been monarchy, because the primitive family, supposed independent anterior to the rise of any government, is accustomed to the rule of its serior member. The Cyclepses are addressed as evidence of this earlier state of society (erspaßes) without any king, partirarchal or other, not of course 'to justify a general statement respecting the houseable of all times,' but ruller to justify the particular statement made 1153 b 19 (the βασελουμόνων).

P. 146. 123.3 b 3. The place of robus illustrates Dr Jackson's remark that by

normal Aristotelian usage part of a complex epithet may be placed after article and substantive (hyperbaton).

P. 148. 1253 a 7. Add to note (25): comp. Becq de Fouquières Jeux des Anciens p. 372 ff.

P. 150. 1253 a 22. Add to note (28) a reference to the note on p. 212, and to Quaest. crit. coll. pp. 334-336, 449 f.

Ib. 1253 a 26. Add to note on χωρισθείs: Possibly Aristotle has in mind Soph. Phil. 1018 άφιλον έρημον άπολον ἐν ζώσω νεκρέν (Newman).

P. 181. 1853 a 34. This note has sufficed from undue compression. A fuller discussion appears in Quant. etc. etc. 19. 236 f. The main points are: (4) the weapons are not prudence and [virtue], or else they would have been expressed by the accusative, \$\frac{1}{2}\text{speciment}\$ of \$\frac{1}{2}\text{const.}\$ of Prudence and [virtue] are the qualities at whose disposal the weapons are placed. (3) The weapons are the various sufeguards and sids necessary if any action, whether just or unjust, is to be performed with safety: prudence and perseverance (on Susemihl's conjecture), prudence and skill (on Freudenthal's)⁴.

Against those who, with Jowett, by downfore understand dendrys (W. E. 1144 s. 16.) and by derry downvi derry or $\Re u (W. E. 1144 \text{ b. } 16.)$, it is urged 1.1 that (c) such a use of derry is unexampled and (e) that the natural germ of virtue is not peculiar to man but is found in the lower animals: W. E. 1144 b. 8, Hist. on. 1. 1 § 30 ft. 48 b 1 a ff. W. II. 1. W. 1.

Spengel, who understands by dperi intellectual virtue, is met not only by the invariable usage of the phrase oponous rail dperis, but also by the fact that oponous is probably the only intellectual virtue which has to do with conduct. There is also the improbability that the term dperi would be used of a quality liable to abuse when

¹ Quanwis recte monuerit Montecatinus, si Aristoteles prudentiam homini et virtutem tamquam arma data esse dicere voluisset, scribendum ei potius fuisse φρόνησα καὶ ἀρετήν, qui impedit, no prudentia et id quod sub corrupto vocabulo dperij latet non ipsa arma sed res sint, quibus arma offerantur, armis autem praesidia illa varii generis atque adiumenta significentur uniculque necessaria, quotienscunque opus vel iustum vel iniustum tute perpetrare velit? Ou. cr. coll. p. 337. Aristotle himself says $R\hbar d$. 1. 12, 1355 b 4 : τοῦτό γε (i.e. abuse) κοινόν έστι κατὰ πάντων τῶν αγαθῶν πλὴν ἀρετῆς.

Bernaya again Zwai Abhh. sih d. arishet. Theorie (Berlin 1880), p. 1151, who adopts Montescainio's explanation (arms homin data sunt at prodentiane eviraturen), quotes Seneca P_0 for 1, 1; P_1 Aristoteles sit adfects quoodam, q quis lills bese utahtu, pro arms esce, quod verture forest, q, when the like instruments, sum dependage possent industrial arbitrio. hace arms, quae Artistoteles virtuit dat, lysa per se puganat, non exspectant manum, et habent, non habentur. But the passions are not percalita to man: and surely they are 'arms for insight and virtue'. Not to mention the objection, stated on p. 151, that $dhotal Process Code Shows the arms must be used by <math>\theta_p deepers and dperf_p$, not in order to recover them.

- [Mr Newman suggests 'language' as one of these weapons, and admits that if 'certain emotions, anger especially 'are included, Aristotle must then have regarded these emotions as peculiar to man.]
- P. 151. 1253 a 37. Add after note (28 c): Perhaps Aristotle had a saying of Pindar in mind: co. Plut. Prace. reifs. ger. c. 13, p. 807 c : δ δt πολετική, άρωτο-τέχραs τις διε κατά Πίσδαρος, καὶ δημιογρήσε eleopalas καὶ δίκης (Newman).
- P. 152. 1253 b 3. The laxity here noted may be particularized as the onision on only of ern hot of selsow the antecedent to \(\tilde{e} a \). But in Greek identified the genitive case is appropriated to related terms, so that in the sentence 'The parts of Economic are of the constituents of the Household' the meaning of the words supplied are of its correspond to, or 'relate to,' and or 'treat of.' Mn Newman companies 1268 b 72 (but this is doubtful), and refers to Bonitz Index Ar. 533 b 6—13, with Waltz on Anal. Fr. 1. 65, 28 x 29 there quoted.
- Ib. 1253 b 9. It would have been sufficient to say that the ordinary sense of γαμικόs is 'nuptial' and not 'conjugal': cp. n. on 1334 b 32, p. 547.
- F. 188. 183 b no. Lest the expression "speech delivered." in note (81) should be misunderstood we add that the Morroyaneds was a pamphlet cast in the form of a speech, like the "Archidamus" of Isocrates, treating the same theme from the opposite side, and advising the Spartans to make peace with Messone (1397 a 11 ff.): cp. Blass Attituck Brondmarkt 11.3 pp. 350, 289.
- D. 1253 b 21. Zeller Pre-Secratics Eng. tr. II. p. 477 n. (3) observes that ν θμω γ λφ δε μν δούλοι δε δε δελεθθροι forms a trimeter, so that under <math>το ε δε, b 20, a poet may be included.
- P. 186 £ 185 b 3 det do...35 forgetry. The commentary may again be supplemented from Quantz crit. 601, p. 336 £ Various critics have treated this whole passage as one loosely constructed sentence, but without agreeing how much of it is quodosis to the string of proteases which they suppose to be introduced by fred. As ofers introduces the apodosis begins at De driviatelist intendir ratione 1. p. 36 £ Gotting. 1860, and the apodosis begins at De driviatelist intendir ratione 1. p. 36 £ Gotting. 1860, and 5 6 miles (to the proceed that it should begin two lines lower down with b 33 and 5 6 6 miles (to this Spengel by this punctuation of power forwar with b 35 and 5 6 6 miles (to the Spengel by this punctuation of power forwar down with 5 and 5 6 6 miles (to the Spengel by the punctuation of power for other down with 5 and 5 6 6 miles (to the Spengel by the punctuation of power for other down of the power of the spengel by the power of the power of the spengel by the power of the spengel by the power of the power

¹ sc. dναγκαΐον ύπάρχειν τὰ οίκεῖα δργανα presumably.

μέν άψυχα τὰ δ' ξιμίνιχα (οδον τῷ κυβερνήτη ὁ μέν οδαξ άψυχου ὁ δὲ πρωροίε ξιμίνιχου · ὁ τὸς ὑπηθέτης ἐν δργάνου εθδει τοῦς τέχνοια ἐστό ')· οδτοι καὶ τὸ κτίμα δργανον πρός δινήν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτίγεις πλήθου ἀργάνων ³ ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτίμα τι ξιμίνιχου, καὶ ἀστερ δργανον πρό ὀργάνου πὰς ὁ ὑτηφέτης.

The criticism of these conflicting views suggests the result adopted in the text.

P. 155. 1253 b 35. 7e0=the Homeric Hephaestus (Bywater). "Aristotle's rule is to prefix the article to the names of personages in a poem or dialogue." Cp. note on 1201 a 6.

P. 156. 1254 a 12. To the ref. from Eth. Eud. add Magna Moralia 1. c. 34, 1194 b 18 τοῦ γὰρ δεσπότου τί ἐστω ὁ οἰκέτης.

P. 181. 125, b 23. Cp. again Quazat. crit. coll. p. 343, where it is suggested that if Myp be kept, the genitive λόγου may be understood from it as the object of altrbuo(μονα, while both datives are governed by βrappersi. Comp. however for the ellipse of the copula 17(11). 14. 9, 1333 a 17 L τδ δ' οδκ έχει μελε καθ' αλτό, λόγω δ' ότατασόνει δικαίμενο.

P. 162. 152 b 32. «ugkbrs & rabdain sch. "But often the contrary also occurs on that (where this contrary occurs) the one have (easily the bodies, the others (only) the souls of free men" (and hereby the former are after all natural slaves, and the latter natural free men." This is the translation of Prof. Souemilh's second eitlien and the words inserted should have sufficiently indicated his position, which is that rob; µbr = actual slaves who have the noble erect frames which Nature intended freemen to have, and rob № =actual freemen.

P. 163. Add after Excursus II: and the addenda to p. 209 below.

1b. 1856 8.8. With rise be with square juriniconsulfs Dittenberger compares of σ risk λγγμα-midiatelitami Metan. 1s. 8.00, 1650 9.5, 80, 1650 9.5, 167 with please midiately in blinds please 1056 10, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 1650 9.5, 165

P. 165. 1255 a 15. With & ύπεροχή άγαθοῦ τιν bs comp. III. 12. 2, 1282 b 24, κατά παντ δε ύπεροχήν άγαθοῦ explained by κατά χρώμα, κατά μέγεθος.

P. 166. 1255 α 20, 21 ότ ού δεί. Camp. Plato δρυσβοτ. 216 Β ἀντιλέγειν μέν ού δεί ποιείν ἀ ούτον κελεύα, [Dem.] ΧΧΧΙΙΙ. § 27, p. 901, 9: καὶ οὐε ἱσχυρβομα τῷ ὑὰρμὰ ότ οὐ δεί με ἄκτφ δοῦναι, εἰ ἡγγονράμην.

P. 170. 1255 b 25. Note that εγκύκλων is an epithet of έρχαl in c. 26 § 2, and of διοίκηστε in c. 43 § 1 of the 'Αθ. πολ. (routine offices, routine of administration).

P. 172 f. 1256 a 13—19. See additional remarks on this passage, Quaest. crit. coll. p. 349 ff.

¹ οδτω...ύπηρέτης is the apodosis of apodosis of Spengel, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος...ύπηρέτ Εucken [and Newman]. 2 δοτι καὶ ὁ δοῦλος...ύπηρέτης is the

- P. 174. 1256 a 36. To note (71) add, that Aristotle is speaking of Etruscan piracy (Bywater). See Journal of Philol. II. p. 60 ff., Frag. 60 in Rose's last edition (partly given 1,80 b 3 ff.)
- (party given 1400 to 31 m.).

 P. 175. 1256 b 13. Mr Newman aptly compares Plato Menex. 237 Ε, πῶν γὰρ τὸ
 τοκὸν τροφὴν ἔχει ἐπιτηδείαν ῷ ἄν τέκῃ· ῷ καὶ γινὴ δήλη τεκοῦνᾶ τε ἀληθῶτ καὶ μή, ἀλλ'
 ὑτοβαλλομένη, ἐὰν μή ἔχη πηγάι τροφῆς τὰ γεννωμένω.
- P. 176. 1256 b 19. της τροφή:] Mr Newman thinks it possible that Theophrastus apud Porphyrium De Abstinentia II. c. 12 had this statement in view and intended to controver it.
- Ib. 1256 b 23. Add a reference to the fuller discussion Quant. crit. coll. p. 346 ff.
- P. 179. 1257 a 3 ἐκείνητ] "This last," comp. VIII(V). 6. 10, 1306 a 10: σημεΐον
- δ' ή έν Φαρσάλω πολιτεία: έκεῖνοι γὰρ δλέγοι έντες πολλών κύριοί εἰσι (Busse).

 P. 180. 1257 a 18 έσων γὰρ έκανὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀναγκαῖον ἡν ποιεῦσθαι τὰς ἀλλαγάς.
- There is another way of taking this sentence: despecies—despecies ds, "For athreviae exchange would have been necessarily confined to the satisfaction of the changers' own wants": and so Bernays and Jowett translate. Thus retail trade is proved not natural because, if it were, an absundity would follow. The historical explanation of the imperfect given in the note appears the simpler and deserving of preference (1) because the direct proof is much more natural than the indirect and apage (and (2) because the direct proof is much more natural than the indirect and apage (3).
- F. 182. 125 b 7 ft. On various changes proposed in order to avoid the vicious circle in the reasoning of § 10 or Quant. crit. call. p. 33.5. ft. all stands. 125 b δα δα α' η και-γολεύ γωθεσία, "owing to the growth of Retail Trade Chiematistic is (remotessly) supposed to be concerned with money, because (relay) productive of wealth: for wealth is often defined as a stock of money because Chrematistic and Retail Trade or onement dehrematist." At the best, the words in italics are a clumsy and inexact restatement of the fact contained in δδ.

 F. 185. 127 b 37. Add to note: comp. IV[VII]. 6 52, 1256 b 36, where see
- note. Mr Newman, to whom this reference is due, also adduces Plutarch De cupid. divid. 8, a fragment of a dialogue preserved in a slightly fuller form in Plutarch Pila Plojid. 3, 279 15: τῶν τὰς πλοίλον οἱ μὸν οἱ χρῶνται τῷ πλοίνης κῶν μορολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρώνται δὲ ἀσωτίαν κτλ. See Frag. 56 ed. Rose (Teubner 1886).
- P. 186. 1258 a 10. Comp. Magna Moralia 1. c. 25, 1192 a 16 ff. (c. xxiv § 2 ed. ¹ Susem.).
- 1b. 128 a 11—13. Athenian generals in the fourth century were obliged to make their 'art' a means of gain, for the state was rarely in a position to find pay. Hence the author of Communics B. II. cc. 23, 25, 26 records the devices of Timothems, Chabrias, and Diplicitates for Obtaining money: 150 a 25, 47, 1320 b 32, 16. Chares is another instance given by Mr Newman: Theopompus apad Athen. 5,32 n, F. H. G. L. 207.
- P. 187. 1258 a 21 f. όστερ γάρ καλ...οδτω καl] So c. 2 § 15, 1253 a 31 f., 11. 8 § 2, 1269 a 9. -9 § 25, 1270 b 40 ff. Similarly καθάπερ καλ...οδτω καl VIII(V). 9 § 4. 1200 b 12 ff.
 - P. 188. 1258 a 24. Mr Newman takes ἐκ τούτων = starting with this food,
- P. 190. As explained in the Addenda to Critical Notes, Mr Newman has examined with some care, Vol. 11. pp. 196-198, the doubts thrown on the genuineness of c. 11 by a friend of his. Comp. p. 468.
 - ID. 1258 b 10. Add to n. (99) that others, as Jowett and Newman, take the

meaning to be that philosophers may speculate on these occupations, but to embark upon them is servile. In any case compare $v(v_{\rm III})$. z. 5, 1337 b 15—17.

P. 190. 1258 b 11. Prof. Tyrrell holds that in every case where ελεύθερος is of two terminations, the adjective = liberalis.

Ib. 1258 b 12. In the island of Carpathus mules are called κτήματα (quoted by Newman from J. T. Bent Journal of Hell. Studies VI. p. 241).

Ib. 1258 b 12—20. Mr Newman thinks that Plato Laws 842 C, D may have suggested this passage.

P. 191. 1258 b 21. On the subdivisions of μεταβλητική see Büchsenschütz Beitst w. Erwerb p. 455 ff., who supports Cope's view respecting φορτηγία. Prof. Susemihl is not convinced.

Ib. 1258 b 27—29. Mr Newman takes this differently, supposing the same ellipse as in 1253 b 3: τρίτον είδος χρηματιστικής <δστὶν ἐκείνων > δσα κτλ.

P. 193. 1259 a 5 δα συλλέγαν. This has been done by the author of Occonomica B. II: see Susemihl's ed. (Leipzig 1887) Preface p. 1x ff. n. (25), and for the age of the writer (circa 260—200 E.C.) p. XII.

P. 194. 16 f. The same construction embergar on is found 213 a 25, Ind. Ar. s.v. P. 197. 1260 a 3. Prof. Susemihl, defending the reading worse Kal Two defends doybyrus sal doyoulyus which Mr Newman rejects as nothing more than a conjectural emendation, writes as follows: As the principal family of manuscripts of Vet. Transl, has quemadmodum et natura trincipantium et subjectorum (and so rc. bl). this is what William of Moerbeke must have written. Whether he took the reading άσγόντων και from the text or the margin of his Greek manuscript, we cannot know for certain: but the question is superfluous, for the reading is even in the latter case older, in fact considerably older, than all extant manuscripts. Those who, like Dittenberger and Newman, set down all that is of value in Vet. Transl. to mere conjecture, will attach no importance to this; but then they should not appeal to the Vatican Fragments or in consistency should pass the same judgment on the two correct readings which they present. Further they should remember that the seventy odd right readings of Kb in the Nicomachean Ethics might with just as good reason be entitled 'conjectures.' If the oldest authorities are thus impagned how are we to come to a decision as to the goodness of any old manuscript? And do the good readings of the Vet. Transl. look at all like Byzantine corrections of the eleventh or twelfth centuries? Had this been the procedure of Byzantine grammarians in those times we should have found more of their interpolations (say rather emendations) in the text. There seems therefore no reason for rejecting this reading, which best suits the seuse, in favour of exegetical subtleties. Moreover, of what avail are these latter? If we do translate ώσπερ by "corresponding," we obtain no real correspondence: for the differences between those who are naturally ruled do not correspond to the differences between the virtue of the rulers and the virtue of the ruled; it is at the most the differences between the virtues of the different persons ruled that correspond, in so far as the wife is nearer to the ruler, the slave in complete opposition to him and the child in an intermediate position. This would lead to the conjecture και < της> των. Why not then follow the more suitable reading of the Vet. Transl.? Had he intended the other sense Aristotle would more naturally have written: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπου έχει καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶυ ἀρχομένων.

έπόμενον τῷ κοινῷ, Χεη. Cyr. IV. 1. 8 τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φῦλον=the leading corps of the whole army.

P. 202. 126 D 4. Mr Newman opposes the insertion of rbs: the concluding part of the sentence would, according to him, appearetly nur robbes fayers rby shock depris, dbλ' of rbs detacracharly fayers a rise fayer between, it is from the master as master, and not from the master as possessing the &errorrob frarring, that the slave must derive the kind of moral virtue which the only to possess." But (i) if so, dbλ' of y ≃ would be required. (a) It should be remembered that c γ 8 a, rags a 2 stf, teaching lawsers their duties (dokerokard) is called doshor) emerging as opposed to issuing the requisite commands which is δerrorroby a.c. δelectarly (fetraredus terrafrers). It is no part of a master's business to steach always their duties, but merely to educate them to the moral virtue indispensable if their duties are to be rightly performed.

Ib. 1260 b S. Against the view adopted by Mr Newman, following Bonitz, that Myou here = reason, it would be superfluous to urge that (1) Plato does not propose to withhold reason from the slave, and that (2) while reason forms no proper antithesis to θπαθέα 'rational conversation' does.

P. 206. To Excursis 1 on Epimenides add: Niese's conclusions can no longer be accepted. Compare now 'Ad. *π.λ. c. 1 s. f. 'Excursibly δ' o Kphy ke'r rofrest indθighe τ'ην πλον, which is also decisive evidence for the earlier of the two dates assigned to him (eiras 600 B.C., not cirva 500 B.C.). See H. Diels Situanguler. der Berl. Akademic 1861 p. 1878. Basis Ger Adh. Fig. 1876 m. t.

P. 209. Addenda to Exc. II. Mr Newman's view of c. 6 is given Vol. II. p. 150 f. (1) He distinguishes the objectors to slavery here mentioned (1255 a 8 πολλοί τῶν ἐν 7065 νόμοις) from the Abolitionists of 1253 b 20, who hold all slavery to be conventional and contrary to nature, thinking that the former probably did not object to the enslavement of barbarians in war by Greeks. In fact he restricts the dispute to the validity of the law or convention actually in force at the time, by which captives of war become slaves of the victors. (2) At 1255 a 20 he (like Dr Jackson) explains ατεροι λόγοι as a true plural: "the other line of argument on which (A) and (B) must then fall back, supposing they gave up their common standing-ground "-the principle that 'Force is not without virtue.' "Those who connect the right to enslave with superior force and those who connect it with mutual good-will between master and slave, are regarded as having two lines of argument open to them: either they may derive the claims of force and good-will to be the justifying ground of slavery from the claims of virtue, and thus shelter themselves under the latter, or they may impugn the claims of virtue: but if they impugn them, their own contentions lose all weight and cease to produce any serious debate." (3) At 1255 a 21, Mr Newman takes δλως with δικαίαν. The connexion of 1255 a 21-b 3 with the foregoing he makes out as follows. "We shall arrive at exactly the same result"-that what is solid in the contending views is the principle, that superiority in virtue confers on the master the right to rule-" if we examine another view. We have hitherto had to do with those who discuss the law in question on its merits; but there are those who support slavery arising through war on the broad ground that it is authorized by a law and that that which is so authorized is itse facte just,"

Prof. R. Y. Tyrrell has published remarks of his own and of the late Dr Maguire on the Slavery passage in a review of Mr Newman's edition published in *Hermathena* Vol. VI., No. 14 pp. 342—345.

P. 212. The suggestion in the second paragraph of the note on 1253 a 20 ff., made

independently several years ago, does not greatly differ from Mr Newman's explanation, except that he makes τοκαίτη= probably λιθύτη, not δμωνόμωτ λεχθείτα. He translates: 'for a hand when destroyed' (by being severed from the soul, which is its obta) 'will be no better than a stone hand.'

- P. 213. 1260 b 30. After 'Nic. Eth. 1. 13. 3' add '1102 a 10 ff., Plato Rep. 544 C, Frotag. 342 A.'
- P. 215. 1261 a 12 οθ φαίσεται συμβαίσεν. To be rendered with Mr Newman "evidently does not result" (not, as in the note on a 11, does not appear to result). Comp. 1266 a 5, 1270 a 33 π.
- Ib. 1961 a 13. The adverbial sphe is found in Aristophanes e.g. Freqr 445, sheywer pels, 611 ελλεττωντα πράν τέλλοπρία, 653 πλρά δε, τούτου αλολο μίαι. περάσει, Αλλ. 1219, Κπίχλιο 256, Par 19, Izstistr. 665 &λλ. '65' δρίαν διαλλοθήσει προσέτε αυθουσόμου. Also in Demosthenes Αλολ. Lept. XX. § 112 a. I. p. 491, 7 πρότ δέ καλ οδό δέκατου, Αλλ. Lecoration § 33, p. 1084, 12 πρότ δε καλ δε γονασίες.
- P. 216. 1261 a 17. Mr Newman prefers to render μία μᾶλλω by 'more and more of a unity.'
- P. 219. 1261 a 35. Δστερ Δν] According to Mr Newman the ellipse is thus to be supplied: "as (all would be shoemakers, i.e. in turn) if shoemakers and carpenters interchanced occurations."
 - P. 220. 1261 b 2. Comp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 360 f.
- B. 166 by. On réfere Vallen observes that the meaning is given by the Platonic equivalent, δότον έχει. Thus Εχέ, 473 h ἢ όδουν έχει πρῶς» Μέται ἤττο ἀληθείαι ἐράπτοτθαι; ἐξο⟩ n ở γὰρ έχει όδουν καβεραίτην ναυτόν διαθαι ἀχρεσθαι τὰ ἀντά. Comp. Demosth. XIV. 3 or τhε κρόμεν καὶ τὰ ὁρέστα ἐπλιάτου πέρκου, and for Ar. Politics VII(V). 1r. 3, 1360 b 36 όταιδα ἐπξάσεν ενδια ὑμοραστίαν.
- P. 222. 10ft b 18. Mr Newman translates serie via Myse in comession with for "in") the expression i.e. n Myses without fair with a wir via first she however it is more nearly parallel to § 4, b 3n, vi Neyhouse=the scheme in question. For highlighty Neyhouses, de que serves etc., i.e. vi wirsers vi wird Neyton; is not with expression's isn'd titled but "the general adoption of the same expression": and so too with surn't New Myses.
- Ib. 1361 b 24. Complete the reference to Plato Roft. 465 E by adding the words ενός δή, οξιαι, πάσχωντος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐτιοῦν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἡ τοιαύτη πόλις μάλιστά τε φήσει ἐαυτῆς εἶται τὸ πάσχων, καὶ ἢ ἐυσηοθύρεται ἢ ἐιλλιντήσεται.
- Ib. 1261 b 26. Besides 1281 b 2 and 1192 a 11 f. (quoted in the note) the ambiguity of πάντεs is prominent also in IV(VII). 13. 10, 1332 a 36 ff.
- P. 224. 1262 a 1 ff. Add a reference to the fuller discussion in Quaest. crit. coll. p. 361 ff.
 P. 226. 1262 a 7. After (Thurot) add: Or this may be another instance of uir
- without δὲ following; see 1270 a 34 and Susemihl's Critical Edition (Susem.¹) Index grammaticus s.v.

 P. 328 166 a 10. The modeling had been written by Herataeus and others before
- P. 226. 1262 a 19. The weplose had been written by Hecataeus and others before Herodotus: the allusion may be to one of them (Bywater).

 10. 1262 a 21f. Red yearders and 100 Abbur 1560. Probably yawa2ess = females'
- both here and in the passage from Itist. Anims. g86 a.r., quoted in π. (143): del tè καl γοναϊκε έωκτα αυταϊ γοναϊανα, al ĉ ντι ἀνεξεί, ἀντερ ἡ θε δεφικάλυ (έντον ἡ λιακία καλωμέρ», Μr Nevman prefers to take καί...καὶ =both...and. He also prefers to derive the name of this famous mare from her special quality, comparing Xen. Cyrep. VIII. 3, 38.

P. 227. 1262 a 32. For obvious reasons, the last sentence but one of the note on λόσειs should run "are not mentioned by Homer."

P. 230. 1262 b 23. The connexion between the two meanings of άγαπητόν is given by Plato Euthyd. 304 B τὸ γὰρ σπάνιον, ὧ Εὐθύδημε, τίμιον.

P. 232. 1263 a 1. For the clause τὰ περί τὴν κτῆρων see Quaest. crit. coll. p. 365 f. Mr Newman is quite right in taking πῶρι with ἔχρι in the next line.

P. 235. 146g a 56—38. The subject of a 36 frakéeouve is not, as Bonitz and Nr Newman think, of traphona, but and other commentators and translators have seen of διθρωτοι δι of traphonal eler hygopuleus: for the increased trouble and attention which private ownership brings with it (146 b 3 3 ff.) have this compensating advantage that they are merely nears to the owner's increased advantage. The training tokerur sposedpetoures suits this construction alone, the other reading tokerus proprofeptours elegated to the subject of Susant's 1869, see Corriginally would agree with either; but it may have arisen from erroneously taking al traphona as the subject to trackoware.

Ib. 1263 a 31. Add from Aristotle himself the exx. in the Index, 182 a 2, 431 a 10.

3.6 a 1.65 a 36 f. The difficulty in the text as it stands, which appears to have excepted some critics, is that also benjifore plocalises and role belobles, be not role benjifore, see Explores according to the control problem, see Explores according to the control problem, and the control problem is common. Whose? we may ask with Sydney Smith.

P. 239. 1264 a 2. Comp. Dem. 36 § 64, p. 960, 24 frost and xpbrost borsper. For Bernays' ingenious correction fibres, which has Mr Bywater's approval, see now Ges. Abhandlungen 1. p. 177-

P. 240. 1264 a 10. καί νῶν. "In his verbis νῶν male de tempore intellegunt, quo factum est, ut Spengelius interrogaret, nonne semper Helotae id fecerint, Victorius novum non vetus institutum civitatis Laconicae hoc μλ γεωργέν τοὺς πολίτας fuisse Aristotelem affirmare crederet; Schneider contra ea Giphanium secutus diceret a philosopho etiam sui temporis Lacedaemoniis retinendi illius instituti studium tribui. sed studium tantum (ἐπιχαιροῦσι), iam enim eos coepisse a vetere more desciscere, sed si hoc Aristoteles voluisset, dicendum ei fuit non και νῶν verum ἔτι και νῶν. Ouae cum ita sint, alia explicanda ratio probanda neque nimis longe ea quaerenda est. No enim saepissime id significat quod revera extat"; even as it is, even as things are. actually. "Fictae igitur Platonis civitati haec opponuntur. Sed quid sibi vult illud ποιείν έπιχειρούσω, pro quo exspectas ποιούσω? Ni fallor, ποιείν έπιχειρείν non de eis dumtaxat, qui aliquid facturi sunt, sed de eis quoque dici potest, qui reapse aliquid faciunt, si ea ipsa actione dubiae rei experimentum instituunt et quam bene ipsis haec res procedat et sibi et vel nolentes simul aliorum in usum experiuntur": 'make the experiment.' "Quae loquendi ratio hoc loco eo aptior est, quo magis Aristoteles rei, de qua loquitur, institutionem, qualis apud Lacedaemonios inveniatur, minime optimam esse ipse postea demonstravit, c. 9. 1296 a 34-b 10." Quaest. crit. coll. p. 367. Comp. the limiting expression Issaus VIII. § 1: ofree ral viv obtat words έγχειρούσι 'which is just what my opponents are doing in the present case.'

P. 241. 1264 a 15. With \$\text{\$\epsilon\$ and 'or again' cp. De Gen. Anim. I. 18, 723 a 29, 724 b 5 (Newman).

724 D § (Newman).

P. 242. 1264 a 27. After πολίτας is predicate add: as αρχωταs in § 25, 1264 b 7, δεί τόρ πουεί τους αίτους άρχωτας.

P. 243. 1264 a 33. dirocopis. Add the reff.; Plutarch Lyc. 8, Inst. Lac. 40.

- P. 246. 1264 b 33. έκ τούτων. Mr Newman aptly compares De Part. Anim. II. 1 8 4, 646 a 20 δευτέρα δε σύστασει έκ τῶν πρώτων ἡ τῶν όμοιομερῶν φύσει, and Plato Philohus 27 Β πρώτον μέν τοἱννο ἄπειρον λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ πέρας, ἔπειτ' ἐκ τούτων τρένον μετίγη καὶ γεγενημένην οἰσίαν.
- P. 589. 1965 a 13. *Nével Mr. Nerman has here an admirable observation.
 'In the criticismon on constitutions contained in the Second Book Aristotic commonly
 notices first, or at any rate before he has gone very far, their arrangements with
 respect to what he terms in the Fourth Book the irredieves of the State—the number
 of citizens and the extent of the territory, cp. 1395 b 36." On the relation between
 criticism in B. 11. and construction in B. 17. vtr. 138 a 1767 of 13. 176. [10. 13. 17. 68].
 - P. 250. 1265 a 18. To n. (203) add the reference: Laws 625 c (Newman). P. 251. 1265 a 28 ff. Comp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 368 f.
 - P. 252. 1265 a 40. On \$\text{\$\text{\$\pi\$} with future participle see Goodwin Moods and Tenses\$
- F. 202. 1405 a 40. On a winn nature paractipe see Goodwin towas and Tensas-88 197, 208, 216. He concludes: "The possibility of such a construction is open to a certain doubt and suspicion." See also Mr H. Richards in Class. Rev. v1. p. 339.

 P. 208. 1265 b 7. Add to note (209): Aristotle's suggestion in b 7—10 much
- resembles that of Plato Rep. 460 A, το δε πλήθοι των γάμων έπὶ τοῖι άρχουσι ποιόσομεν, & ἀν μάλωτα διασήξωσι τον αύτο άρθηλον τῶν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸι πολέμους τε καὶ νόσους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιοῦτα ἀποσκονούντες (Νενπιαπ).
- P. 265. 1265 b 29. After "adapted" insert "of all constitutions." With this meaning of κοινοτάτην = most suited to, within the reach of, cp. 1265 a 3.
- P. 258. 1266 a 5. cool Excess palvera: Obviously presents no monarchical element either. Cp. Addenda to 1261 a 12.
- Ib. 1266 a 7. After VIII(V). 7. 7 add: 1307 a 21 (cp. II. II. 5, 1273 a 5 ἐκ-κλίνων). In 'λθ. πολ. c. 41 § 2 occurs the compound παρ-εγκλίνουσα.
- In. 1266 a 8. To the references at the end of n. (213) add: Laws 945 B. As is now clear from the Constitution of Athens, c. 8 § 1, Plato in the Laws is merely reviving an old feature of Solon's constitution. Dr Sandys at Inc. has collected confirmatory evidence from Isocr. Aresp. 22, Funath. 45, [Dem.] c. Neuerum III. 8 74.
 - Ib. 1266 a 11. After 2 § 6 add: 1261 b 2 (cp. 1320 a 0-11).
 - P. 259. 1266 a 14-20. Comp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 370 ff.
 - P. 263. 1266 b 17. Add a reference to Busolt Gr. Alterthumer2 p. 137 n. 3.
- P. 265. 1267 a 3 ff. "Aristippus had apparently anticipated a part of what Aristotle says in the passage which follows: see Plutarch De cupid. divit. 3, 524 A" (Kewman).
- P. 288. 1959 b. Add b. π . $\{x_3\}$: As to the form, although Aus@Ala occurs in the papers of AB. πAv . c. c. 8, γM theisterhand's P. Be showe that the proper form is Aug@Ala. On Attic inscriptions $\delta \partial AB$ is forcer only once with ϵ (in an inscription of date before γM is AB c.): but the derived forms preserve the older ϵ , unless the ending (as $\beta \partial AB$) includes an ϵ . Hence δBA lens, $\delta \delta BA$ is a sup δAB in the other hand randow, δT and δAB .
- As to the introduction of the $\delta eupende,$ cp. now the passage referred to above, $A\delta$, $\tau ob.$ c. a.6 § 3, where it is ascribed to Cleophon (δ baperos, δ and τ bapelodic refere τ pfore), not (as Plut. V. Pericl. 9 might lend us to conjecture) to Perioles. The increase in the grants must be due to the increased number of shows, for Dem. De Corruna § 36, τ or τ δ be τ δ bed, δ below, shows the price to have been only two obtain 330 B.C. First mentioned on an inscription of the year τ 40 (C. I. A. 1. 188 where the Treasurer of Athene pays δ angle δ for the finals in hand, τ efrench, just about

the time when Cleophon was a prominent politician. Cp. Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 10 of Archedemos, 406 S.C., δ τοῦ δήμου τότα προυστηκές καὶ τῆς διαβολίας ἐτιμελούμενοι.

P. 270. 1267 b 28. Myson=walstrap] in al wolld but roll derival letyer kal by h, h0 of ribbars of degrade, h10 february of degrade, h10 february of degrade, h10 february of degrade, h10 february of degrade degrades. Possibly h10 february of h10 fe

P. 272. 1268 a.g. Add to the note on οθπω: Comp. Pl. Symp. 222 C, ως οθ πάντα τούτου ένεκα είσηκώς.

Ib. 1268 a 10. Add to n. (259): The regulation in force at Athens, which Diog. Laer. I. 54 ascribes to Solon, is thus alluded to in the Constitution of Athens c. 24 8 3 καl δρφαναί. Δπακτ γόρ τούταν από τῶν κονῶν ἡ δολεγοι ἡν. Μι Wyse refers to C. J. A. I. I. C. J. A. I. V. D. 3. 4 an inscription not later than 460 k.C.

Ib. 1268 a 12. "δήμου δ' έποίες τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως is added because the word is often used of the poor only as in 1265 b 39, 1270 b 25" (Newman).

P. 274. 1268 b 5. Here ἀπλῶς ought to have been rendered "couched in aboute terms," and similarly in b 19 (275) ἀπλῶς δικαίως= "duly framed in an unqualified form."

P. 976. 1268 b 19.f. Mr Newman observes: "It is possible that Hippodamos had in view cases in which the issue put to the jury included more charges than one. The indictment of Socrates was of this nature... There is much force in Aristotle's ples that the fault lay in the question put to the jury, not in expecting the jury to give

an absolute answer."

P. 276. 1268 b 24 f. Add the case of Theramenes as given in Lysias XII. 68, 70.

P. 277. 1268 b 41. Add to note (27t) the reference: Plato Laws 841 D (New-

man).

P. 278. 1260 a 2. παρασχέσθαι is technical of witnesses: see Antiphon 5 5 20,

P. 278. 1269 a 2. παρασχέσθαι is technical of witnesses: see Antiphon 5 § 20, 22, 24, 28, 30.
P. 279. 1260 a 21. Comp. Plato Laws 708 A. B of γάρ ἄν ἐντραφῶνι νόμοις

etherus and φφιθείται πόπει γ ψυχ), τό τι καινό τῶν τότε απίθετιδιτων. Prof. Siliquistic, has observed that this discussion shows what difference there is between Aristotle's political ideas and ours. In the modern European view the Constitution fills the place which the Laws t(ψων, t(ψων) hold for him. P. 282. 136b to 2. This use of κατά is not uncommon: e.g. Dem. XXIV. § 100

κατὰ πάντ ἀδικεῖ.

1b. 1260 b 21. With τοιοῦτος comp. c. 5 § 8, 1263 a 30, ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται.

Ib. 1269 b 21. With τοιούτος comp. c. 5 § 8, 1263 a 39, δπως δὲ γίνωντο τοιούτοι.

P. 285. 1970 a 8. Note that \S 12 is strikingly like the language of ${}^{1}AB$. $\pi o\lambda$. c. 9 s.f. of $\gamma k \rho \delta kauov d \pi$ $\tau u^{2} v^{2} v^{2} v^{2} v^{2} d \lambda^{2} d \lambda^{2} v^{2} \pi o \lambda t \tau d s d \delta v^{2} v^{2} d \lambda^{2} d \lambda^{2} v^{2}$

P. 287. 1270 a 34. Add to note (300) a reference to C. v. Holzinger in Philologus LII. p. 86.

P. 291. 1270 b 11. Add to note (317): Mr Newman suggests, with great

plausibility, that the events of 333 Rc. are referred to, "In that year the Persian feet under Phanambarus and Autophendates and vanced from Chiso first to Andros and then to Siphnos (nearer to Laconia), with the object of bringing about a rising in Greece against Mancedon. We have no record of any aspeciations while the fleet was at Andros; but at Siphnos King Agis made his appearance in a single trirene, and commenced negociations for a subsidy and for the despetach of a fleet and an army to his aid. The news of Issus, however, arrived in the midst of these communications and nipped the project in the bad. If as is probable, the ephone such Agis on this errand, Aristotle may well have thought that they came near to ruining their country. See A. Schäfter Demanthener 3. 1, 460 who refers to Ariston a. 13, 467; Citt 4. 1, 37." If this is correct, not only would this show that the passage was added to, if not written, subsequently to 333 (as Mr Newman points ough but also that is detaile under than 30 R.C., when more complete ruin overtook the Spartans at the "battle of mice" in Arcatin.

- P. 294. 1271 a 8. With οὐ τοῦτον comp. 1267 a 15 οὐ κλέπτην ἀλλὰ τύραννον.
 P. 295. 1271 a 9. Add to note (333) a reference to the election of the Gerusia of
- 1-20. 1471 a. And now (333) a reservence to the election of the German of the Ninety at Elis VIII(y). 6. 11, 1306 a 15 ff. Thy δ' already dumanteutikhy that kal buolan $\tau \hat{y}$ $\tau \hat{u}$ n ψ Aakebalmon graphotum.
- P. 296. 1271 a 22. Add to mote (339) a reference to Busolt Gr. All.² p. 118 n. (6).
 P. 298. 1271 b 8. Add to mote (346) a reference to Rhet. I. 6. 23, 1363 a 8 ft. 7δ περιμάχτητον φωσίμωσον (sc. ἀγαθὸ ἐστ]. οῦ γὰρ πάντε ἐφθενται τοῦτ ἀγαθὸ τρ.

P. 300. 1271 b 24. Add to note (352) a reference to F. H. G. I. 249.

Ib. 1271 b 30—40. See also Quaest. crit. coll. p. 377. Add to note (355) a reference to C. v. Holzinger in Philologus Lii. p. 88 ff. He thinks (p. 96) διδ nal viv κτλ a marginal note of date later than 220 B.C., comparing Polyb. Iv. 53. See however against his assumption Susemihl Quaest. Ar. crit. et exec. III. p. v f.

P. 30.1. 12μ b 36—39. This is Ephorus again (Fr. 6j) as quoted in the geographical poem of Seymmus Chins, F. H. G. 1. 24g; πρόπου δὲ Κηθιά φων τῆς Ελλημεζή (Δρία θαλάττης, δι τε ναριωτίδει | τάλια παπαχεία, όι τε και συνουίσει αὐτίαν Έλρορο εἰρηκο, εἰνα όρος τε | επινέρων τὴς εἰνα τὰ τὰ Κηρτία τουα, | τοῦ δὲ γνομένου βαλαίλο καθτόχθουν | Τολύ ὑμέρα πάτρω ἐὲ τῆ Ακκινική. Μ. Newma, to whom the discovery is due, adds: "The statements of Diodorus 5- γ8. 3—4 seem to be based on the same nassase of Ebborus."

F. 303. 1272 a 18. φόρων οξε φόρωντω] "The word φόρον need not have political associations. It can mean rest for land an orbiting more: here probably 'rest paid to the owners of private lots by the serfs who cultivate them." See the inscriptions in Bull. Corr. Hall. V. (1881), p. 108 ff. and for the fact Dosiadas apud Athen, 1V. 123 "(Weed).

10. 1972 a 22. Supplement (and in part correct) this note by a reference to Plato Law 677 ε. Never Epimenides' device (μηχά-ημο)—apparently Ωλμος, i.e. permican—is mentioned (see Stallbaum ad lec.), and to F. H. G. 11. 36, 111. 40 (Newman). To the next note (367) add a reference to Plato's strong censure Laws 885 m—841.

P. 307. 1272 b 30. Mr Newman keeps έχουσαν sc. τὴν πόλω and for the ellipse appeals to 1266 b 1, 2, where however it presents no such intolerable harshness.

P. 308. 1272 b 37. The meaning of ἀρωτότοῦν here is clear from the antithesis to & τῶν τιχόστων: 'to this office they elect for merit.' Writers on Greek Antiquities have favoured a different view, that ἀρωτότοῦν αἰριάσθαι election from privileged families. But while fully recognising the close connexion between good birth and

'merit' or 'capacity,' as shown by such passages as Isoco. Arrop. § 37 of $\kappa \Delta \delta \sigma$, reporter sul raddy derip $\delta \tau \tau \psi$ fly brobergaine, Philochous E. H. G. I. 394 reporterers to $\tau \tau \gamma \delta \tau \omega$ and $\tau \Delta \tau \delta \tau$ and $\tau \Delta \tau \omega$ are surely have no right to give the Aristotelian technical term any other meaning than that attested by Timenes, we $\tau \delta \delta \tau \omega \delta \omega$.

P. 200. 1732 a.9. The text presents reform and à Spiner where all the authorities give and reform & S. and the change was defended by Prof. Tyrrell in Mermathma Vol. vr., No. 17 p. 31 f. (cp. No. 14 p. 334). Though the grounds for the change-stemed imperative, it would perhaps have been more consistent to leave and reform in the text and print the conjecture in spaced type in the critical notes. For Mr. Newman has shown that it is not impossible to give a sense to earl reformer. "Over the measure which is the subject of that difference of opinion" (between Shofters and Sentale), was well as over matters voluntarily referred to the seasonably in cases of manimity." But would the writer have left all this for his readers to supply from conjecture? In any case, event bis suggestion is not inevitable: Nr. Newman has an alternative assumption that hypopulous are unanimous as to bringing or not bringing a given question before the oppulous assemble.

P. 313. 1273 b 12-15. Comp. Quaest. crit. coll. p. 380 f.

1273 b 13. κουθτερόν τε κτλ] Mr Newmau, retaining the manuscript order, would render "for it is not only fairer to all, as we said" sc. 1261 b 1.

F. 334. And to the references for ω rs and the Solonian Constitution: the Constitution of Atlens cc. 2—1 (sp. c. 4) to which historical commentaries will be Constitution of Atlens cc. 2—1 (sp. c. 4) to which historical procumentaries will be dound in Mr Kenyrah rendra and the relations of this treatise to the Politics may be specially mentioned which deal with the relations of this treatise to the Politics may be specially mentioned by Historican and the Solicies 111. 17—co. P. Meyer De Aristothe Politic may be specially mentioned 1993). B. Kell Die Solumizhe Politican Politic in Mr. W. Manara's in Yournal of Hillorica Studies: Performing mach Arristothe (Berlin 1993). Be also the second editions of the Crinchicko Atlentimier of Basuch and Gilbert, the Cr. Gord. of Basuch, and the 6th edition of K. F. Hermann Lobriuch & grinch Atlentimer Bat. The III. De Ontarioleck State is united Concluded to Themsel (Politica Political Politi

It is worth noting that while the recent discovery largely supplements the commentary on B. II. c. 12 there is nothing in it to cancel, except the incautious mention of

Aristeides p. 317 for which Mr Hicks is alone responsible.

In. 1933 b 36. One plo electron... b 41 four 8d... 1924 a 3 δδ inst phylogeral reven... a 11 pdates 8d...] In general structure this whole account may instructively be compared with two criticisms in 1Ae πAe. (1) c 9 \mathbb{R} + 3, electron plot θe τ -reven... de phylogeral revenue for τ -revenue fo

P. 315. Το note (400) add a reference to the summary of Solou's constitution in 'A6. πολ. c. 41 § 2: πρίτη δ' ή μπλ την στάσω (cp. 'A6. πολ. c. 2 ad init.) sc. μεταβολή, ή τα Σόλωνος, όφ' ἢ άρχη δημικρασίαε έγθνετο: and to c. 2 § 3, πρώτος έγθνετο τοῦ δήμου προστάτης sc. Solon.

Ib. 1273 b 37. Μαν άκρατω κτλ] Compare 'Aθ. πολ. c. 2 of the times preceding Draco and Solon: ἡν γλφ [τότε] ἡ πολιτεία τοῖε τε άλλοιε όλιγοργική πῶν, καί ἡ καὶ ἐκκοινο οἱ πόνητε τοῖε πλουείοπ., ἡ ἐὲ πόμεν ηῦ ἐἐ δλίγων ἡν κτλ; c. 4. s.f.,

- C. 5 § 1 τον πολλών δουλευέντων τοίε δλίγοι, c. 6 § 1 τον δήμων ήλευθέρωτε, and (what were undoubtedly the writer's authorities for his facts) Solon's verses copied in c. 12 § 4.
- Ib. 1973 b 38. δημοκρατίαν τήν πάρκου] Comp. the use in 'A6. πολ. c 29 8 3 of al πάρκου τόμοι ούτ Κλαικόντης θόγων with the comment subjoined as οδ δημοτικήν δλλά παραπληνείαν είσαυ τήν Κλαικόντους πόλιταθα τη Έλλοικος; also c 34 8 3 τ τό πάρκου πολιττίαυ (bis). Unquestionably πάρκου had become at the end of the fifth century a synonym for Solonian.
- In 173 b 41. δεαστήρων] Fully explained by 1AB σαλ. ο § § 1, which for its importance we subject in full, though strictly only the third of the three democratic elements is here in point: δεασ & τής Σδιακου πολυτώα τηθα ταδτ' δεαν τα διμπικότατα ταπ' πρίττο μόν και μέγεταν τό μή διακήταν είτ του είμαση, έτεται τό Είνδια τη διακότη το διακότη το διάδια τ
- Ib. foure] This, like clob' 1.8. πh. c. 6, c. 9 cited above, indicates a mode of argument common with the writer of the Constitution and not unknown in the Politics. In default of direct testimony, in criticising current tradition or suspicious evidence, the method of reconstruction is employed, by which from the present we infer the past, and from a given state of institutions reasons back to their origin or a previous state. See Mr R. W. Macani in J. H. S. XII. p. 37 f., who calls attention to the 'signals of this method' in style.

In 1974 a 1. $r^{2}p$ διαλέρ] That this was a pre-existing institution in Solon's time is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by the Centitation of Adhem. It confronts us in the sketch of the έρχοδε πολιστέα c. $_{2}$ § 6; $_{1}$ δε $r^{2}ω$ $r^{2}ω$ r

B. 1274 a 2. r/p rue apycine algorith (1 he rue). According to 'λd. rue). a 8 g the mode of choice enacted by Solon was a combination of selection with sortition, rut b' doppie eventual to the control of the cont

Thus Aristotle's own qualifications of the democratic panegyrics passed upon Solon's constitution amount to this: "Solon did not found the Arrogapite Council, though he confirmed it in its censorial perceptives, and he did not introduce the electron of magistrates," The exact sense in which the last comment is to be taken is not quite clear. The little we know of the mode of appointment prior to Solon's reform comes from "Ae," vol. 1n. c. 45 s its implied that under Dracot be dive body (which at the time consisted of those able to provide themselves with heavy armour) used to elect the nine archoras: arrabferic pool at article place "Ae Applearray hay *valvariat vols farba rapoguadous" giosirvo & role pith vibra deguerras. But the authority of this charter is doubtful and nin. e. 84 s it is said vaguely that in olden time the Arrepogua

P. 316. 1274 ± 3 . $\mu d\mu d\sigma rai$ rows] These critics are probably the same as those mentioned in 2 Ab. rab. c \otimes 1. 2 ($raph d\sigma rai$ rows t aph dbe we alrea...d pandupore <math>pandupore pandupore <math>pandupore pandupore pandupo

Ib. 1214 8.8. "Σφά-Ντα technique and Higuadbaj! The most remarkable novelty contained in 'An να-0, is the circumstantial account of the plot of Epsihilars and Themistocles to overthrow the usurped powers of the Arcopagus: c. 25. The part ascribed to Themistocles seems unhistocical, for as the usurpation of the Arcopagus lated 17 years after Salamia (c. 25 ± 1) this story would place Themistocles in Adhens circa 46 to Lc., whereas various lines of evidence converge in making him escape to Persia circa 46 B.C. See Mr. E. M. Walkler in Clam. Rev. v. 19 gf. Few at any rate will approve the suggestion to crase Pericles' name in order to insert that of Themistocles.

In dealing with the statement in the Politics we have to decide whether one or two attacks on the Areopagus are intended. Dr Sandys Constitution p. 100 prefers to identify Pericles' action with the later occasion ('Aθ. πολ. c. 27 § 1, των 'Αρεοπαγιτών ένια παρείλετο) when some of its remaining privileges were taken from the Council. In this way the statements of Politics and Constitution would be reconciled. Prof. Susemihl however is inclined to adopt what is certainly the more natural interpretation, that in the Politics Pericles (not Themistocles) is associated with Enhialtes in the famous attack: Quaest Ar. crit. et exeg. III. p. IV. He goes on to infer (1) that it is more likely the correct account is later than the incorrect, and therefore B. II. of Politics later than the Constitution of Athens (comp. above Addenda to p. 66), and a (2) meets the possible objection from the silence observed in the genuine part of B, II. as to Draco's constitution by reminding us that B. II. only professes to deal with εύδοκιμούσαι πολιτείαι, 1260 b 20, 1272 b 24, 1273 b 25. These inferences apart, the conjunction of Enhialtes and Pericles in the attack of 462 B.C. will remain, in spite of the romancing of the Constitution of Athens, a plausible hypothesis in view of the facts (1) that Ephialtes atoned for his share in it with his life, and (2) that Pericles succeeded Ephialtes in the leadership of the party of reform.

In. 1274 a 9. Add is note (g_0S_1): See now 'Ab. $\pi 0. \sim 27$ §§ 3. 4 with the story of Damonides' advice the source apparently of Plattach V. Com. to V. Periol. Q). Bundt Gr. Adh^2 is 168 m. (d). The whole tone of § 4 and particular expressions can be puralled from "Ab. $\pi 0. \sim 2. \sim 2. \sim 18$ § 3.—4, c. a. § 2 the $\gamma 1.0$ and the rith $\mu r r - g_0 \Delta 0$; while the exclusion from Solon's intention of merely accidental results (1274 and 11 plattack) and $\gamma 1.0$ garees with the defence of Solon in "Ab. $\pi 0. \sim 0.5$ § 3.

P. 317. 1274 a 14. Add to note (410): Compare Aθ. πολ. c. 26 § 1; μετὰ δὶ ταῦτα σινέβαινεν ἀνίεσθαι μάλλων τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοὺς προθύμως δημαγωγούντας. The

mention of Aristeides as a leader of the Moderates is particularly unfortunate: for in 40s. no. c. 28 § a be finds a place on the list of *psor*fera* no* 6½sov: (1) Solon, (2) Peisistratus, (3) Cleisthenes, (4) Xanthippus, (5) Themisteeles and Aristeides, (6) Ephilales, (7) Pericles, (8) Cleon, (9) Cleophon; and in c. 3 § 5 fi. c. 2 a greater share of activity is assigned to Aristeides than to his colleage the Emistedes in the transformation of Athens into an imperial city. According to c. 26 § 1 the Moderates had no leader in the period just before Cimen.

Frag. 369 mentioned in this note is of course Plutarch's careless paraphrase of the eulogy of Theramenes in 'Aθ. πολ. c. 28 § 5.

1b. 1274 a 15. To note (411) add: This is supported by 'Aθ. πολ. c. 7 § 3, τοῦ δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τολοῦτω ἀκολορίαs καὶ δεκαστηρίων μετθώκε μόνον. Under the old oligarchy the Thetes had no civic rights at all: 'Aθ. πολ. 4 § 2, 5 § 1. The second of the two alternatives presented in π. (411) is nearer the truth; neither is exactly right.

Ib. 1274 a 17. No notice is taken of eldower in 'Aθ. πολ. Nor is eldower δίκαι σκολική technical where it occurs in Solon's fragments. It is tempting to regard 1274 a 15—19 as neither more nor less than a plain prose paraphrase of the famous lines Δήμος μέν γαρ έδωκα κτλ. Frage. 5 and 6 Bergk.

10. 1274 a 19. To note (414) add: From 'Aθ. πολ. c. 4 § 3, c. 7 § 3 it would appear that these four classes are earlier than Solon: for even if c. 4 be rejected as an interpolation, there is the clause καθάπερ δείρθηνο το πρότερον when Solon's τιμήματα are first discussed. Comp. Busolt in Philosophys. L. 20 ff.

P. 318. 1274 a 21. Note even the verbal similarity to 'Αθ. πολ. c. 7 s. f. τοὺτ δ' δλλου [sc. έδει τελεῦτ] θητικόν, οὐδεμιᾶτ μετέχονται άρχἢτ. See p. 573 note on 1337 b 21.

ID. 1274 a 22. Add to note (415): In Frag. 505, 1561 a 5, Zalenkos is called a shepherd and slave. This is hardly to be reconciled with $\pi o \lambda a r a \theta \theta r r s$ d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d r d

Ib. 1274 a 12. Addi: The laws of Chairondas (probably another form of the same name) were inforce in Cos, see Herondas a, 48, from Strabo Xu. 539 we know that they were in force in Mazaka, in Cappadocia. In a decree found near Teos, Dittenberger 59/69e n. 126 lines of 6, 65, 121, 123, Antigeous permits the people of Lebedos and Teos to introduce the laws of Cos for the projected union of the two clies. Hence v. Willamonvite, (L. 69), conjectures that the laws of Charondas, introduced deliberately when in 366 B.C. the state of Cos was refounded, had spread from that place as a centre.

D. 1274 a 15. rudej Mr Newman adduces reasons why Ephorus cannot be intended. (1) Ephorus (Stuho vt. 766) states that Zalecus borrowed his laws from Cretz, Lacedaemon, and the Arcopagus. He could not therefore have made Zalecus and Lycurgus contemporaries. (2) We should expect him to trace have to a Cretan origin, to Khadamanthus or Minos. (3) He would hardly have committed such an anachronism in regard to the Locrino noncarcius, if indeed he be the same as the oracle-monger of Pelsistratid times. Mr Newman inclines to assign the tradition to a Locrian origin, p. Seymmus Chins v. 314 ff.

B. 1274 a 30. To note (419 b) add: Comp. the similar exposure of a chronological error in 'λθ. πολ. c. 17 § 3: βανερῶ λημοῦσεν οἱ φάσεσστε...οὐ γλρ δεδέχεται τοῦ βαλιατός τοῦ τοῦ βαλιατός τοῦ τοῦ βαλιατός τοῦ Κατα ἀναλογία τοῦ δεατόρου βῶν καὶ ἐψ οἱ ἀνέθωνεν ἀρχοντοι. Comp. Mr Newman's remarks in Dr Sandys' edition of the Constitution p. lvi.

 P. 319. 1274 b 7. Add a reference to Dr Sandys' note in his Demosthenes Private Orations Vol. II. p. 115, and the Dict. of Antiquities (ed. 3) s. v. P. 300. 127₆ b 1₄· raθ) In Archie f. A. Goah. A. Phillo. 11. 504, Prof. Bywater meants that rob is the only four recognized by the Attin inscriptions. Undoubtedly the preponderance of masculine forms of the dual is very great, rob 6κeb at least 100 times in inscr.; per rob 6κeb occur, sec. U. A. 11. 32, n. 1559. In the dramatists there is no instance of rob, robrase as ferminine; but Menander Fr. 520 K. gives rob 4λλθφλαν πόν υδον σείνατω. On the other hand π', σείνα, π',

See Röper De dualismo Platonico (Danzig 1878) and E. Haasse Ueber den Dual bei Xenophon u. Thucyd. (Bartenstein 1889), Ueb. den Dual bei den attischen Dramalikern (Bartenstein 1891), also in Jahrb. f. Philol. CXLIII. 1891 p. 416 ff.; S. Keck

Ueb, d. Dual bei den gr. Rednern (Würzburg 1882).

P. 331. 1274 b 156. Apéanere Rê rêjus sês def, wakrdê ê funçaçõey rode riques θέγου. Add to note (437) Exosibly the writer felt in incumbent upon him to account for Aristotle's omission of Draco (the real reason being, as explained above, that Draco's was not one of the eldouspiens robering), especially in view of 1173 b 34 o'res γêρ (Anstêpyes est Zôλων) καί νέρμου και νέλυντείαs απατένησεω. Presuming that the sentence is a spurious addition it is not surprising that it is irreconcileable with λê, νθα. c. 4. Those excent authorities who do not reject it as spurious (and they include Newman and v. Wilamowith) have to account for a glaring discrepancy with the detailed account of the Dracoina constitution given in that chapter: which v. Wilamowith considers to have been a hasty insertion in 'Aê, νθα. at the last moment. See again (Quast. Ar or eld. et age.), p. XV, III. p. III. p. XV,

B. Add to note (48): See now 'Ab. πολ. c., with the increasing literature upon the Draconian constitution, beginning with the doubts of Mr J. W. Headlam and Mr E. S. Thompson in Class. Rev. v. 161 ff., 336, and Mr. Th. Reinach in Revue Critique 1891 p. 143 ff., to whose attacks replies have been made, amongst others by Γ. Meyer φ. t. p. 337 ff. in the opinion of N. Wilamowitt the Constitution of Draco first appeared in Theramenes' oligarchical pamphlet, 4φ4 Mc. i. it was reconstructed from the ενεμεί of Draco, upon inferences to which. Theramenes was led in the course of his inquiries into old and obsolete laws for the purpose of the revision of the laws and constitution in stituted by the Thirty.

P. 324, line 18. Add: Mr Barclay Head Hist. Num. p. 372 states plainly that a federal coinage implies other federal institutions, and that in spite of continual dissensions something more than a mere tradition of political unity was kept up in Arcadia during the period of the coinage 550—400 B.C.

P. 330. To note (8) of p. 329 add after σύσηθα: This evidence is disputed by Mr F. B. Jevons Kin and Custom in Journal of Philal. XVI. 1887 p. 104 n. L. According to him Polybius and Caesar were mistaken in attributing polyandry to Spartans and Celts respectively, the 'Joint Undivided Family' having given rise to the misapprehension.

P. 334, line 6. To note (250) add: O. Apelt Beitrage zur gr. Philosophie (Leipzig 1891) p. 383 ff. suggests that Hippias of Elis was a pupil of Hippodamos [Hegesida-mos apud Suidam].

P. 336, note 1. Add a reference to the excellent article by C. v. Holzinger Aristotelsi' u. Herakleides' lakonische u. kretische Politien in Philologus LIL, p. 56 ff.

P. 337, line 18. See Addenda to p. 303 above.

P. 339, note 1. 'Oxen' would appear to be meant by καρταίσοδα, 'cattle') ('sheep.' P. 340. Excursus IV. The detailed account of the Carthaginian constitution malles a later date than the researches pressays for the Grook University and the processor.

implies a later date than the researches necessary for the Greek Πολιτείαι and the Νόμιμα βαμβαρματά. The bearing of this fact upon the date of B. II. (at least in its final form) is pointed out by Frof. Susemith Quaest. Ar. cr. ct exeg. III. p. iii I.

P. 389. To note (ως) add: Since the publication of the Constitution of Athens

P. 302. In note (403) add: Since the publication of the Constitution of Athens the Solonian origin of the popular law courts is placed beyond question: see Aθ. πολ. υ. 7 8 4 ε 0.0.

P. 355. 1275 a 10. Το note (435) add: See now Ab. πολ. c. 59 \S δ, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸτ τὰ πόλεις οὐτοι κυρούσι, καὶ τὰ δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ συμβόλων εἰσάγουσι, where αὐτοι = οἱ θεσιοθέται.

P. 366. Comm. left col. line 17 add: Meier u. Schömann Attische Prozest ed. Lipsius pp. 994—1006, Dict. of Antiquities (ed. 3) 11. 734 ff. Also Roberts Int. to Greek Epigraphy 1. p. 355. In the absence of edupôsa the only right was the right of reprisals, endor; cp. ethop biblious sará vovos, Dem. adv. Lacritum XXXV § 26 p. 931, 21.

Ib. 1275 a 15. ἐγγεγραμμένου. Comp. 'Αθ. πολ. c. 42 § ι. P. 357. 1275 a 25. οδη Εξεστυ! The rule at Athens in the fourth century is thus

laid down 'Aθ. πολ. c. 62 s. f. δρχευ δὲ τὰς μέν κατὰ πόλεμον δρχὰι ξεστι πλεονάκις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν πλὰν βουλεύσει δίς. Comp. c. 31 § 3, and Polities 1299 a 10, 1317 b 24. P. 359. 1275 b 8. At Acraeas and Melite σύνκλυτος was the name for the

P. 389. 1275 b 8. At Acragas and Melite oryotopror was the name for the Council as opposed to the popular Assembly: Swoboda Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse p. 307.

P. 360. 1275 b 22. πρόε τὴν χρῆσω] See below, Addenda to p. 370. That this we she practice at Athens in the fourth century can be seen from 'Aθ. πολ. c. 42, μετέχουση μέν τῆς πολιτικία οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγούτει ἀστῶν.

P. 361. 1275 b 30. ἀπλοῦν] Comp. Plato Politic. 306 C πότερον οδτως ἀπλοῦν ἐστι τοῦτο, ἢ παντὸς μάλλον ἔχει διαφοράν.

P. 882. 1276 a 8—16. See the discussion of this passage in Quant. Are. crit. at exeq. 1. p. xviii, following Niemperer in Yalach, f. Phil. CxxIII. 1891, p. 41 eff. With the changes indicated in the Addanda to Critical Notes the passage runs timus: dropoler yie's reversely of what Argole each stree log's, what, one form with Obergangian frequently of the Third Republicant of States and Argole republicant from States and Argole republicant from States and Argole recording, the data are with a resolution of the Indian States and the Argole Republicant from the Third Republicant from Third

the tyrant, and would decline many other such responsibilities on the ground that the basis of certain forms of government is suprior strength and not the public interest: suppose now men to be somewhere living under a democracy of this origin, is the state just as responsible for the acts of this government as for those of its predecessor, the oligacity or tyrampy? In a 14 review rive refers is explained by a 6 few 26 developed or fragree deservation should more properly have been put in the reverse way; is the state as responsible for the acts of the deponed oligately or tyramp as it is for the acts of the democracy which succeeds them? But Aristotle's inexactness in such matters is notorious. Niemeyer retains the rativer bracketed above, as if the question concented the identity of the state: more probably the alternative is, are the acts of the preceding tyramy to be attributed to the circle or to the transit.

P. 364 f. 1276 a 36-38. On the divergent spellings ald del see Meisterhans Grammatik d. a. Insch.2 p. 25 n. 2; Christ preface to ed. of Metaphysica (Teubner series) p. XV, who cites the variants in the MSS, at 986 b 17, 1016 a 15, 1026 a 21. The whole question of orthography is complicated by the discrepancy between (1) the best manuscripts and (2) the inscriptions. Prof. Susemihl, who has hitherto been content to reproduce faithfully the best manuscript evidence, now writes: "in rebus orthographicis sequi fontes optimos...non pergerem fortasse in nova editione, sed suadente Stapfero ad Meisterhansi grammaticam inscriptionum me accommodarem semperque scriberem non solum, id quod nunc feci, μικρόε, μικρότης, verum etiam μέχρι, γέγνεσθαι, γιγνώσκειν, πλέων et forsitan etiam δυών, αξξειν. breviores comparativorum species in ous et a desinentes semper reciperem." See Stapfer Krit. Studien zu Aris, v. J. Seele (Landshut 1800) p. 7 ff. On the same rational principles Mr Hicks is inclined wholly to disregard the manuscript evidence on such points as the avoidance of histus by elision, and the retention of obsolete or incorrect spelling (θαλάσση 1271 b 34, 35, 37, 1327 a 16, πράσσων 1337 b 20, Μιτυληναΐοι 1285 a 35). v. Wilamowitz, op. c. I. 210, sees in Aristotle's Greek traces of Ionicism.

P. 866. To note (467)—comp. n. (453) p. 363—add: See now 'Ah. rob. to 30 s. If risk Sydpiams d bloodeaure of str brokepy beaturges are droblemu pople) and c. 40 § 3 (Δλλλ end ri λ. χύρματα have beaugeties, δ et patients with the robe was a special clause about the loan in the terms of reconciliation (Bahőren) agreed upon between the two factions in 469 π.C. It is with, justice that in the Ab. π.b. the notice of the repsyment is followed by the comment to δt risk Δλλαι πόλεων of the πρωτιθέπου τών okador of δήμα αρατήσευντε Δλλλ από την χώρμο διάδατον πασίουν.

P. 368. 1276 b 33. To note (470) add: Mr Newman (I. p. 363) understands αγαθόν as the predicate with είναι.

P. 369. 1277 a 6. For είθθε cp. Aristoph. Clouds 878 εἰθθε γέ τοι παιδάριον δν τιονουτοι ξπλαττεν ένδον είκίας.

P. 370. 1277 a 11. From Dem. c. Mid. p. 533 it appears that there were several rooms and a freeway rooms alway.

P. 373. 1277 b 12. To note (490) add: A trace of it is retained in M. Antoninus XI. 29 b τ τ τ γράφων και άναγονώσκαν οἱ πρότερον ἄρξαν πρὶν ἀρχθῆκ. The excellence of the Spartan military system is thus brought out by Thucyclides v. 66 s. f. σχαδον γλω, ἄργωντε ἀρχέντων εἰσί.

P. 375. 1277 b 34. ώς άληθώς γὰο 5c. ἀπορείται.

P. 377. 1278 a 14. With φανέν cp. 'Αθ. πολ. c. 22 ως έφάνη τὰ μέταλλα.

- Ib. 1278 a 31. Mr Wyse suggests an alternative meaning for χρώνται = thus apply the law.
 - ply the law.

 1b. 1278 a 32. παραιρούνται = (virtually) disfranchise: so 1285 a 16, 1311 b 6.
- In. 1978 a 34. Add de note (p.16): By "A6 rah. c. o. 6 § 4 this famous law of Pericles is assigned to the year 4gal) ber 1 Aracheu the n² rabbles or the row work. Frequency of the result of the result of the rabbles extraction, symmetry particles or per whom to the ph \$\overline{\text{th}}\$ and the period of the rabbles derived by reports. An error in the date is not so serious as to have maintained with Dancker, Schenkl, Buermann and at one time Buoth) that no such law could have been proposed by Periodics. For the purchice at Athesis in the fourth century see c. 48 § 1 cities it although the fourth century see c. 48 § 1 cities at Athesis in the fourth century see c. 48 § 1 cities at Athesis in \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ of \$\overline{\text{oth}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ of \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ of \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ of \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ one of \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ are \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ are \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ as \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ are \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ as \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ are \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ and \$\overline{\text{st}}\$ are \$\overline{\text
 - P. 381. 1278 b 20. Comp. Eud. Eth. 1242 a 6, and note in Susemihl's ed.
- B. 1278 b 22. See p. 457 m. (a). Add to the note on 1278 b 23; Dubino. Not that the personal use is not sufficiently attested: cp. Demonth. Dr Corone § 254, p. 313, 7 rd érifical/or de' fuiti μέρα; but it may well be that fow agrees with μέρα, the order being changed to avoid histus. See however Boritz Ind. An 269 b ff. who apparently favours the personal usage of the verb by arranging the present passage with Pel. IV(VII) 1. 10, 1232 b 21 and after adding 'inde explicandum videur 1000 a 41' proceeds to the unmisthatelle usage Para Penfallo...), notify 1050 a 15.
- P. 882. 1278 b 27. $\hat{\alpha}\nu$ $\mu\hat{\eta}$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$ =unless existence is overweighted with ['exceeds too much in'] the evils of life.
 - P. 385. 1270 a 26. Add a reference to n. (523).

πηδαλίου γνωρίζει και έπιτάττει.

- P. 386. Comm. left col. line 32. For "409 (or 408)" it would perhaps be better to read "410": payment for public services seems to have been restored soon after the battle of Cyricus.
 P. 389. c. o. Many of the fine thoughts here are borrowed from the myth in
 - P. 389. c. g. Many of the fine thoughts here are borrowed from the myth in Plato's Protagoras (Spengel).
- P. 391. 1850 a 24. Δerdegde] Free birth; the abstract noun answering to Δedeques—free born. See Newman 1. p. 28 n. 1. Compare 1853 a 6 Δedeque and γένεν, 1853 a 33 of 2 Λedeque και γένεναι του δεταγονικό το γένεναι του δεταγονικό του δεταγονικό του δεταγονικό του δεταγονικό του δεταγονικό Δεταγονικό Δεταγονικό Δεδείφου = the freedom who have only one parent of citizen birth. He further quotes Patho Comicus Hyperchius 24, for Λedeque | ξένεν, and refers to Diog. Lacr. VI. 1 and VI. 4 for Λedeque | Λedeque | δεταγονικό Δεταγονικό
- P. 396. 1281 a 17. Mr Newman (II. 145) understands this differently: "taking men as a whole, irrespective of wealth and poverty" like ἐπὶ πάντων άνθρώπων.
- P. 400. 1281 b 31. With βουλεύεσθαι και κρίσεν cf. 1274 a 15 ff. and reff. there. P. 402. 1282 a 21. Mr Newman cites Phys. H. x. 9, 194 x 36; δδο δη al δρχουσαι τήθι θημη και al γνωρίζουσαι τέχου, ή τε χρωμένη και τήθι ποιητική» η δραγακτονική. The ship-captain, representing η χρωμένη, ποίδε τι τὸ είδεν τοῦ

1b. 1282 a 22. Mr Wyse calls attention to the poetic colour of the words δαστυμών (1338 a 30) and θούνη (1324 b 39) in this line; with which may go τιμαλφών, 1336 b 19.

Th. 1282 a 28. The plural δήμαι in 1294 a 13, 1310 b 21, 1320 a 4, 1321 a 19, 'Aθ. πολ. c. 40 § 3, Thuc. III. 82. 1, VIII. 65. 1.

B. 128 a gl. requestered did to note (5/6): C_p . Mh. rol. ~ 4 g \approx (Direction constitution), ~ 8 g \approx (Soloris): στημείου \vec{v} for independs strategies the ring approximation of refi. The require refiers, $\vec{\psi}$ χρήμαντα hardedown ten and with related γ_{pp} ιδιχρούν roots regular (\vec{v} π στημείου \vec{v} με \vec{v} γ το \vec{v} με \vec{v} με

P. 410. 1283 b 5. duamphis β ήτητος ή κρίσες] Cp. 3 Λθ. πολ. c. 35 \S 2 ποιοίντες duamphis β ήτητον την πολιτείαν.

Tb. 1283 b 14. Mr Wyse compares 1281 a 9, οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντει.

P. 418. Comm. left col. line s_L. Add: The recent additions to our knowledge coulds us to serve at the following provisional results respecting Aristotic judgment upon Ostracius. Having been wholly dissued in the fourth century the institution had become the subject of antiquation research. Two theories about its origin could appeal, with something like confidence, to facts in their favour: (1) the view of the set, 1384, as If and of varily), a j. gen to 15-3-18, which agrees with lock Jiz 56, Plut. V. Themit. c. 22, Arist. 7, No. 11, Acid. 32 (cp. Nepox Them. 8, Cimon 3), evidently the view of Ephones and Theopeneps, i.e., of the school of Locartes: (1) the view expressed by Philochorus, Fr. 7p b (sited in n. 6cg), which is also found in Androido, Fr. 5 (stoted by Harpocratien zs. Hipparchise). Both explanations appear in Ab. wab. c. 23, the writer showing himself here as desewhere well acquainted with the latest researches of historieums and Arthidogenums and Arthidogenums and Arthidogenums and Arthidogenums and Arthidogenums.

In line 30. The extract is preceded by an account of the procedure in cases of contaction: respectively also 8 lbgs or \$10^4 ft is presented at 8 lbs of in derposons clarifylars for \$10^4 lbs or \$10^4 ft is presented at \$10^4 lbs of information clarified \$10^4 lbs of information clarified \$10^4 lbs of information \$10^4

 Ακωράτους τερί δὲ τούτου Ἰαδοριίω δι της β΄ φησὰ δετ αντροτή μότ η Παιαστράτου του Τεράνου και πρώτος εξωστρακίση τοῦ στερί τοὺ στρακαριο εξωστ τέπε πρώτου τεθέστο διὰ τηὸ όπορίων τῶν περί Παιέστρατος, ἐτι δημαγωγός δε καί στραγηγός ἐντράννησε». The coincidence of language is unmistakenble, cp. VIII(V), 5. 6, 1396 a γ.

- P. 417. To note (609) add: A more correct account of the earlier position of these three islands is given in 1-26. For δ0., c. 4.5 : π is συμμέχου Ευτυνικτριών χέρμπτο πλην Χίου καί Λιερβίων και Σαμίων τούτου δὲ ψόλακαι όχων τῆι ἀρχῆς, ἀὐτιν τοἱ τι πληντίας καγὰ φινότες καὶ ψέρμου δεί τηχω θέρμπτο. From this privileged position the Samians and Leiblans were not dislodged until they revolted. Comp. Mr Newman in Class. Rev. v. 162.
- P. 423. 1285 a 16. Add: Busolt Die Labedaimonier p. 141 ff. compares the Tageia in Thessaly, the βασλεία of Arcadia (which is also a στρατηγία), and the 'Herzogthum' of the ancient Germans.
- P. 424. 1285 a 35 ct al. Note that according to Meisterhans Grammatik³ p. 23 n. (132) the true spelling is Mυτολοφαίου.
 P. 426. 1285 b 14. Cp. ³46. πολ. c. 24 § 3 άρχαὶ δ' ἐνδημοι μὲν...ὑπερόριοι δἐ.
 - Ib. 1285 b 15. παριέντων] In 'Αθ. πολ. c. 3 § 3 the word is παραχωρείν.
 - Ib. 1285 b 16. Add to note (629): For βασιλεύs at Athens cp. 'Aθ. πολ. c. 3 § 2
- έπικατέστη ή πολεμαρχία διά τό γενέσθα τούα τών βασλέων μολιακός. But as to the
 shadowy kingship' see now J. G. Frazer Golden Bough 1. 44 ff., 118 ff., 158—165,
 217—235, an epoch-making work which is calculated to shatter many fond beliefs.
 - P. 428. 1286 a 3. Add: This is the distinction between τάξει and θεσμός in Dion. Halicar. Ant. Rom. V. 167 A.
 - P. 431. 1287 a 38. In 'Aθ. πολ. c. 35 § 3 πρθη χάρον happens to occur.
 P. 434. 1286 a 30 f. The sentiment perfectly agrees with that of 'Aθ. πολ. c. 41
- § 2; after mentioning the absolute personal sway of Demos (kerérrus γk_0 airrh airrh reredient δ blues shows at rairra descrive specificates and kenerapida, b is δ blues form δ appears at the state of the state of
 - P. 438. Comm. left col. line 1. After turn out insert anyhow i.e.
- P. 439. 1287 a 6. Comp. for this sense of διούκησες, 1331 b 9: also 1330 a 7 for διουκών την άλλην ολείων, and 'λάθ. πολ. c. 24 s.f. άπωσε γάρ τούτοις άπὸ τών κοινών ή διούκνετε (maintenance) το
 - P. 442. 1287 b 19. περιληφθήναι] In 'Αθ. πολ. c. 9 § 2 περιλαβείν.
- P. 454. Add to Excursus II.: See further remarks on the date of Pittacus, in reply to Beloch, by Toepffer in Rhein. Mus. XLIX. 1804, pp. 230-246.
 - P. 467, line 5. See Corrigenda. Dele the sentence: Again, one might ... wolurela.
- P. 494 ff. The statistical results here given have been sgain and again revised by Prof. Susemili in Queant. crit. exequt. 11 (1893) and Fohr-f. P. Alit. 1893, p. 81 ff., the latter article a rejoinder to Mr. Newman's presentation of the statistics in Classical Review VII. 1892, p. 90, p. 90, p. 90, and an editor's judgment will from time to time be modified by the greater or less degree of probability which. a combination of assumptions seems to present: hence neither the statistics of the text nor the modified results of the articles published in 1893 can be regarded as final. Both sides have made concessions, their from change of view (as when Prof. Susemilal admits that 1272 b 9 Mr. Newman has rightly accounted for the variant Newsra'eb y Souverleds in the next line, and accordingly

returns to Awards III, and Mr Newman 1863 a 23 now accepts 86es III in place of feber III of note the handshed elective to of all possible plautic to the opposing view (which may account for Prof. Susemilla's surrender of 1256 b 1 m_0 2 m_0 2

Let us start with Book 1. where "II" is certainly wrong 15 times" (text p. 46, ine. 49): idented Favor of these 129, 2 az, 128 b a 7, 150 a 60 which fall back into the uncertain class, and add seron, viz. 124, b 14, 125 a 10, 123 a 6, 125 b 31 times (text p. 125 b 10, 123 b 1

Mr Newman does not agree with this statement of the case, but instead of a detailed criticism be contents himself with objecting to five of the 23 variants claimed as right readings for II¹ on the ground that words are omitted, and that this is the besetting sin of III²; these five comissions are 125 a 2 (drebs, b 50 crien/96we), 1323 b) 33 (b), 135 b 7 (drebs, 1366 a 3 (d). If these five claims were struck out, the balance in favour of II² would be destroyed.

In B. II. the alleged superiority claimed for II³ is still disputed. Mr Newman accepts its authority in 35 variants and does not definitely pronounce against it in the 13 other readings, while at the same time rejecting it in favour of II³ in no less than 6c cases.

Prof. Susemihl again has altered his result (p. 465) in favour of II¹ over II² from 69: 40 to 67: 48. It is clear that while opinions continue thus widely to differ, as to which variants are decisive for the one or the other side, the facts require extremely cautious and delicate manipulation.

The changes in Statemill's figures for Book in, are thus explained. "If I has changed the right reading at the most only 40 times "(4,65 line 3), deduct η of these, viz. 10 for 35, 1765 b 39, 1265 b 39, 1265 a 36, 1270 a.1, a.27, 1272 a.1, r.27, a.27, a.17, a.27, a.17, a.1

Mr Newman's divergent results are thus obtained. Of the 67 he accepts 35, but transfers nine others to the opposite side and reckons them to the credit of IP (viz. 1360 b 27, 1361 b 4, 1263 b 7, 1368 s 3 all cases of omission by IP, together with 1965 b.1, 1697 a. S., b. of., 169 b.6, 1.97 a. a.0): the remaining 2_3 be leaves doubtful, though strongly of opinion that they also abould be counted for Π^2 . Thus Π^2 falls with him from 6_7 to 3_5 : and Π^2 rises by the addition to the $_48$ (which Susemilli finally admits) of zeros other variants, which Susemill regards as doubtful: v_{11} : 196_6 a. 2_1 , 176_5 a. 1_2 , 186 b. 1_7 , 167_5 a. 6_6 , 172_5 b.3, 179_5 a. 4_7 b.6. This makes the total for $\Pi^2 = 5_5$. Add the y variants above enumerated which Susemill reckons for Π^2 and Newman for Π^2 and we get the result, $\Pi^2 = 6_6$, $\Pi^2 = 3_5$.

On the question of the text generally we quote with pleasure Prof. Tyrrell's opinion as expressed in 1888, *Hermathane Vol. 1*, No. Lap. 23.5. "The course taken by recent criticism illustrates one of Aristotle's rules for attaining the mean, dropcape's roll µ20\text{loss} elsevirlos. Bekker having completely neglected P* and P; Sessembli's recoll carried him perhaps too far from Bekker's method, and now Busse and Dittenberger "—may we not add Newman——seem to be dragging him too near it again. Without free emendation and transposition we can have no readable text."

P. 817. 1330 a 14. 43fer note [83] add: Comp. Plato Critics 11 a 1: givern de les prehistoris Attical plus de Région, or alore à relaya abret, der à la quaper nal rie yeupyles fous respetar épolypour rà d'érânu ré utyques airè soil airè ploso yéon resp rè rif. Moyait Régions re la plus surquetieus, des mile delsa signes de reqfibre procrupéliquistres. rè yèo per la plação airò gione oldes anous au l'évorime.

χαμερινά κατασκοιασόμενοι (Wyse).

10. 1330 a 15. δτα...άμβοτέρων τῶν τότιον πάντει μετέχωσυ] No one can fail to notice the striking similarity between this sentence and the following in the account of Cleisthenes' local tribes: δταν δεάστη μετέχη πάντων τῶν τότιων, λ.β. πολ. c. 21 § 4.

P. 520. 1330 b 11. For μ) παρέργων see now 'Αθ. πολ. c. 28 § 5 τοῦς μὴ παρέργων ἀποφαινομένοις.

P. 522. 1331 8 2. After 1260 a 6 add: and III. 3. 2, 1276 8 14 ff.

P. 535. 1333 a 2. After οδτε γάρ. add: Comp. Nic. Eth. v. 1. 5, 1129 a 19 έδν τε νώο ἡ εὐεξία and Χ. 7. 1, 1177 a 21 (where Bywater brackets τε).

P. 539. 1333 b 12. With descriptors comp. the passage cited in Addenda to p. 520 above, from Aθ. πολ. c. 28 § 5.

P. 540. 1333 b 34. To note (915) add: Comp. 'Aθ. πολ. c. 23 § 4.

P. 541. 1334 a 5. Compare the parallel phrase of Metaph. 1. 2. 11, 982 b 22, μαστυρά δὲ ἀὐτὸ τὸ συμβεθημότ.

paproper of arts to compensation.

P. 570. 1337 a 27. Comp. Pl. Crito 50 D etc. and Dem. De Corona § 205 (σύχλ τω πατρί και τῆ μητρί ἀλλα και τῆ πατρίδο).

н. 44

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